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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.



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THE  
Genuine Works  
OF  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,  
THE  
Jewish Historian,  
BY  
WILLIAM WHISTON, A.M.



ELIJAH, ANAB, AND THE FALSE PROPHETS.

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THE  
COMPLETE WORKS  
OF THE  
LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN,  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:  
COMPRISING  
THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,  
A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WARS,  
THREE DISSERTATIONS CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST, JOHN THE BAPTIST, &c. &c.  
AND  
THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.  
TRANSLATED BY  
WILLIAM WHISTON,  
PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.  
WITH A  
SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS;  
CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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MOUNT LEBANON WITH THE CEDARS

THE CEDARS OF LEBANON



## PREFACE TO JOSEPHUS.\*

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THOSE who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another: for some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely: others of them there are, who write histories in order to gratify those who happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance: but others there are, who of necessity, and by force, are driven to write history, because they were concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity; nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have themselves been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had. I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks† worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of

\* This preface of Josephus is excellent in its kind, and highly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set about the perusal of the work itself.

† That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.



our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew scriptures. And indeed I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war,\* to explain who the Jews originally were; what fortunes they had been subject to; and by what legislator they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans · but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and with its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and above all the rest, Epaphroditus,† a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history, and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immoveable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavours with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazer the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves, from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not

\* We may seasonably note here, that Josephus wrote his seven books of the Jewish War long before he wrote these his Antiquities. Those books of the War were published about A. D. 75, and these Antiquities, A. D. 93, about eighteen years later.

† This Epaphroditus was certainly alive in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100. Who he was, we do not know; for as to Epaphroditus, the freedman of Nero, and afterwards Domitian's secretary, who was put to death by Domitian in the 14th or 15th year of his reign, he could not be alive in the third year of Trajan.



obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there was a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeeded well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practicable before becomes impracticable; and whatsoever they set about as a good thing, is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago: at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or of their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this without adding anything to what is therein contained, or taking away anything therefrom.

But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it come to pass that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceedingly necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature; and upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavour to follow after it; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation, nor would anything he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught, first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that hence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of



his laws after the same manner that other legislators did ; I mean upon contracts, and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world ; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things : for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes ; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it ; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishment. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view ; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind ; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe ; while our legislators speaks some things wisely but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of ; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the following manner.









VALLÉE AND CONVENT OF S. MARIE FROM BARCELONA.



THE

## LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

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THE family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so, with us, to be of the sacerdotal dignity is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon with the addition of Psellus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who, first of all the high priests, was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Custus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus; his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as was I born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born on the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian; as was Justus born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me as of a lower original.

Now my rather Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: the first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by these means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one whose name was Banus lived in the desert, who used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.



very uneasy at it, supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when the freed man of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cesarea, and had great expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings: for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus. He contrived, also, that the king should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard, that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defence for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs at innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So the seventy went down to Cesarea, together with the twelve ambassadors, where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, together with the twelve ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But there was one of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and re-

tired to the citadel at Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things, I wrote to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fellow-legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow-legates, having gotten great riches from those tithes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberias, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws had forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired that they would give us leave to do so immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture; and



slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and so many others as were their enemies before the war had begun.

When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody else but myself. From thence I and my fellow-legates went to Gischala to John, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Cæsar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do. But when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow-legates, and corrupted them with money, to decree that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted, and held my tongue.

But when I had dismissed my fellow-legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And, when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little wittingly, rather than to be forced to overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them.

I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and, as to what presents were offered me, I despised them.

Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But

when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and should procure what necessities soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a city of Galilee, which is named Cana.

But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation, being naturally disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions: but they were chiefly Justus and his father Pistus that were earnest in their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, governor of Tiberias, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither, for that if I made any delay the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon receiving this information I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, being afraid that my coming was to call him to account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he in great haste went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and, standing on an elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change of behaviour would be to their reproach, and that they would then be justly suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

But, before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down, for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them, to kill me, having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they



were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried out of the crowd upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Terichæ.

Now, as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them, for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me by all the Galileans, and endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander. Accordingly, the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. But I did not comply with them; thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed farther than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

But now John was afraid for himself, and he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed.

But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, knowing how wicked and how sadly perjured the man was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves to give me leave to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and for this purpose I came to Sepphoris.

But the inhabitants of this city having deter-

mined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried to divert me. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his vile and treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not his knavery succeed well at last; for, as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias: and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes in order to repel them. Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that "I was not a stranger to the treacherous designs he had against me; that, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, but I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

At this time it was that two great men, under the jurisdiction of king Agrippa, came to me out of the region of Trachonitia, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them, "Every one ought



to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that those men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was they wanted.

Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala: but the forces that were sent were not enough to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen by night, and two hundred footmen, and brought the inhabitants of the city of Gibeā along with him as auxiliaries, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my tent over against him, but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, depending on his horsemen; but we would not come down, for I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain. Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city of Gibeā, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy should not disturb us, until we should have carried off a great quantity of the corn which lay there, belonging to Bernice the queen, into Besaria; so I loaded my camels and asses, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him, and when I had hindered him from doing any farther mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

But when John, the son of Levi, who abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias, and of Sepphoris, which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and he told them,

that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with this proposal: and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me, and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following.

There was some bold young men of the village Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed, as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheæ, with four mules' lading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited us by our laws even to spoil our enemies; so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of these spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owners. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death, by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

Now, when all Galilee was filled with the ru-



mour that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Taricheæ did also suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me. And, when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment; Jesus, the son of Sapphias, principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow-citizens! if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard, however, to these laws of your country, which your commander-in-chief is going to betray; hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently, to his deserved punishment."

When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all this disturbance and had fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely, and like a general, before my enemies came in, and killed me, or toiled me to kill myself; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly, I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me: so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my house: so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder, and that they might then kill me, if they pleased; and, upon the mul-

titude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me: but when the multitude bade them hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I had kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them: "O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of yours (Taricheæ) was a city of great hospitality, and filled with the abundance of such men as have left their countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended on your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheæ and the strangers cried out, That "they gave thanks, and desired me to be of good courage." But the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, yet when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

However, the robbers and other authors of this tumult, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent to run away, and I resolved to act with boldness; so I gave orders to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money from the spoils;) for I told them that they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they stayed there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

Now the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias wrote to the king, and desired him to send them



forces sufficient to be guard to their country ; for that they were desirous to come over to him ; but when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do. I agreed to the proposal accordingly ; and made preparation for the building, but on the third day, when I was gone to Taricheæ, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march not far from the city, which made it be supposed that the forces were come from the king ; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me that they had resolved to revolt from me ; upon hearing which I was very much alarmed : for I had sent away my armed men from Taricheæ to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath. I had about me no more than seven armed men besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by stratagem ; so I immediately placed those my friends of Taricheæ, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those carefully who went out at those gates ; I also called to me the heads of families, and bid every one of them to seize upon a ship, to go on board it, and take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, supposing that the ships were full of men on board ; so then they changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me with great commendations. I assured them, that I would forgive them if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me ; and when they had complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Taricheæ, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

By this stratagem I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace. But, when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish Clitus, the author of this sedition. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish

him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands ; but as he that was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest thou undergo a worse punishment." So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand ; and thus put an end to the sedition.

Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from king Agrippa, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city ; nor did I reject either of their requests.

But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred of armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel, in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem, and of a very noble family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John ; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory ; and he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon ; but Ananus the high priest demonstrated to them, that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of



the rulers of the people bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many; for that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother (Simon) and charged him, that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at; for Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they resolved to send men of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan and Ananias, by sect, of the Pharisees; while the third, Joazar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them, what was the reason of their love to me? and if they said, that it was because I was born in Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand drachmæ out of the public money: but when they heard that a certain Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months' pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men, that were citizens of Jerusalem, to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out, having along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them, was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem, but that, in case I opposed

them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave order to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

Now, as my father wrote to me on account of this, (for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,) I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby, that my fellow-citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as out of envy to give order that I should be slain; my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of the dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me, and said, "O Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now, when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away, and permit their country to be injured by them. But, when I did not comply with their entreaties, the



compelled me to take an oath that I would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes; and, when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chebolo, situated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestus Gallus, to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to battle, he was afraid and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow-legats came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan and those that are with him, who are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things, either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me under their power; or, if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came,

when I was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem: do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterwards, I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so that nobody could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purport of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmæ should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachmæ for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced the proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but discovered them without my putting questions to him; viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus, to Jonathan and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country; which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you, therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave



orders to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent, and those that were with Jonathan. So these men went to Jonathan. But, when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows; "Jonathan and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John of Gischala." When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they made no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me; and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also: but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee: I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

When Jonathan and his partners had received

this letter, they wrote to me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together, and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons that were at variance with me, and that they be invited to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were affected to me would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from the country to the city Jerusalem. Now, on the fifth day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them, I also advised them to fight with nobody, nor to spoil the country, but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with the sustenance they had brought with them: for I told them I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. As soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them to salute them. Now, as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and



his party thinking that I was really asleep, and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise; for upon their appearance there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them, to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, who confessed their thanks were owing to me for my good government of them.

When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans, so they contrived how they might run away. But they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their letter, and after what manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them: and as I spake thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written. I then said, "O Jonathan! and you that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations; that therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner, among them. And I farther conjure you, O Galileans! to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, whether in any thing I have acted otherwise than well."

While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and saviour, and attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them, with many

other things besides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities.

When the multitude heard those things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them; and this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, That "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what had past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were much enraged against them, and when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

When I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled. I also gave order, that a hundred men who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions in the country. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, they sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly, I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion. Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in



having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me: for they said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens: and they said farther, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they stayed that they might deliver up John into my power: and when they said this, they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else; because the next day was the sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed on that day.

I suspected nothing, and went away to Taricheæ. On the next day, however, Jonathan went into the proseucha (a large place of prayer,) and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow-citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom," and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws require us to go to dinner on sabbath days. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, about the first hour of the next day, I came to Tiberias, and found the multitude ready assembled in the proseucha. When Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; and raised a report that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report, Jonathan cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, while they might dispose of the city to my enemy.

Although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias should suppose that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out; but when I was at the place, and found not the least footstep of an enemy, I returned as fast as I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me. And as they were dis-

cussing thus, they produced four letters as if written to them by people living near unto Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they made a clamour against me, and said, I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said, (for I understood this deceit of Jonathan and his colleagues,) that I was ready to march to the war which they spake of, yet did I advise them, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to war, and thus frustrated their designs against me.

Now one Ananias, a wicked and mischievous man, proposed a general religious fast, and gave order that they should come to the place without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they thought all these weapons useless. This he said not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands. On the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breastplate, and girt on my sword so that it might be, as far as was possible, concealed, and came into the proseucha.

Now Jesus, the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down, and of that uncoined silver. This he said, in order to drive away time, till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that he



might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, What is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. "But," said I, "if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me, and, as the people were crying out, there came one and told Jesus and his friend privately, that John and his armed men were at hand: whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, (and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance, for, had this not been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John,) said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold, for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they laid hands upon me, and endeavoured to kill me: but, as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

But, as I was going out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Tarichææ. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry awhile, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors, that were sent by them

to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them it was best for them to act according to their determination: whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also, John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

Now, in a few days, those ambassadors whom he had sent, came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends, that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbella, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act on this occasion.

Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert the city, now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me at Jerusalem, that I did not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two, Simon and Joazar, should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias.

However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers to assist them against me, if there should be occasion. Now John was at Gischala; Jonathan, therefore, and



those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they, about midnight, fell among the guards I had set, who kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. I said nothing of this event for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men. But supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived a stratagem against them, as I did not think it right to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. Being desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose ten thousand of my armed men, divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to lie in ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, and gave order, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport: and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

Being desirous to catch Simon and Joazar by a wile, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly, Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come: but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, stayed behind. I met Simon, and saluted him with great civility; but a little while afterward, when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I made an assault upon Tiberias. Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me, encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by force, and so

threw down their arms, and implored that I would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them; while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers. I invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem.

But on the next day, I brought ten thousand men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done, and they said they would amend what they had done amiss, with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly, I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

And now I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who, when he undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could speak truth even about his own country; whence it is, that, being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make a defence. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men, not out of any favour to them, but out of an author's own moderation. How, then, comes it to pass, O Justus! thou most sagacious of writers, (that I may address myself to him as if he were here present,) for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition against the Romans and against the king Agrippa, junior? For, before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of mine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this, but so it is written in the Commentaries of Vespasian the emperor



as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamouring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author of that war, mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterward doth also clearly discover that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bare no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able, with ease, to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war, and that they might be out of danger from me, they got leave of me to fortify their city with walls; they also, of their own accord, admitted a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestius Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus! situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, a hundred and twenty, when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was *then* the author of their revolt, pray, O Justus! who was that author *afterwards*? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taken by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did

twice put thee into bonds, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest request of Bernice? But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs of the war than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not **know** what was done in Galilee. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the Commentaries of Cæsar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those Commentaries of Cæsar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? for then mightest thou have had their testimony of thy accuracy. But now, when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturdest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of mine own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves when the facts were almost under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts: and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and Agrippa wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered, and expressed his approbation of the same.

Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a Sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John; and I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; I also threatened that, unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder



free gift, in Judea; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behaviour, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of whom are dead, and one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jewess by birth: a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the elder's name was Justus, and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his

father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea tax free, which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Cæsar, continued to do me kindness. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But of thee, O Epaphroditus! thou most excellent of men! do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole.









ADAM AND EVE IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN







in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining that when they disobeyed them they would fall into calamities, he maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the *Tree of Knowledge*, telling them, that in that tree was the *knowledge of good and evil*; which knowledge would lead them to a happy life; not inferior to that of a god. By these means he overcame the woman, who when she had tasted of that tree, persuaded Adam to make use of it also. They now perceived that they were naked; and being ashamed they invented somewhat to cover them, and tying fig-leaves before them out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. When God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behaviour, went out of the way. God asked what was the cause of this procedure? and why he avoided him?

When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had before determined how you might lead a happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your labour and pains-taking; which would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance: but now thou hast abused this my good-will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife, and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God allotted him punishment because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said, The ground should not henceforth yield its fruit of its own accord, but when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the sharp pains of bringing forth children, because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her. He also deprived the serpent of speech, and inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him that way. And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to drag himself upon the ground. And, when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

## CHAP. II.

### *Concerning the Posterity of Adam, and the Ten Generations from him to the Deluge.*

Adam and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named Cain, which name, when it is interpreted,

signifies *a possession*; the younger was Abel, which signifies *sorrow*. They had also daughters. Now, the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness, and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue, and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon obtaining riches, and he was the first who contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following: they had resolved to sacrifice to God, and Cain brought the fruits of the earth and of his husbandry, while Abel brought milk and the first fruits of his flock. God was more delighted with the latter oblation than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, got by forcing the ground, and Cain became angry that Abel was preferred by God before him, and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, appeared to Cain and asked him, What was become of his brother, as he had not seen him for many days, whereas he had used to observe them conversing together at other times? The murderer was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he himself was at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was pressed vehemently by God, he replied, "He was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did." But, in return, God convicted him of being the murderer of his brother, and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment of death upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him, but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation: he also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid, that in wandering about he should fall among wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over the whole earth, without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

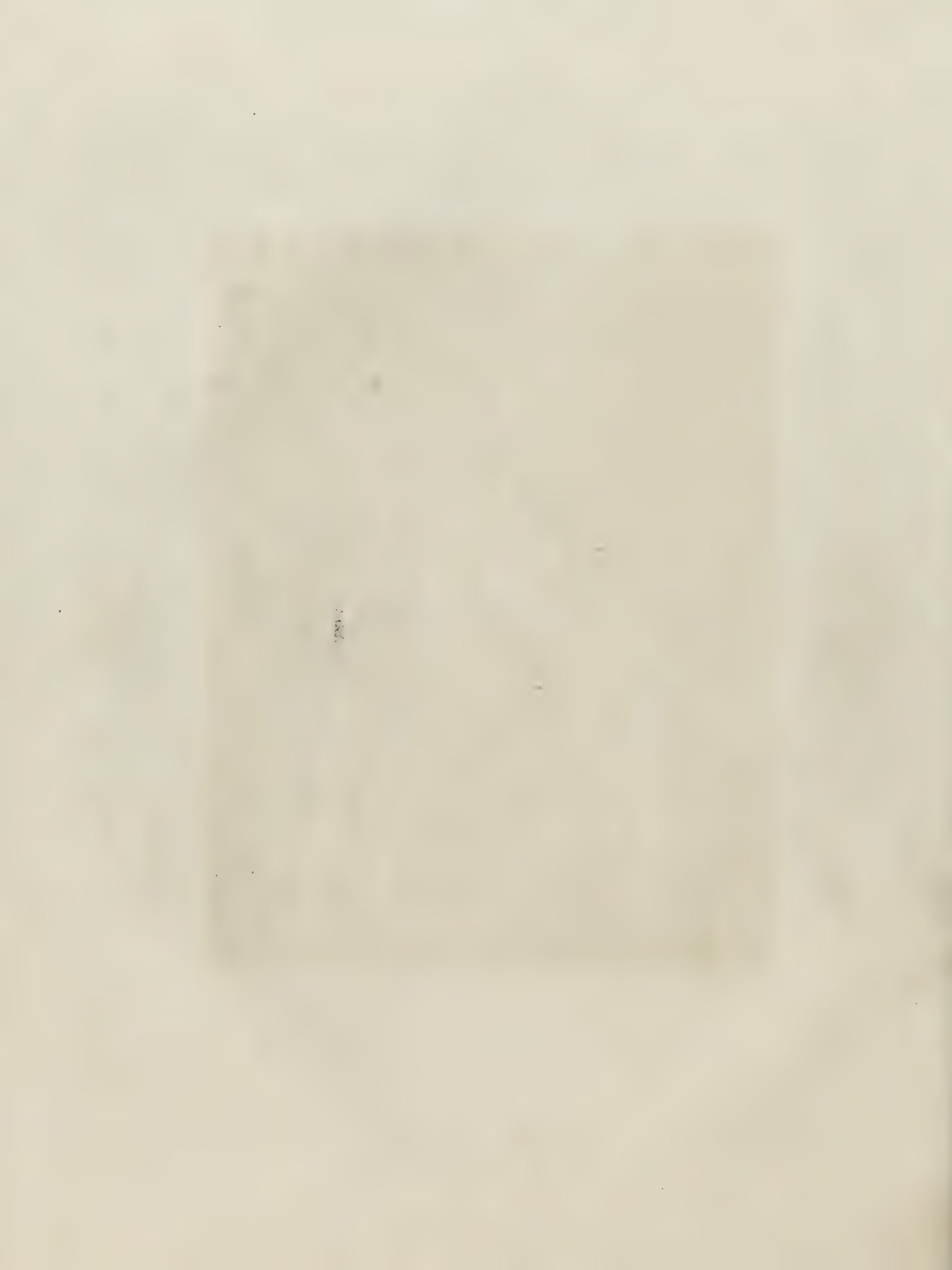
And when Cain had travelled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city named *Nod*, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure everything that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasures and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before, and was the author of measures and weights: and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries





THE DEPARTURE OF CAIN.









THE LIBERTY













THE A.B.S.



about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city *Enoch*, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaleel; whose son was Methusela; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabel: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music, and invented the psaltery and harp.\* But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to pleasures of the body by that method, and first of all invented brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives; nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceedingly wicked, every one successively dying, one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behaviour, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, after Abel was slain and Cain fled away, on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavour to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, he became a virtuous man, and, as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom, which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And, that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone; they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in Siriad to this day.

\* From this Jubal not improbably came *Jobel*, the trumpet of *Jobel* or *Jubilee*, that large and loud musical instrument, used in proclaiming the liberty at the year of Jubilee.

### CHAP. III.

*Concerning the Flood, and after what manner Noah was saved in an Ark, with his Kindred, and afterwards dwelt in the Plain of Shinar.*

Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men; but for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call *giants*. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their actions for the better: but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

Now God loved this man for his righteousness; yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only, he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed. But Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape:—That he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives, and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned, or overborne by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose father was Methusela; he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cain, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government, (age,) in the second month, called by the Macedonians *Dius*, but by the Hebrews *Marshesvan*; for so did they order the year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that *Nisan*, which is the same with



*Xanthicus*, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says, That this flood began on the twenty-seventh (seventeenth) day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six (one thousand five hundred and fifty-six years) from Adam the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books; those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

For, indeed, Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enoch in his two hundred and fifth year, who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had at his hundred and ninetyeth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was at his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Methusela, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah his son to be the ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years, collected together, make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives along, together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there were no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days, that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this, the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it, and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth

were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still overflowed, returned to Noah again; and after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground, which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So, after he had stayed seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark, and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place *Apobaterion*, "the place of descent;"\* for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are showed there by the inhabitants to this day.

Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark, among whom is Berosus the Chaldean. For when he was describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus:—"It is said, there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyæans, and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets, for the averting of mischief." Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phenician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them; where he speaks thus:—"There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called *Baris*, upon which, it is reported, that many who fled at the time of the deluge were saved; and that one, who was carried in an ark, came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved: this might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its formerly orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge; while they must be afflicted with the terror and sight of the first deluge,

\* This is the proper rendering of the Armenian name of this very city. It is called, in Ptolemy, *Naxuana*; and by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, *Idsheuan*; but, at the place itself, *Nachidsheuan*, which signifies "the first place of descent," and is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the ark, upon the top of that mountain, at whose foot it was built, as the first city or town after the flood. Moses Chorenensis also says that another town was related by tradition to have been called *Seron*, or the place of dispersion, on account of the dispersion of *Xisuthrus*\* or Noah's sons from thence first made. Whether any remains of this ark be still preserved, as the people of the country suppose, I cannot certainly tell. Mons. Tournefort had, not very long since, a mind to see the place himself, but met with too great difficulties and dangers to venture through them.











and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant, that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood, but might attain to the like length of days, and old age which the ancient people had arrived at before.

When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers, and said, That it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world, if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; but the injuries, said he, they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall at any time send tempests of rain in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder, and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you: for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is life. But I will give you a sign, that I have left off my anger, by my *bow*, (whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the *rainbow* was the *bow* of God.) And when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one, upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think, that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and (lately) made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years; and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling (the periods of the stars) unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barba-

ians: for even Menetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean monuments, and Mochus, and Hestæus, and besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phenician history, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecataeus, and Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate, that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Concerning the Tower of Babylon, and the Confusion of Tongues.*

Now the sons of Noah were three; Shem, Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loath to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt, was called *Shinar*. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill-instructed, that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible by experience of what sin they had been guilty: for when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay they added to this their disobedience to the divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that being divided asunder they might the more easily be oppressed.

Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence on his power. He also said, "he would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again, for that he would build a tower too high for the water to be able to reach; and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers."

Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree



negligent about the work ; and, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect ; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than it was. It was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar made of *bitumen*, that it might not be liable to admit the water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages, and causing, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower, is now called *Babylon*, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before ; for the Hebrews mean by the word *Babel*, *confusion*. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus : " When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind, and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his own peculiar language ; and for this reason it was that the city was called *Babylon*." But as to the plain of Shinar, in the country of Babylon, Hestius mentions it, when he says thus : " Such of the priests as were saved, took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalios, and came to Shinar, of Babylonia."

#### CHAP. V.

*After what manner the Posterity of Noah sent out Colonies, and inhabited the whole Earth.*

AFTER this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies everywhere ; and each colony took possession of that land which they lighted upon, and into which God led them, so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands, and some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders ; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations : for when, in after ages, they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity ; giving names to the nations that sounded well, (in Greek,) that they might be better understood among themselves ; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from them-

#### CHAP. VI.

*How every Nation was denominated from their first Inhabitants.*

Now they were the grandchildren of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons. They inhabited so, that beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz ; and settling themselves on the lands they lighted upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now called *Galatians* (Gauls) but were then called *Gomerites*. Magog founded those that from him were named *Magogites*, but who are by the Greeks called *Scythians*. Now as to Javan and Medai, the sons of Japhet : from Madai came the Madeans, which are called *Medes* by the Greeks ; but from Javan, Jonia, and all the Grecians, are derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, which are now called *Iberes* ; and the Moscheni were founded by Mosoch ; now they are Cappadocians. There is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be shown ; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over, *Thiracians* ; but the Greeks changed the name into *Thracians*. And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanaz founded the Aschanasians, who are now called by the Greeks *Rheginians*. So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called *Paphlagonians* ; and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named *Phrygians*. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects ; they are now the *Æolians*. Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia of old called ; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city which they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the *Tau*, being by change put for the *Theta*. Cethimas possessed the island Cethima ; it is now called *Cyprus* ; and from that it is, that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts are named Cethim by the Hebrews ; and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination ; it is called *Citius*, by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grandchildren of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted ; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers ; for our own country language does not so pronounce them ; but the names in all cases are of one and the same ending ; for the name we here pronounce *Noeas*, is there *Noah*, and in every case retains the same termination.

The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria



and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus; seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered; yet a few there are which have kept their denominations entire: for of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves, and by all men in Asia, called Chusites. The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit the country of Judea, call Egypt Mestre, and the Egyptians Mestrians. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants Phutites, from himself. There is also a river in the country of the Moors, which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river, and the adjoining country, by the appellation of Phut. But the name it has now, has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mestram, who was called Lybyos. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called Judea, and called it from his own name Canaan. The children of these four were these; Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called Getuli; Sabathes founded the Sabathens; they are now called by the Greeks, Astaborans; Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans: and he had two sons, the one of which, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas to the Sabeans: but Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesram, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the Philistim, for the Greeks call part of that country Palestine. As for the rest, Ludim, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself, Nedim and Phethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopic war,\* which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these; Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks Sidon: Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called Amathe by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it Epiphania, from one of his posterity: Arudeus possessed the island Aradus: Arucas possessed Arce, which is in Libanus. But for the seven others, (Eueus,) Chetteus, Jebuseus, Amorreus; Gergesus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for

\* One observation ought not to be here neglected, with regard to that Ethiopic war, which Moses, as general of the Egyptians, put an end to, Antiq. b. ii. ch. x. and about which our late writers seem very much unconcerned; viz. that it was a war of that consequence, as to occasion the removal or destruction of six or seven nations of the posterity of Mizraim, with their cities. Which Josephus would not have said, if he had not had ancient records to justify those assertions, though those records be all now lost

the Hebrews overthrew their cities, and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

Noah, when, after the deluge, the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity: and when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve, and named his subjects Assyrians, who became the most fortunate nation, beyond others. Arphaxad named the Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldeans. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks call Syrians; as Laud founded the Laudites, which are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus; this country lies between Palestine and Celosyria. Ul founded Armenia, and Gather the Bactrians, and Messa the Mesaneans; it is now called Charax Spasini. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews.† Heber begat Joctan and Phaleg, and the descendants of Joctan inhabited from Copen an India river, and in part of Aria adjoining to it. This shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor: his son was Terah, who was the father of Abram, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge. Nahor begat Haran, when he was one hundred and twenty years old: Nahor was born to Serug at his hundred and thirty-second year: Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phaleg had Ragau: Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year: he himself being begotten by Sala, when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the

† That the Jews were called Hebrews, from this their progenitor Heber, our author Josephus here rightly affirms; and not from Abram the Hebrew, or Passenger over Euphrates, as many of the moderns suppose. Shem is also called the father of all the children of Heber, or of all the Hebrews, in a history long before Abram passed over Euphrates, Gen. x. 21. though it must be confessed, that, Gen. xiv. 13. where the original says, they told Abram the Hebrew, the Septuagint renders it the Passenger, but this is spoken only of Abram himself, who had then lately passed over Euphrates, and is another signification of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative, and not as a proper name



deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran; of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters; and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans, called Ur; and his monument is shown to this day. These married their nieces. Nahor married Milcha, and Abraham married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the live of man was already, by degrees, diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years: God determining it to be the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha; Uz, and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Asau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and Maaca, were born of Reuma, his concubine; but Bethuel had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

#### CHAP. VII.

*How Abram our Forefather went out of the Land of the Chaldeans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, but now Judea.*

ABRAM, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother, and he left the land of Chaldea, when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity; he was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and having higher notions of virtue than others had, he determined to renew and to change the opinion men held at that time concerning God. He was the first that ventured to publish the notion that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe; and that, as to other gods, if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This opinion he derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus: "If," said he, "these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain that, so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and our thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan: and when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

Berosus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus:—"In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous and great, and skilful in the celestial science." But Hecataeus does more than barely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his History, says:—"Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans: but, after a long time, he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called the land of Canaan, but now the land of Judea." Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is showed a village named from him, *The Habitation of Abram*.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*That when there was a Famine in Canaan, Abram went thence into Egypt; and after he had continued there a while, he returned back again.*

AFTER this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he went down to them, to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he pretended to be her brother; and directed her to pretend the same. Now as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would, for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. When he inquired of the priests how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him, that his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai, Who she was? and who it was that she brought along with her? And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, and made him a large present in money, and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians: from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account; Abram conferred with each of them, and confuting the reasonings they made use of





THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT















every one for their own practices, he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain and void of truth: whereupon he was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for, before Abram came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those parts of learning, for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behaviour of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave, to choose which lands he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years older than Tanais of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city of Sodom.

#### CHAP. IX.

##### *The Destruction of the Sodomites by the Assyrian War.*

AT this time, the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, and the people of Sodom, who were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches, and the number of their youth, were under the dominion of five kings, named Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela; the Assyrians made war upon them, and overcame them, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery for twelve years, but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the Assyrians, under their commanders Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal, came upon them, having laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. When the Assyrians were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the *Slimepits*, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the *Lake Asphaltites*, as it is called; however, concerning this lake, we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

#### CHAP. X.

##### *How Abram fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and saved the Sodomite Prisoners, and took from the Assyrians the Prey they had gotten.*

WHEN Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodom-

ites, his friends and neighbours; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordan; and before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated, that victory does not depend on multitude, and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called *The King's Dale*, where Melchisedec, king of the city of Salem, received him. That name signifies *the righteous king*; and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterwards called Salem *Jerusalem*. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in a hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift: but the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey; but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him. But Abram would not do so, nor make any other advantage of that prey than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted, that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called Eschol, and then Enner, and Mambre.

And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not, however, lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me? for he was hitherto childless; and God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous, insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this:—he took a heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon: and as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about as desirous of blood, a divine voice came to him, declaring, that their neighbours would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which time they should be



afflicted, but afterwards overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land and of their cities.

Now Abram dwelt near the oak called *Ogyges*; the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage, and said, that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this handmaid was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a *divine angel* met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son, who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards she bare Ishmael, which may be interpreted, *heard of God*, because God had *heard* his mother's prayer.

The forementioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old: but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be *Isaac*; and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born: the reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him, that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations: Abram, therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael, were circumcised immediately: the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

## CHAP. XI.

*How God overthrew the Nation of the Sodomites, out of his Wrath against them for their Sins.*

ABOUT this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth: they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him; they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and, besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was? And when he said, she was within, they said, they should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two for the overthrow of Sodom.

When Abram heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied, that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy those beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer anything immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust instead of the strangers; neither thus were they made ashamed.

But God was so much displeased at their impudent behaviour, that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's having informed him of the future









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destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were bethrothed\* to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I said when I wrote the Jewish War. But Lot's wife, continually turning back to view the city as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt:† for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it: it is to this day called *Zoar*, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a *small thing*. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

But his daughters thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that human kind might not utterly fail. And they bare sons; the son of the elder was named *Moab*, which denotes one derived from his father; the younger bore *Ammon*, which name denotes one derived from a kinsman. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Celo-Syria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning Abimelech; and concerning Ismael, the son of Abraham; and concerning the Arabians, who were his posterity.*

ABRAHAM now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear, for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in

love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper, which befel him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends, that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger, and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent for Abraham, and bid him not be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity: for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse; and he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said, that he had not had any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him, that his pretence of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money, and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well, called *Beersheba*, which may be interpreted, *the well of the oath*: and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named *Isaac*, which signifies *laughter*. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah *laughed* when God said that she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day: and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account with great exactness.

As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael

\* These sons-in-law to Lot, as they are called, might be so called, because they were bethrothed to Lot's daughters, though not yet married to them.

† This pillar of salt was, we see here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then, is also attested to by Clement of Rome, contemporary with Josephus; as also that 't was so in the next century, is attested by Irenæus, with the addition of an hypothesis, how it came to last so long, with all its members entire. Whether the account that some modern travellers give be true, that it is still standing, I do not know. Its remote situation, at the most southern point of the sea of Sodom, in the wild and dangerous desarts of Arabia, makes it exceeding difficult for inquisitive travellers to examine the place: and for common reports of country people, at a distance, they are not very satisfactory. In the mean time, I have no opinion of Le Clerc's dissertation or hypothesis about this question, which can only be determined by eye-witnesses. When Christian princes, so called, lay aside their foolish and unchristian wars and quarrels, and send a body of fit persons to travel over the East, and bring us faithful accounts of all ancient monuments, and procure us copies of all ancient records, at present lost amongst us, we may hope for full satisfaction in such inquiries, but hardly before.



should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and liable to do him injuries, when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity, to send away a young child and a woman, unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined; so he delivered Ismael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself, and commanded her to take a bottle of water and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fir-tree, and went on farther, that so he might die while she was absent. But a *divine angel* came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care and bring up the child, because she should be very happy in the preservation of Ismael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

When the lad was grown up he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ismael twelve sons, Nabaioth, Keder, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Masaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cadmus. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

### CHAP. XIII.

#### *Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham.*

Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his *only begotten*, and given to him at the borders of old age by the favour of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him and "numerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said, that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation." Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him a burnt-offering upon it for that this would best

manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God, before the preservation of his own son.

Now Abraham thought it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which king David afterwards built the temple. Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father, "what he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation;" to which it was answered, "that God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation."

As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support, for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor anything wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor of my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God, who has thought fit now to require this testimony of honour to himself, on account of the favours he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly, thou, my son, wilt not die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the Father of all men, beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, neither by disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe ways, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succourer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my comforter instead of thyself."

























REBECCAH AT THE WELL.



Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition, as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse, and said, "that he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God, and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures, since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done, if God had not opposed it: for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, "it was not out of a desire for human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since therefore he now was satisfied as to that his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another: and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

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#### CHAP. XIV.

*Concerning Sarah, Abraham's Wife, and how she ended her days.*

Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying place: which piece of ground Abraham bought, for four hundred shekels, of Ephron an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

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#### CHAP. XV.

*How the Nation of the Troglodytes were derived from Abraham by Keturah.*

ABRAHAM after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josobak, and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were, Sabathan, and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were,

Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were, Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ebidas, and Eldas. Now for all these sons and grandsons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytes, and the country of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it from his name Africa. And, indeed, Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say, who speaks thus:—"Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement with the History of Moses their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah; nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated, and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules when he fought against Libya and Antæus; and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and of her he begat a son Diodorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom the barbarous people called Sophacians were denominated."

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#### CHAP. XVI.

*How Isaac took Rebeka to Wife.*

Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the eldest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given after the manner following: They put each other's hands under each other's thighs; then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there, as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never were seen in that country. This servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious travelling, both in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran. And when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated; and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink. But while the others refused, on pretence that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only



of the company rebuked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger; and said, what is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked, who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and mayest thou be espoused, said he, to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, call me Rebeka; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead, and Laban is my brother, and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets, and some other ornaments, which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed father. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said, he desired to trust them to none more safely, than to such as she had shewed herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her, for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money, for that he should have all on free cost. But she said, she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them, and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours, for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but out of regard to his own relations, he desired to match him here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other accidents fell out in

my journey, and that thereby I lighted upon your daughter, and your house: for when I was near to the city I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him: for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *Concerning the Death of Abraham.*

A little while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred and seventy and five years, and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ismael.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob. Of their Nativity and Education.*

Now Isaac's wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham;\* and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, that Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons, and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy: but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews called such an hairy roughness (Esau, or) Seir; but Jacob the younger was best loved by his mother.

When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw

\* The birth of Jacob and Esau is here said to be after Abraham's death; it should have been after Sarah's death. The order of the narration in Genesis, not always exactly according to the order of time, seems to have led Josephus into this error, as Dr. Bernard observes here.





THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST













DAVE BLESSING SCENE



that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called the Valley, not far from Gerar: and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him, so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired; thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length the king gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well Rehoboth, which denotes a *large space*; but of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes *strife*, the other Sitenna, which name signifies *enmity*.

It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech, thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring, shewing a secret enmity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac did not secure him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had showed to himself and his father, to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholihamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God (by sacrifice),\* he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he

had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper, that after this he might make supplication to God, to be to him a supporter, and an assister during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by his prayers for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But Rebeka, thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was ready, he took a goat's skin and put it about his arm, that, by reason of its hairy roughness, he might, by his father, be believed to be Esau: for they, being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of fear, that, before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac, perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave his hand, which was covered with a goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So, suspecting no deceit, he ate the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it wast thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have, and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I more earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him, and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honourable and beloved among his friends."

Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, "that he should excel in hunting, and strength of body; in arms and in all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

Now the mother delivered Jacob, when he was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau

\* The supper of savoury meat, as we call it, Gen. xxvii. 4. to be caught by hunting, was intended plainly for a festival or sacrifice; and upon the prayers that were frequent at sacrifices, Isaac expected, as was then usual in such eminent cases, that a divine impulse would come upon him, in order to the solemn blessing of his son there present, and his foretelling his future behaviour and fortune. Whence it must be, that when Isaac had unwittingly blessed Jacob, and was afterward made sensible of his mistake, yet he did not attempt to alter it, how earnestly soever his affection for Esau might incline him to wish it might be altered, because he knew that this blessing came not from himself, but from God, and that an alteration was out of his power. A second afflatus then came upon him, and enabled him to foretel Esau's future behaviour and fortune also.



having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ismael, without his father's consent, for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and, indeed, he had a great affection for her.

#### CHAP. XIX.

##### *Concerning Jacob's Flight into Mesopotamia, by reason of the fear he was in of his Brother.*

Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry her brother Laban's daughter, (which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife :) and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him: he seemed to see a ladder, that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending down the ladder, that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who, calling him by his name, spake to him in these words:

"O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father a happy man, nor will I bestow a less degree of happiness on thyself: be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on in this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitudes shall be innumerable; and they shalt leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them; but do thou not fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob: whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard, and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifice upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, *the house of God*.

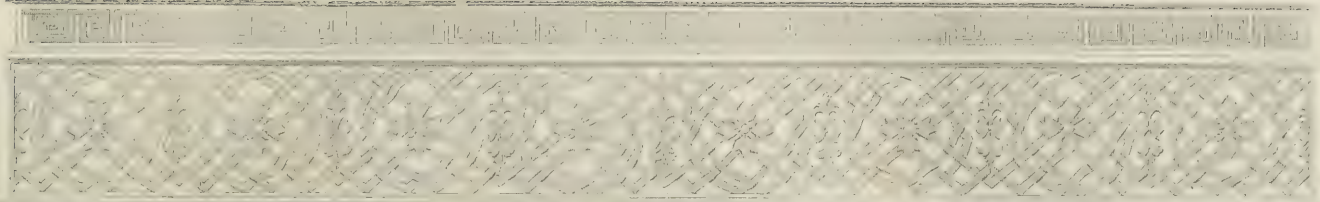
So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia and

at length came to Haran, and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he asked them, whether they knew such a one as Laban, and whether he was still alive? Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means he might learn more exactly whatever he desired to know about that family. While they were saying this, the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her, that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and whence he came to them? and what it was he lacked that he came thither? She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

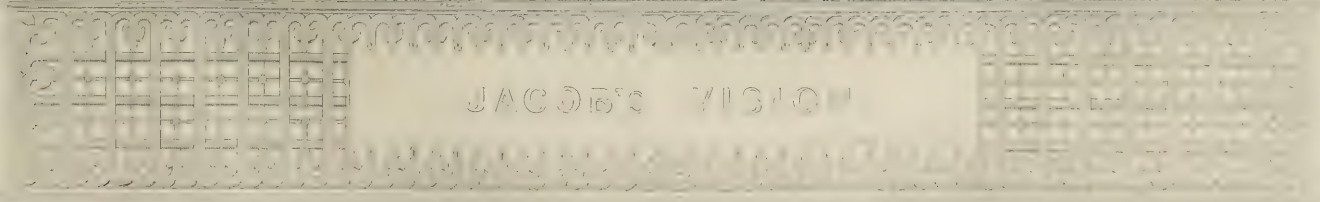
But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my births, if thou be the daughter of Laban, for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of wham, Nahor, Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore and thou are cousin-germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said, "that he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and, being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself, as being among his friends, and he brought a good deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while afterward, Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and, that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his jour-





JACOB'S VISION

















ney, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and, that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do; for we are all (says he) brethren one to another, but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him, he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and, when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said, he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said, he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said, he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already, by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve the father-in-law, that, having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And, Jacob accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast; and, when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both older than Rachel, and of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, as both being in drink, and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overcome by another greater necessity: that, notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but, that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and, when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

Now, each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was handmaid to Lea, and Bilha to Rachel, by no means slaves; but, however, subject to

their mistresses. Now, Lea was sorely troubled at her husband's love to her sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children; so she entreated God perpetually; and, when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had *mercy* upon her, in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time, she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had *hearkened* to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the *confirmer* of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes *thanksgiving*. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: one may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, *a divine judgment*. And after him Nephthalim, as it were *unconquerable in stratagem*, since Rachel tried to *conquer* the fruitfulness of her sister by this *stratagem*. Accordingly, Lea took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob, therefore, had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted, *fortune*; and, after him Asher, which may be called a *happy man*, because he added glory to Lea. Now, Reubel, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them: but, when she refused, and bid her be content, that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said, she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Lea, by the favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons, Issachar, denoting one born by *hire*; and Zabulon, one born as a *pledge* of benevolence towards her; and a daughter, Dina. After some time, Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another *added* to him.

Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made trial, therefore, of the dispositions of his wives, what they thought of this journey. When they appeared glad and approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws, they used to worship in their own country, and ran away together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand. But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of these gods, was this, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order to obtain his pardon.

But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted



with Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then, indeed, he did not meddle with them, for it was evendide; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture anything rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he despised their small number, and attacked them in a hostile manner, he would himself assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what dream he had; in dependence whereon he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had; "For, said he, I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me would be greater than before; but thou hast no regard to either thy own mother's relation to me, nor to those children, of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle, and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images, which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured with the like worship which they paid them, by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou art my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and wast hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence: "That he was not the only person in whom God implanted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men, and that therefore it was but reasonable, that, after so long a time, he should go back to it. But as to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbitrator, thou wouldst be found in the wrong; for, instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me, because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow, therefore, not so properly myself as their own children." And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That indeed, which was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he

desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes what was of a white colour, and sometimes what should be of a black colour; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him; but said he would give them to him the next year, because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but, when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

But then, as to the sacred images, he bid him search for them; and, when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up: so Laban left off searching any farther, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league; and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains, whereupon they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar: whence that hill is called Gilead; and from thence they call that land the land of Gilead at this day. Now when they had feasted after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

## CHAP. XX.

### *Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.*

Now, as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named the Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers to give him an exact account of everything, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent, to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives, and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands: and should think it his greatest happiness to partake together with his brother of what God had bestowed upon him." So those messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid: however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies, if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his



company into parts : some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so, if the first were overpowered, when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent, went at certain intervals of space asunder, that by following thick one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company ; and, as they were gone over a certain river called Jabboc, Jacob was left behind ; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle : but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome a divine angel, and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him ; and that his offspring should never fail, and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with the divine angel.\* These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob ; for, when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared ; but Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place Phœnuel, which signifies, the face of God. Now, when he felt pain, by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself, afterward ; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men, as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him ; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women ; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father ; but, Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place Roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

\* Perhaps this may be the proper meaning of the word Israel, by the present and old Jerusalem analogy of the Hebrew tongue. In the mean time, it is certain that the Hellenists of the first century in Egypt, and elsewhere, interpreted Israel to be a man seeing God, is evident from the argument forecited.

## CHAP. XXI.

### *Concerning the Violation of Dina's Chastity*

HEREUPON Jacob came to the place, till this day called Tents, (Succoth) from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now, as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence ; and being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor ; and desired them to give their advice, what they should do. Upon this, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel, by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following : it being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch, when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males ; as also the king, and his son, with them ; but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of his act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage ; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was, therefore, purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban, (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel,) and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream when he went first into Mesopotamia.

And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrāta, he there buried Rachel, who died in childbed : she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for a great while he called the son that was born of her, Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Leah, and two of Rachel ; and four were of the handmaids, two of each ; all of whose names have been set down already.



## CHAP. XXII.

*How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.*

FROM thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and so they lived together for a little while; for, as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also

died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them, from their forefathers. Now, Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father; and lived to be exceedingly old: for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

## BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ISAAC TO THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT.

## CHAP. I.

*How Esau and Jacob, the Sons of Isaac, divided their Habitation; and Esau possessed Idumea, and Jacob Canaan.*

AFTER the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before: but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adom; which appellation he got on the following occasion: One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry, (it was when he was a child in age,) he lighted on his brother, when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red colour; on which account, he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: but he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birth-right, and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his cotemporaries called Adom, for the Hebrews call what is red Adom; and this was the name given to this country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Alibama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemmath: and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons, Theman, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which was called Gebalitis, and that denominated

from Amalek, Amelekitis; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

## CHAP. II.

*How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's Sons, was envied by his Brethren, when certain Dreams had foreshown his future Happiness.*

It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person has arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for labouring with their hands and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be at first view, the most sorrowful conditions; and to make him the cause of our forefathers' departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. The affection of his father excited the envy and hatred of his brethren; as did also the dreams which he saw, and related to his father, and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these:

When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brethren, to gather the



fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the accustomed appearances that come when we are asleep, which, when he got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, "He saw, the last night, that his wheat sheaf stood still in the place where he had set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters." But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, and desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream: for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things; and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither: whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons' condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

### CHAP. III.

*How Joseph was thus sold by his Brethren into Egypt, by reason of their Hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his Brethren under his Power.*

Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them; but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother, by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the mother also be in perplexity, while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was everywhere present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is there also. He told them farther, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience, or whether it be such a one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this, besides, to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity; an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations; for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon



Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe, that the anger of God would, for this cause, be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for: and while, by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

Reubel said these and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about in the manner of taking Joseph off; for, as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it, so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not, however, be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed: so Reubel took the lad, and tied him with a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding their flocks.

But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ismael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on: so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty pounds. He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel, coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when upon his calling to him he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren, but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

When Joseph's brethren had done this to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and dip it into goat's blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge: then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody, and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if

that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that his coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also, clothed in sackcloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Concerning the signal Chastity of Joseph.*

Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of the beauty of his body, and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she could easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed: so she made known her naughty inclinations, and spoke to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honours. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion, and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding: and he said, that as to himself, he would endure anything whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph's, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.



When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity, she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might entreat Joseph again: which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words than before, and said, that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, by which she was forced, though she were his mistress, to condescend beneath her dignity: but that he might now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were, that he expected the repetition of her solicitations, she had now made it, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest; she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least, by fraud, to impose upon him; and assured him, that, if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had, and, if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages, but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure; because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband, that he attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing; and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment, rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards; would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in, lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known (would there be any quiet for them;) but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger. And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better, while she persisted in her chastity, than when

they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to depend on a good life, well acted and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason: but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter, and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her and leaped out of the chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her; so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily, that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her, and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph, and "O husband," said she, "mayest thou not live a day longer, if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who has desired to defile thy bed; who has neither minded who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty, nor has he been mindful of what favours he had received from thy bounty, (as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he, in every respect, carry himself in a manner agreeable to us:) this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus, when she had ended her discourse, she showed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactor's prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.



## CHAP. V.

*What things befel Joseph in Prison.*

Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defence, nor to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the boads and the distress he was in; firmly believing, that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishment upon him; a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison, taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him: he also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now, his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers; and to inquire one of another what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison. Among them the king's cupbearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds at the king's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him, and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that, if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold. Who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again: for he let him know, that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it; know therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress, within the same number of days, as the branches had whence thou gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee, when thou hast found it true by experience: and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us, when thou art gone to the place we have fore-

told: for we are not in prison for any crime, but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure. The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus showed him beforehand.

But another servant there was of the king, who had been chief baker; and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also: so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow:—Methought, says he, I carried three baskets upon my head, two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweatmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him: but he told him that he had only three days in all to live, for that the (three) baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now, both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him:—Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions, and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in: so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day, and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph: that Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendour. If therefore thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortune thou wilt learn what



thy dreams signify. So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence, and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

But the king took him by the hand, and, "O young man," says he, "for my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skilful person I can consult with, vouchsafe me the same favours which thou bestowedst on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshew; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me, that as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat, and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine of the same number like them met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favoured, which eat up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision I waked out of my sleep, and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meagre and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

To which Joseph replied; "This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the fat kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the worse kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretel a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth, for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill-favoured kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshows what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may, by prudence, make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops, in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this his advice:—To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity, against the time

of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as will be sufficient for their food. Accordingly, Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he, who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed, and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Joseph, when he was become famous in Egypt, had his Brethren in Subjection.*

JOSEPH was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him Psotom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom, for that name denotes 'the revealer of secrets.' He also married a wife of very high quality, for he married the daughter of Petephres, one of the priests of Heliopolis; she was a virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on, Manasseh, the elder, which signifies 'forgetful,' because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies 'restored,' because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the whole multitudes of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine, and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn, for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid the king himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now



when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him, for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them; besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared, suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and only pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were, such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet, not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph, and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defence by Reubel, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn in order to preserve all that want it; but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is Jacob, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse, for our father could not forbear to make a long lamentation for him, and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now therefore come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayest learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

And thus did Reubel endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, Since you constantly affirm, that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and

the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when you have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you, this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me. Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph, and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon, in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did what he was commanded to do.

Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said: and they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done; and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him, and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do; nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more,—the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced him, Jacob did not still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper upon other occa-



sons spake his mind very freely to him : "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did, for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass though he were at home with him : that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction ; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest, by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust to God for him ; and said, he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled : he also sent presents to Joseph, of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam, and resin, as also turpentine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey ; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day ; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and stayed behind ; but they went on their way to Egypt, endeavouring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

As soon as they came into Egypt they were brought down to Joseph : but here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward ; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said, he did not know what they meant. So they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren : at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents : and upon his putting the question to them, about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon this discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked, Whether this was their younger brother ? for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was : he replied that, the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks ; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup, out of which he loved himself to drink. Which things he did in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having

stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger ; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy ; both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception ? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him ; and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, and not regarding their friendship with Joseph ; no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened, that they should be punished ; for, though they had escaped the knowledge of him, who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God ; nor had gone off with what they had stolen ; and after all, asked, why he came upon them, as if they knew nothing of the matter : and he told them, that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them : but they being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said ; and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing, so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all ; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made ; but they said, the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search ; and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy ; so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured that he would also be found innocent ; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the meanwhile, have proceeded a good way on their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him ; and all was changed



into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft, and for the delusion they had put on their father, when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had got off clear: but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

The horsemen then took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said, "How came you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such an hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin: and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said farther, they were the plague of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubel also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said, they had been guilty of no offence, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment, for he said, it was not a fit thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consternation, and were able to say nothing on this sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserve punishment: even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest also: but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of a low character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, Sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on

us, but before when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family, as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Now is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessities, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other, and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose, that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself; and mayest be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offences against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offences, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offences, to restrain a man's passion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, at the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any farther than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedst: but now, (for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life,) have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives, which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now we are absent, he is afflicted with care for us. But if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immature death: and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him, nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's



sake: and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honour him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination; thou wilt then, by that denomination be preserved of God, the Father of all, by showing a regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon the consideration how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons. It is thy part therefore to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity; for it is good to use that power, which can neither give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power, and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life. And so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partners of his crime; for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to die rather as equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. that our brother committed this fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct, and that men naturally forgive such young persons. I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If therefore thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labour for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou seest, am better prepared for either of those sufferings." So Judas being very willing to undergo anything whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly laboured to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him weeping, and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded

all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone. And when the rest had gone out he made himself known to his brethren, and said, "I commend you for your virtue and your kindness to our brother; I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contrived about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature, in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and if we continue in a favourable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since therefore I know that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that your wickedness, and do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offences. Do not therefore let your evil intentions when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go therefore your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring therefore with you our father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitation hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow. But the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him. And they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune; and gave them waggons full of corn, and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother, part to be conveyed to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Removal of Joseph's Father, with all his Family, to him, on account of the Famine.*

As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which he lived all along in



mourning, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs; he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted; so he immediately and zealously set upon his journey to him.

When he came to the well of the oath, (Beersheba,) he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear withal, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

But God stood by him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked, who he was? God said, "No, sure, it is not just that thou Jacob shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has ever been a protector and a helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee: and by my kindness it was, that when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretel to thee that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them." Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and all belonging to them, being seventy in number.

When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heliopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had, yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same. Who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father: as also hereby he provided, that they

might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians are prohibited to meddle with the feeding of sheep.\*

When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was? upon whose answer, that he was an hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle, and their slaves, and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly afforded to the king; excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means.† But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own possession; and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king when it was his own restored to them.‡ These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their latter kings.

\* The reason assigned by historians for this prohibition is said to be, that some tribes called Hycasses, or shepherd kings, whose chief employment, like the Bedouins Arabs at the present day, was keeping flocks, invaded Egypt, which they conquered and ruled with tyranny for more than 200 years.

† This remarkable famine, which led the Israelites into Egypt, extended even to China. In the annals of that empire it is recorded that it lasted seven years. A celebrated Greek historian says that this dearth went over the whole world, Egypt alone excepted.

‡ Josephus supposes that Joseph now restored the Egyptians their lands upon the payment of a fifth part as tribute. It seems to me rather that the land was now considered as Pharaoh's land, and this fifth part as its rent, to be paid to him, as their landlord, and that the lands were not restored, and tribute paid, till the days of Sesostris.



## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.*

Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons: but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph;\* how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage: nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed upon men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them: concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request, that he might be buried in Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full an hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recompence for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at a great expense. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him, since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him: so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

Joseph also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years: having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men after some time carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron; but as for the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be showed hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

\* As to this encomium upon Joseph, as preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own family, and to be admitted for two tribes, which Josephus here mentions, all our copies of Genesis omit it, chap. xlviii. nor do we know whence he took it, or whether it be not his own embellishment only.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the afflictions that befel the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years.*

Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity: for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having in length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids, and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites end under them.

While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes,\* who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that according to this man's opinion he commanded that they should cast every male child, who was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it; that besides this, the Egyptian midwives† should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by

\* Dr. Bernard informs us here, that instead of this single priest or prophet of the Egyptians, without a name in Josephus, the Targum of Jonathan names the two famous antagonists of Moses, Jannes and Jambres. Nor is it at all unlikely, that it might be one of these who foreboded so much misery to the Egyptians, and so much happiness to the Israelites, from the rearing of Moses.

† Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians and not Israelites, which is very probable, it being not easily to be supposed that Pharaoh could trust the Israelitish midwives to execute so barbarous a command against their own nation. And indeed Josephus seems to have had completer copies of the Pentateuch or other authentic records now lost, about the birth and actions of Moses, than either our Hebrew, Samaritan, or Greek Bibles afford us, which enabled him to be so large and particular about him.



reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to spare their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end, for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following.

A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter; and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few, to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Ishmael and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Keturah, Troglodytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six thousand. Know therefore that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and

this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All which shall be the effect of my favour to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling into the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him; which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child so privately to be nourished, and himself, would be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would somehow for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too straitened:\* they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank overagainst him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried, where God demonstrated, that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases: that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavours about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are, in a surprising manner, preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities, those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And indeed such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some who

\* This ark was probably of the form of one of those boats, with which the river was always covered, and made like them of "bulrushes" or flags of the papyrus, of which the Egyptians made their paper, and which grew particularly on the banks of the Nile. This papyrus was strong enough to hold out the water, and smooth enough to receive the "slime and pitch" with which it was smeared; and by its lightness fittest to swim with the child's weight. The vessels of bulrushes, mentioned both in sacred and profane history, were no other than larger fabrics made of the papyrus in the same manner as this ark of Moses.





THE VIRGIN OF MILITARY LIFE







could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty: for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions on account of the dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child, and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it; but still if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so it was, that at the queen's desire the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name 'Moses' upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river, for the Egyptians call the 'water' by the name of 'Mo,' and such as are 'saved out of it,' by the name of 'Uses;' so by putting these two words together, they imposed the name upon him. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation.—For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses' understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite, as when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about and stood still a great while to look on him, for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time she had carried

Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her father's successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him close to his breast: and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and trod upon it with his feet, which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, (he was the same person who foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of this kingdom low,) he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was therefore educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because if Moses had been slain, there was no one, neither akin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

## CHAP. X.

### *How Moses made War with the Ethiopians.*

MOSES therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed, that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this:—The Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves; whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not



subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities were able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies, and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of their army.\* Upon which when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to him. She withal reproached the priests, who, when they had admonished the Egyptians to kill him, were not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management, Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army before those enemies were apprised of his attacking them: for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief, Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with ibes,† and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them, and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind. But about those ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks are not themselves unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon therefore as Moses was, come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his

journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction. And at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyses afterwards named 'Meroe,' after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus and Astaborus, made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situated in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters come with the greatest violence it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle (for the enemies durst not come to a battle) this accident happened: Tharbis was the daughter of the Ethiopians: she happened to see Moses as he led the army near to the walls, and fought with great courage, and admiring the subtilty of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptian success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalency of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of her servants to discourse with him upon their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife, and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

## CHAP. XI.

### *How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian.*

Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained an hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the s

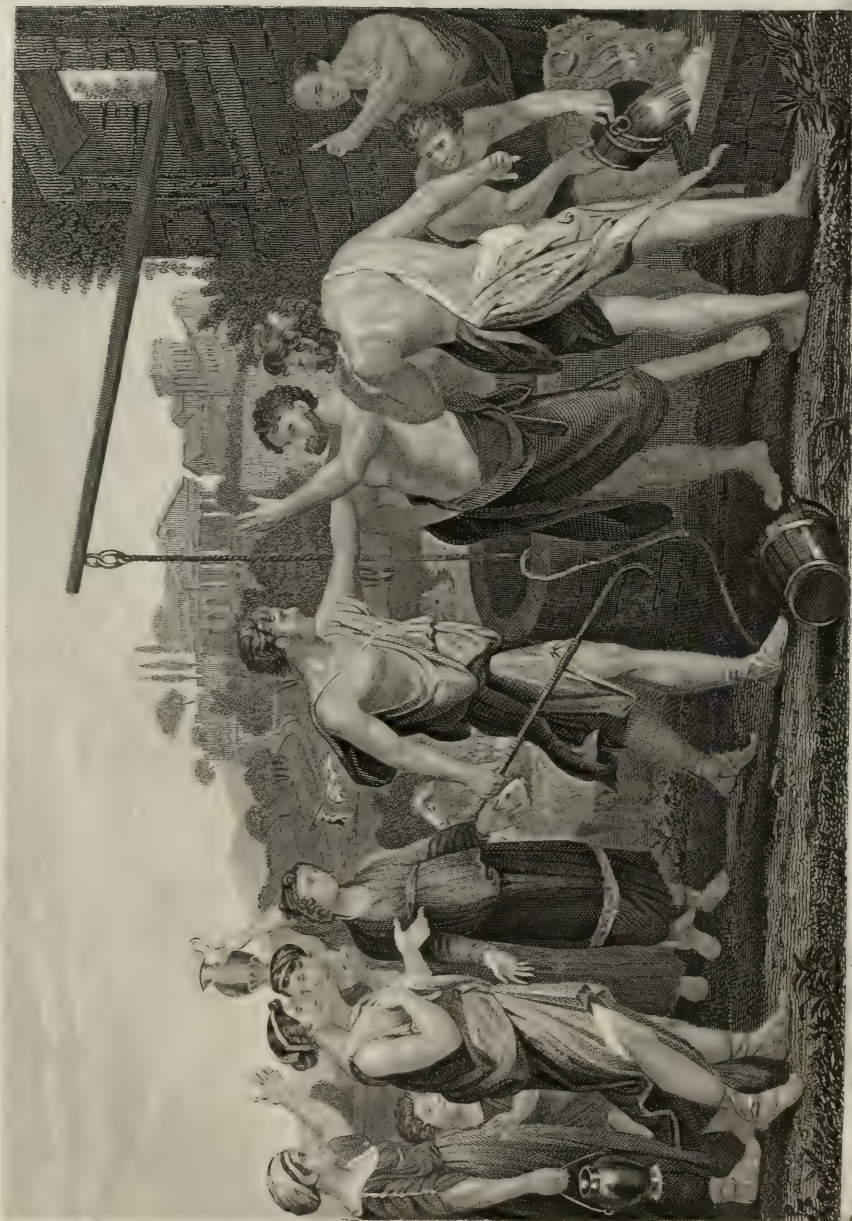
\* This history of Moses, as general of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is wholly omitted in our Bibles, but is thus cited by Ireneus, from Josephus, and that soon after his own age: "Josephus says, that when Moses was nourished in the king's palace, he was appointed general of the army against the Ethiopians, and conquered them; when he married that king's daughter: because, out of her affection for him, she delivered the city up to him."

† Pliny speaks of these birds called 'ibes,' and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents."









ISAAC BEING LED TO THE ALTAR



purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him; and being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously. And when he came to the city of Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him by the custom of the country, of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

For the country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water; and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come therefore to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour: these virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came upon the maidens and drove them away, that they might have the command of the waters themselves, Moses thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, after having received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor, and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the superintendent over his cattle, for of old all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

## CHAP. XII

*Concerning the Burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses.*

Now Moses, when he had obtained the favour of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called Sinai, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabouts, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it. And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn-bush; yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him: but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified to him how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther: and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy prudence, shalt guide them to those good things." But still he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them: or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works they put upon them."

But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds, when he was to perform wonders. He bid



him also take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it, after which it became a rod again as it was before. After this, God bid Moses put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white and in colour like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted colour again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, that thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly, I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time; and so make the slavery of the Hebrews, and their sufferings, to last the longer.

Moses having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them: he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name, and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, and when he offered sacrifice, he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more.\* Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always, when he prayed for them: of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

### CHAP. XIII.

#### *How Moses and Aaron returned into Egypt to Pharaoh.*

So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of

\* This superstitious fear of discovering the 'name with four letters' which of late we have been used falsely to pronounce 'Jehovah,' but seems to have been originally pronounced 'Jahoh,' or 'Jao,' is never, I think, heard of till this passage of Josephus; and this superstition, in not pronouncing that name, has continued among the Rabbinical Jews to this day, (though whether the Samaritans and Caraites observed it so early, does not appear.) Josephus also durst not set down the very words of the ten commandments, as we shall see hereafter, Antiq. b. iii. chap. v. which superstitious silence has yet not been discontinued even by the Rabbins. There is, however, no doubt, but both these cautious concealments were taught Josephus by the Pharisees, a body of men at once very wicked and very superstitious.

Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people: and he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of these names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue signifies, that he was in a 'strange land;' and Eleazar, that, by the 'assistance of the God of his fathers,' he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him, as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly, what things happened to him at mount Sinai, and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

But when the king derided Moses, he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him, and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks and wonders, and magical arts to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man: but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed











him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all; it then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hands again.

However, the king was no more moved, when this was done, than before; and being very angry, he said, "That he should gain nothing by his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppression than before. And though he allowed them chaff before for the making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer, but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day-time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints, but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also, not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object, to those that provoke the divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but everything is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

#### CHAP. XIV.

##### *Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians.*

BUT when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them, and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution, not to do anything that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon men. The Egyptian river ran with bloody water, at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and

they had no other spring of water neither; for the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it, great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians: but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again and would not suffer them to go.

But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians; an innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in and were destroyed by the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born, and as they died; they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they used, and were found among what they ate, and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell and stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppressions of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away, and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear, than out of any good consideration.

Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians, an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin, either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible judgment, the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sound mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return, whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews; for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if anything escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.



But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God; but while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing which yet had so generally afflicted them: for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in winter time, but larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail, so that to the Egyptians all the hopes of future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly, as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away with their wives and children, but to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent, and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said: "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are under, unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head, if he came any more about them, for that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

But when God had signified, that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people, that they should have a sacrifice ready, and that they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth, (which month is called by the Egyptians, Pharmuthi, and Nisan, by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus,) and that he should carry away the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people

into tribes, he kept them together in one place: but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival 'Pascha,' which signifies the feast of the passover, because on that day God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians: for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, which lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone; as supposing that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with gifts; some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood, and the friendship they had with them.\*

#### CHAP. XV.

##### *How the Hebrews, under the Conduct of Moses, left Egypt.*

So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste; but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called Baelzephon on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they ate of loaves kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of the unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand.

They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fif-

\* Those large presents made to the Israelites of vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, were, as Josephus truly calls them, gifts really given them, not lent them, as our English falsely renders them. They were spoils required not borrowed of them, Gen. xv. 14. Exod. iii. 22. xi. 2. Ps. cv. 37. as the same version falsely renders the Hebrew word here used, Exod. xii. 35, 36. God had ordered the Jews to demand these as their pay and reward, during their long and bitter slavery in Egypt, as atonements for the lives of the Egyptians, and as the condition of the Jews' departure, and of the Egyptians deliverance from these terrible judgments, which, had they not now ceased, they had soon been all dead men, as they themselves confess, chap. xii. 33. Nor was there any sense in borrowing or lending, when the Israelites were finally departing out of the land for ever.



teenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they were gone and indeed, that land was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them, not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude, they drove them into a narrow place, for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices and the sea;\* for there

was on each side a ridge of mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where the ridges of the mountains were closed with the sea, which army they placed at the entrance of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons, they expected an universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far, that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them, and promised them deliverance, and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves, or be slain by them. And standing in the midst of them, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter: but it is no better than madness at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed which he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean, all that I have been concerned in for your deliverance, and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the same distress, as you see we are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, by whose operation it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power, and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favours, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a protector as able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army; nor do you despair of being preserved because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying; for ever these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

\* Take the main part of Reland's excellent note here, which greatly illustrates Josephus, and the scripture, in this history, as follows: "A traveller," says Reland, "whose name was Eneman, when he returned out of Egypt, told me that he went the same way from Egypt to mount Sinai, which he supposed the Israelites of old travelled; and that he found several mountainous tracts, that ran down towards the Red Sea. He thought the Israelites had proceeded as far as the desert of Etham, Exod. xiii. 20. when they were commanded by God to return back, Exod. xiv. 2. and to pitch their camp between Migdol and the sea; and that when they were not able to fly unless by sea, they were shut in on each side by mountains. He also thought we might evidently learn hence, how it might be said that the Israelites were in Etham before they went over the sea, and yet might be said to have come into Etham after they had passed over the sea also. Besides, he gave an account how he passed over a river in a boat near the city Suez, which he says must needs be the Helio-polis of the ancients, since that city could not be situate any where else in that neighbourhood."

As to the famous passage produced here by Dr. Bernard, out of Herodotus, as the most ancient heathen testimony of the Israelites' coming from the Red Sea into Palestine, Bishop Cumberland has shewed that it belongs to the Old Canaanite or Phenician shepherds, and their retiring out of Egypt into Canaan or Phenicia, long before the days of Moses.



## CHAP. XVI.

*How the Sea was divided asunder or the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.*

WHEN Moses had said this he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on, for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of the pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said, "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy command. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us: and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest: but still the sea is thine, the mountains that inclose us are thine: so that these mountains will open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldst determine we should have that way of salvation."

When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road, and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

Now while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed, at first, that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they had gone a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armour, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side, without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them: neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for

others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which usually is sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner; and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth.\* Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness in hexameter verse.

As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books: nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who

\* What some have here objected against this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, in this one night, from the common maps, viz. that this sea being here about thirty miles broad, so great an army could not pass over it in so short a time, is a great mistake. Mons. Thevenot, an authentic eye-witness, informs us, that this sea, for about five days' journey, is no where more than about eight or nine miles over across, and in one place but four or five miles, according to De Lisle's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others.—What has been farther objected against this passage of the Israelites, and drowning of the Egyptians, being miraculous also, viz. That Moses might carry the Israelites over at a low tide, without any miracle, while yet the Egyptians, not knowing the tide so well as he, might be drowned upon the return of the tide, is a strange story indeed: as if Moses, who never had lived here, could know the quantity and time of the flux and reflux of the Red Sea, better than the Egyptians themselves in its neighbourhood! Yet does Artapanus, an ancient historian, inform us, that this was what the more ignorant Memphites, who lived at a great distance, pretended; though he confesses, that the more learned Heliopolitans, who lived much nearer, owned the destruction of the Egyptians, and the deliverance of the Israelites to have been miraculous. And De Castro, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, informs us, that there is no great flux or reflux in this part of the Red Sea, to give a colour to this hypothesis; nay, that at the elevation of the tide there is little above half the height of a man. So vain and groundless are these and the like evasions and subterfuges of our modern sceptics and unbelievers; and so certainly do thorough inquiries, and authentic evidence, disprove and confute such evasions and subterfuges upon all occasions.



yet lived comparatively a little while ago, the Pamphylian sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go; I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events let every one determine as he pleases.

On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of

the Hebrews, by the current of the sea, and the force of the wind resisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblation for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged beforehand.

### BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO YEARS.—FROM THE EXODUS OUT OF EGYPT, TO THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION.

#### CHAP. I.

*How Moses, when he had brought the People out of Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered much in their Journey.*

WHEN the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without all sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bidden them: but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called 'Marah,' which had this name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted, both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, if they travelled farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable for the cattle themselves.

When Moses saw how much the people were cast

down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them. The multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses therefore was in great difficulties, and made every body's calamity to be his own: for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but would procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do; and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked, what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better? he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water; and told them that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

And now, removing from thence, they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived



to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve; they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said, that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him: for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon the consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people: and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly, he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be overmindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles, which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that divine Providence which watched over them; seeing it is probable, that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's commands. He also put them in mind of all that had passed: how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them; and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance,

just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner: that he had still the same power: and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them: and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it came not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus, that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether they have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water on its account; or whether they love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation, for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God some succour for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation: and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly, God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude. But as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance out of their present distresses. Accordingly, a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian gulf, than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till, wearied with their laborious flight, and indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second: for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them: he tasted it, and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them, that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but come





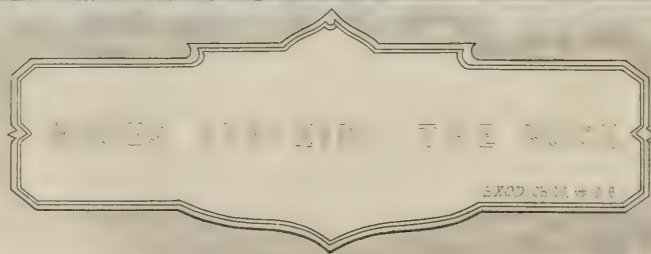














for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he had told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, but in higness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it: but they were enjoined to gather it equally, the measure of an omer for each man every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity,\* lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, they had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an omer apiece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food was this! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even now in all that place this manna comes down in rain,† according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food ‘manna,’ for the particule ‘man,’ in our language, is the asking of a question, What is this? So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain and plenty of water from a place they did not expect

\* It seems to me, from what Moses, Exod. xvi. 18. St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 15. and Josephus here says, compared together, that the quantity of manna that fell daily, and did not putrify, was just so much as came to an omer apiece through the whole host of Israel, and no more.

† This supposal, that the sweet honey dew, or manna, so celebrated in ancient and modern authors, as falling usually in Arabia, was of the very same sort with this manna sent to the Israelites, savours more of Gentilism than of Judaism or Christianity. It is not improbable that some ancient Gentile author, read by Josephus, so thought; nor would he here contradict him, though just before, and Antiq. b. iv. chap. iii. he seems directly to allow that it had not been seen before. However, this food from heaven is here described to be ‘like snow;’ and in Artapanus, an heathen writer, it is compared to ‘meal, like to oatmeal, in colour like to snow rained down by God.’ But as to the derivation of the word ‘manna,’ whether from man, which Josephus says then signified, what is it? or from ‘mannah,’ to divide, i. e. a dividend or portion allotted to every one, it is uncertain: I incline to the latter derivation. This manna is called ‘angels’ food,’ Ps. lxxviii. 25. and by our Saviour, John vi. 31, &c. as well as by Josephus here and elsewhere, Antiq. b. iii. chap. v. said to be sent the Jews from heaven.

any: so he commanded him to smite the rock‡ which they saw lying there with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labour or painstaking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people who waited for him and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favour; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey: while Moses, only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst out water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect, and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honoured by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now, that Scripture which is laid up in the temple,§ informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water should in this manner be derived out of the rock.

## CHAP. II.

*How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring Nations, made War with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great Part of their Army.*

THE name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumours about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called ‘Amalekites,’ and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, and such a one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, laid in wait to ruin them, which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity, and perhaps attack them in a hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence

‡ This rock is there to this day, as travellers agree; and must be the same as was there in the days of Moses, as being too large to be brought there by our modern carriages.

§ Note here, that the small book of the principal laws of Moses is ever said to be laid up in the ‘holy house’ itself, but the larger Pentateuch, as here, somewhere within the limits of the temple and its courts only.



in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods: that those who endeavour to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those who endeavour to put a stop to its progress, when it becomes formidable. After they had sent such embassages to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessities, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been advanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. That they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly; and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. They are also to suppose the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced, in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst; things indeed that were in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way of escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies.

And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies without the least delay, that no backwardness might be a hinderance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops; and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God; and indeed made, like another Moses, a teacher of piety

towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water; and to take care of the children, and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle: they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders, as ready to rush forth to the battle, as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds, such a one as his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition; in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses stretched out his hands towards heaven, the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, (for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted,) he had his brother Aaron, and Hur, their sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantage, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle; for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present but for the future ages also: for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also; and, after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches: for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered, there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon



their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.\*

On the next day Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated: so Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named, 'the Lord the Conqueror.' He also foretold that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But, when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight, in order of battle: for they had now many soldiers in light armour. And going gradually on, he came to mount Sinai, in three months' time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

#### CHAP. III.

*That Moses kindly received his Father-in-Law, Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai.*

Now when Raguel, Moses' father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him: and Moses took Zipporah his wife, and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude near the bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one, according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and his family took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance, and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also, in his

\* The eminent circumstance in the above action that while Moses' hands were 'lift up' towards heaven, the Israelites prevailed, and while they were 'let down' towards the earth, the Amalekites prevailed, is the earliest intimation we have of the proper posture, used of old in solemn prayer, which was the stretching out of the hands (and eyes) towards heaven, as other passages of the Old and New Testament inform us. Nay, this posture seems to have continued in the Christian church, till the clergy, instead of learning their prayers by heart, read them out of a book, which seems to me to have been only a later practice introduced under the corrupt state of the church, though the constant use of divine forms of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, appears to have been the practice of God's people, Patriarchs, Jews, and Christians, in all the past ages.

eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude: and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Raguel suggested to Moses to set his People in Order, under their Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, who lived without Order before: and how Moses complied in all things with his Father-in-law's Admonition.*

THE next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the midst of a crowd of business (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice if he were the arbitrator; and, those that lost their causes, thought it no harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality.) Raguel, however, said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hindrance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterwards he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety; for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found, that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many ten thousands. Be not therefore, says he, insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only; and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds; and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens: and let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but these such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve as being good and righteous men:† and let these rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; and if any great difficulty arise, that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained: that the Hebrews

† This manner of electing the judges and officers of the Israelites by the testimonies and suffrages of the people, before they were ordained by God or by Moses, deserves to be carefully noted, because it was the pattern of the like manner of the choice and ordination of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the Church.



will have justice done them: and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favourable to the people.

This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the invention of other men. Whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

#### CHAP. V.

*How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, received Laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.*

Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them unto mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him a certain oracle: but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to mount Sinai,\* which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country, and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes; and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had promised to them: so they feasted, and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure, as in other respects, and not companying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him; and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their

wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

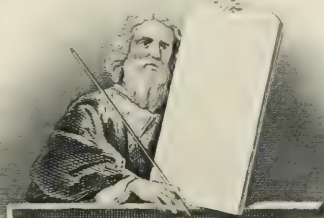
So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents: and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder with its thunder-bolts were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases: but I am under a necessity of relating this history, as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sounds that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to: and then the rumour that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds; so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly elated. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence whence they might all hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he had formerly done; and hath suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed, that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments: he who provided a way through the sea for us: he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it: he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before: he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea: he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge: he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of

\* Since this mountain is here said to be the highest of all the mountains in that country, it must be that now called St. Katherine's, which is one-third higher than that within a mile of it, now called Sinai, as Mons. Thevenot informs us, *Travels*, part i. p. 168. The other name of it, Horeb, is never used by Josephus; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians only, whence the Israelites were lately come, as Sinai was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly, when (1 Kings ix. 8.) the scripture says, that Elijah came to Horeb, the mount of God, Josephus justly says, *Antiq. b. viii. chap. xiii.* that he came to the mountain called Sinai: and Jerome, here cited by Dr. Hudson, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, Sinai and Choreb.



# THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.



## EXODUS.

## Chap. XX.

I  
Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

II  
Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

III  
Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

IV  
Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do, but the Seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt do no

manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

V  
Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

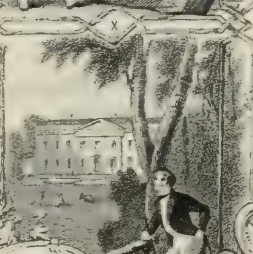
VI  
Thou shalt do no murder.

VII  
Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VIII  
Thou shalt not steal.

IX  
Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

X  
Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.



FAITH

CHARITY

HOPE













TABERNACLE AND BRONZE SNAKE IN THE WILDERNESS.



the land of Canaan : he by whose means Isaac was born of parents who were very old : he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons : he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians : he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter : and let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children, and your own wives ; for if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life ; you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires ; you will be also terrible to your enemies ; for I have been admitted into the presence of God, and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice : so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practise, that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, inasmuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote in two tables ; which it is not lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare.

The first commandment teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false manner. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sorts of work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said ; and the congregation was dissolved : but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them, besides, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws ; and afterwards informed them in what manner they should act in all cases : which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time ; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight ; and while he stayed there so long a time, (for he was absent from them forty days,) fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm ; nor was there anything else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses had perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it ; some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts, and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-

disposed to him ; but others saying, that he was departed and gone to God ; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions with any satisfaction, thinking, that if it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue ; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event : yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again ; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bid them afore to stay there.

But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily ; telling them, that during these days of his absence, he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them, and how we should carry it about with us, when we remove from this place ; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers ; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had showed him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table : and the writing was by the hand of God.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the Wilderness, for the honour of God, and which seemed to be a Temple.*

HEREUPON the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability ; but they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction : camels' hair also, and sheep skins, some of them dyed of a blue colour, and some of a scarlet ; some brought the flower for the purple colour, and others for white ; with wool dyed by the flowers aforementioned ; and fine linen and precious stones, which those that used costly ornaments set in ouches of gold ; they brought also a great quantity of spices : for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was ambitious to



further the work even beyond their ability, he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books, and they were these: Besaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor; and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamech, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain, for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament, as well as for the divine service itself.

Now when all things were prepared; the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle. And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and an hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass; they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds. But a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure. But as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening at the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates; these were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now, on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath, of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands, and sprinkle their feet. And this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure

about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that when the sun arose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length when it was set up was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve (ten) cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth (ten cubits.) There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers; they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly; they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver, in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon. But the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness: so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them. But as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out, of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this jointed so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immoveable continually.

As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was the very same with that of the rest, and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now, the room within those pillars was the 'Most Holy Place;' but the rest of the room was the Tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, a heaven, peculiar to God: but the space of the twenty cubits, is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is pecu-



lar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle vails of fine linen, and purple, and blue, and scarlet colours, embroidered. The first vail was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within: and this vail was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called 'The Holy Place;' but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called, 'The Holy of Holies.' This vail was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces, and there were interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another vail there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance: it was like the former in its magnitude and texture, and colour; and at the corner of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priests who crept under it. Over this there was a vail of linen, of the same largeness with the former; it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, whose rings, fixed to the texture of the vail, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the vail, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and afford a covering to the vail of divers colours: whence that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen vail after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length, and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread over the temple, and covered all the top, and parts of the walls, on the sides and behind so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long, but these were woven of hair, with the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates; the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven, both in hot weather, and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colour of the sky. But those that were made of hair, and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the vail at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted: this was called Eron, in our own language. Its construction was thus: its length was five spans,

but its breadth and height were each of them three spans. It was covered all over with gold both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it, by golden hinges, after a wonderful manner; which cover was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures; but their form is not like to that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them: and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

But in the holy place he placed a table like those at Delphi: its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower parts of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads, but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had a hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and the lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings: for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flour, which tenth deal (an omer) is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotylæ; and above those loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the Sabbath; but for the occasion of this invention of placing loaves here, we will speak of it in another place.

Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold; hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call cinchares; if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls, (which ornaments amounted to seventy in all;) by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another;



and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets; these lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood, indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption: it was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about, whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of net-work, for the ground underneath received the fire from the earth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold: but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle: and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

#### CHAP. VII.

*Which were the Governments of the Priest, and of the High Priest; concerning the Priesthood of Aaron, with the Manner of the Purifications and Sacrifices; as also concerning the Festivals, and how each Day was then disposed of; with other Laws.*

THERE were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call 'Cahanææ' priestly garments, as also for the high priest, which they call 'Cahanææ Rabbæ,' and denote 'the high priest's garments.' Such was therefore the habit of the rest; but when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called 'Machanase,' which means 'somewhat that is fast tied.' It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but about half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled: it is called 'Chethone,' and denotes 'linen,' for we call linen by the name of 'Chethone.' This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen; but the

warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone often round, it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ancles: I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering services and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this belt 'Abaneth;' but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts anywhere in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck: and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes.

Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form or encircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called Masnaempthes: and its make is such that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen: and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together: besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead and the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have shown you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

The high priest, indeed, is adorned with the same garments that we have described, without abating one; only over these he puts on a vestment of a blue colour. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet; in our language it is called Meeir, and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colour and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven:—to the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in colour like pomegranates, with golden bells, by a beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck: not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently: it was also parted where the hands were to come out.

Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembled the Epomis of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colours, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colours of the ephod, and called Essen (the priestplate,) which in the Greek language signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It is





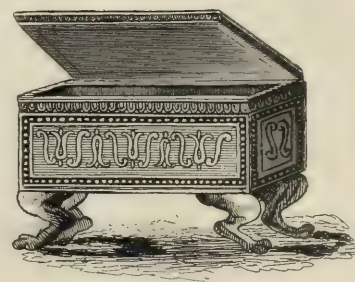
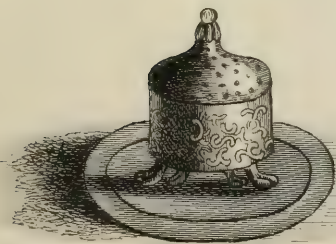
*High Priest in his Robes*



*High Priest on the Day of Expiation*



*Common Priest*



*Ancient Covers*



*Incense*











*The Golden Candlestick*



*Setting up the Tabernacle*







united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod at the shoulders, to fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob in our own country letters, and our own tongue, six on each side of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breastplate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the breastplate, and were so made that they might not fall out. Now the first three were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breastplate, which was of the forementioned colours, with gold intermixed, which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call 'saccharus,' but those Greeks that are skilful in botany call 'hyoscyamus.' Now lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such a description of it. This herb is often-times in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip, (for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken,) but its leaves are like to the

leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will further describe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as renders it a hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb 'sideritis;' it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of the poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples: but this 'epiēlis,' for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a 'golden plate,' which had inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to be on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to honour; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table he denoted the year as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the 'decani,' or seventy divisions of the planets, of which that is the number. The vials, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the plain linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth. The purple signified the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of a sea shell-fish. The blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose



it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle, which encompassed the high priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon, those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the reeks call the zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and at many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

#### CHAP. VIII.

##### *Of the Priesthood of Aaron.*

WHEN what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to your abilities. And now, since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of that honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance: but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altar, and to make provision for the sacrifices: and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews

were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained: for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock, and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmæ. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded, and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

Moses now purified the tabernacle, and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner: he commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus, (this last is a sort of sweet spice,) to beat them small and wet them with an hin of oil of olives, (an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choas or congiues,) then mix them together, and boil them: and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But incense was to be offered twice a day, both before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

Now all was finished, Bezaleel and Aholiab appeared to be the most skilful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of: and of these Bezaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

Now God showed himself pleased with the work of



the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with him, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it: the sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

Now when Moses had bestowed such honorary presents on the workmen as it was fit they should receive who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself, and his son's, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters, and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls, and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly, they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses' injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

Hereupon an affliction befel Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will: for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but such as they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly, they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father, and their brethren, to take up their bodies to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befel them. But Moses entreated their brethren, and their father, not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honour of God before their grief about them, for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more

up to mount Sinai: but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man: and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels one among another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him: so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for he (Moses) left no room for the evil practices of false prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. But as to those stones, which we told you before the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, (and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body;) the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices, I mean, that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence; and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy, as to despise 'divine revelation.' Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this; for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate 'the oracle.' Now this breastplate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws. Of which things we shall farther discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God, as being now delivered from all expectation of evils, and as entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a waggon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides, which, every



head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon, of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver: and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called 'peace-offerings,' for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

## CHAP. IX.

### *The Nature of our offering Sacrifices.*

I will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to his matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of these sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; then they cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning: they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner, and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt offering.

But those that offer thank-offerings do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with

their blood; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thanksgiving. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food for the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of those creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bare away the hides, and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place on the same day;\* for the law does not permit them to leave of it until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do: the flesh of which the priests eat as before, in the holy place on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, for a ram two, and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choas (or congiues.) They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as its first-fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled, or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam; and in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed together with the animals that are sacrificed, of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

\* The eating of the sacrifice the same day it was offered seems here to mean only before the morning of the next, although the latter part, that is, the night, be in strictness part of the next day, according to the Jewish reckoning. The Jewish maxim in such cases is this, that the day goes before the night; and this appears to be the language both of the Old and New Testament.



## CHAP. X.

*Concerning the Festivals; and how each Day of such Festivals is to be observed.*

THE law requires that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetæus, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape-goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges; which when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often towards the most holy place, and about the golden altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year; as also that when we shall arrive at our own country, and come to that city that we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should carry in our hands a branch of myrtle and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pomecitron. That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins; and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation

of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,) the law ordained that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the Passover: and so we do celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priests on every one of these days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honour God, from whom they obtain a plentiful provision, in the first place they offer the first fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: they take an handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priest. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also, at this participation of the first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb, as a burnt-offering to God.

When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, (which weeks contain forty and nine days,) on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have presented them to God they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave anything of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs with two kids of the goats for sins; nor is there any one of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices in order to feast upon them.

However, out of the common charges, baked bread, was set on the table of shew-bread, without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread: two heaps of these were baked; they were taken the day before the sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over against another, where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another sabbath, and then other



loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The high priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire: the quantity was one tenth deal of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Of the Purifications.*

MOSES took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water, taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

He also determined concerning animals; which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from: which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be further explained; and the causes shall be added, by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself, as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhœa, should not come into the city: nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs as a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by fire, and for the other the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhœa. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he goes down into cold water, he has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained, by prayer to God, the recovery of that distemper, and had gained a healthful com-

plexion again, such a one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices; concerning which we will speak hereafter.

Whence one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with leprosy when he fled out of Egypt, and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan: for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavoured to introduce them, and this the rather because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth; and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples, so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune, in the colour of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly it is a plain case that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper; and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

As to the women, when they have borne a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she had borne a girl, the law is, that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when, after the before-mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley-flour; they then cast one handful to God, and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the veil from her head, and wrote the name of God on parchment, and enjoined her to swear, that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish, that if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell, and that she might die thus: but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child on the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and rung the water into a phial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the phial, and gave it her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb: but if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner: her thigh fell off from her, and her



belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

## CHAP. XII.

### *Several Laws.*

As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families, that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men's lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and son's wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation; and not to come near brute beasts, nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behaviour, he ordained death for their punishment.

As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity; for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns: as also a woman parted from her husband on any occasion whatever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead, but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered, that the priest who had any blemish should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblameable also. And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety; nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan: he gave them rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day: and ordered, then, that what grew of its own accord out of the

earth should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years: and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following: when the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered, and on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owner. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God, when the camp lay under mount Sinai, and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now, when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed a desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was moveable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And during



the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them: but when that removed, they journeyed also.

Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: in length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called, in the Hebrew tongue, *Asosra*. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and to consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: at the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west part themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the festival days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover, in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

#### CHAP. XIII.

*How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and conducted the People to the Borders of the Canaanites.*

A little while afterwards he rose up, and went from mount Sinai; and having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak anon, he came to a place called Hazeroth, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered in their travels; and that when he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they at once had lost that land, and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already in want of water; and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spake many and sore things against the man, there was one of them who exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before,

Thereupon Moses, although he were so basely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not willing to believe; and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain such a vast plenty of what he promised? he replied, Neither God nor I, although we hear such opprobrious words from you, will leave off our labours for you, and this shall soon appear also. As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails; and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named Kibroth-hattaavah, which is, the "graves of lust."

#### CHAP. XIV.

*How Moses sent some Persons to search out the Land of the Canaanites, and the Largeness of their Cities: and further, that when those who were sent were returned after forty Days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were disturbed, and fell into despair, and were resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.*

WHEN Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a happy country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it; I say, not only no king nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of. But above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

When Moses had said thus, the multitude requited him with marks of respect; and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to mount Lebanon: and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of



the fruits which the land bare: they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high, that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly, these spies who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were affrighted at them themselves, and endeavoured to affright the multitude also.

So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamour against him and his brother Aaron the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return into Egypt.

But of the spies, there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies, neither to hearken to those who had affrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. Let us then go, said they, against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders. Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavour to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

## CHAP. X V.

*How Moses was displeased at this; and foretold, that God was angry, and that they should continue in the Wilderness for forty Years, and not, during that time, either return into Egypt, or take possession of Canaan.*

MOSES came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction: for, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears that destruction which was coming upon them, God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him; that just now they had been induced by the timorousness of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without any fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression: but that he hath promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things, which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

When Moses had discoursed thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, and were in affliction; and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity, or anger, but that he had judiciously condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him, and prepared the way to the persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews, who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him, if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human, for still some there have been, who have come from the parts



beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honour of our temple: and yet, when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; nay, many were not able even at first so much as to enter into the temple, but went their ways in this state, as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses, before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that any body could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own human nature. Nay, farther, a little before the beginning of

this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine was come upon us,\* that one tenth deal of wheat was sold for four drachmæ; and when no less than seventy cori of flour were brought into the temple at the feast of unleavened bread, (these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni,) not one of the priests were so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was on the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us, do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

## BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS.—FROM THE REJECTION  
OF THAT GENERATION TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

### CHAP. I.

#### *The Fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the consent of Moses, and their Defeat.*

Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, that they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing that they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses' intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They

also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them: that however it was for their own advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and to live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretel what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him: that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in at present, and that in these desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

When therefore they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went among their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack

\* This great famine in the days of Claudius is mentioned in Acts xi. 28.











itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good, as gathering from it that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness, to a farther distance from the Canaanites; so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct; for they were sensible that, without his care for them, their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went farther into the wilderness, intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Sedition of Corah and of the multitude against Moses, and against his Brother, concerning the Priesthood.*

THAT which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews; for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed; but were, notwithstanding, saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator, and the laws, and their disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government, after it was over.

Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, with regard to family and wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great

dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,) and was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command; while, contrary to the laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, thus giving dignities in a tyrannical way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by an open force upon them, as he did now not only take away their power without their consent, but even while they are unapprised of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; while those that think it impossible to get those honours justly, make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, yet by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful; that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength till they have them for their open enemies. "For what account," added he, "is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? For if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is; I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him in riches and in age; yet if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reubel might have it most justly; and then Dathan and Abiram, and On, the son of Peleth, would have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to seem to take care of the public welfare, while in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now, of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses' brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses; and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands,



laid violent injunctions upon them; for that, had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such a one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case, had he judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

Now, although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah's, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men,) seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity; although they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth: nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal; nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself, than I have with him; for surely, it would not be a wise thing for me to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God: I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring, that he who has been already preferred and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept of it with your good will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it: nay, it had been exceedingly unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it or all time to come, and had

made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the honour of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end therefore to your sedition and disturbance on this account: and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with myself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept, shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

### CHAP. III.

*How those that stirred up this Sedition were destroyed according to the Will of God: and how Aaron, Moses' Brother, both he and his Posterity retained the Priesthood.*

WHEN Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behaviour they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said, for those proposals were good, and so were esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense, in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance: for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messengers, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses' behaviour, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses



heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, they came out with their wives and children, and stood before their tents and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordest us thy assistance when we attempted any thing, and shewedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses, do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law, and gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account.

"I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now, in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt: thou, I say, who shewedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me: thou, who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people: thou, who disturbedst the happy state of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion: thou, who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked: thou, who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it: thou, who didst preserve our lives with quails, which was food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us: thou, who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint us a form of government; come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a judge and a witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I have never admitted of any

gift against justice from any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing, the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him. Do thou at this time demonstrate that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate, that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible being, and one overcome by my contrivance. This wilt thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men; let that ground upon which they tread upon, open about them, and consume them with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all men; and this method of their sufferings will be instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayest thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavoured to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself it is not just that, for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted, and the ground that was about their tents sunk down at the great noise with a terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditious into itself, who so entirely perished that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befel them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.



And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was most pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth, that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another, but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose eruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed,\* and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God: and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed the honour afterwards.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *What happened to the Hebrews during Thirty-eight Years in the Wilderness.*

HOWEVER, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: for the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him, that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs,

only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence; he called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they made for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should embitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them; and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them, in that they saw them still, but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times, and he retained that honour without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war, and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want, and seek after the necessities of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude: but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, particularly to the priests.

\* It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in effect from the Psalmist, as also from the Apostolical Constitutions, from Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius' epistle to the Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the Reubenites, but burnt with the Levites of his own tribe.



Accordingly, he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground, and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when they have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called 'Nazarites,' that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair,\* and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair to the priests, to be thrown into the fire. Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a 'gift,' when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels, if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw and the cheek, or breast, and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of everything allotted for the priests, their servants, their sons, their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for of those none but the males of the families of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

When Moses had made these institutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from any injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions: and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassy from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in

case they should endeavour to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt,† on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus.‡ They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call 'Sin;' and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: he brought a heifer, that had never been used to the plough, or to husbandry: that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger, seven times, before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state, together with its skin and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all its ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove, and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called 'Arce,' but has now the name of 'Petra,' at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them, in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother, and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred and twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians 'Hecatombæon,' by the Macedonians 'Lous,' but by the Hebrews 'Abba.'

† Josephus here uses the phrase, 'when the fortieth year was completed,' for when it was begun; as does St. Luke, 'when the day of pentecost was completed,' Acts ii. 1.

‡ Whether Miriam died, as Josephus' Greek copies imply, on the 'first' day of the month, may be doubted, because the Latin copies say it was on 'the tenth,' and so say the Jewish calendars also, as Dr. Bernard assures us. It is said her sepulchre is still extant near Petra, the old capital city of Arabia Petrea, at this day, as also that of Aaron, not far off.

\* Grotius says that the Greeks as well as the Jews sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.



## CHAP. V.

*How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole army, and then divided their Land by lot to two Tribes and a half of the Hebrews.*

THE people mourned for Aaron thirty days; and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, fell into the lake Asphaltitis, and became the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men with the good things it produces. Moses, therefore, sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and, determined to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition, (nor indeed were they now thoroughly in their minds,) he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight; which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly, he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take pleasure in fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set them about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him, but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous, so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the resolute courage of the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them: for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had undergone: and being very skilful in slinging, and very

dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind; and also having on nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst, than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season, and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river out of a desire to drink; as also, when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them, so that what with darts, and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon also their king was slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it; and they took their enemies' prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in council, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit: the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which, running into Jordan, loses its own name, and takes the other: while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. But though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being-desirous to try their valour; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of their wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude, when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Ammonites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they presently took these sixty cities, which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him; and all got, both in general and in particular, a great prey.



## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning Balaam the Prophet, and what kind of a Man he was.*

Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city has a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion he took for making war upon them was as follows:

When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted, on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with this,\* that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly, and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them? But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them, that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them, that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions, for that this army which they entreated him to come to curse, was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the

Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

Now the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God: but he was displeased at this second trial,† and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass upon the angel's continuance to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam, as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him that the brute creature was not in fault, and that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, yet did God excite him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people

\* What Josephus here remarks is well worth our remark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were never to meddle with the Moabites, or Ammonites, or any other people, but those belonging to the land of Canaan, and the countries of Sihon and Og beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates, and that therefore no other people had reason to fear the conquests of the Israelites; but that those countries, given them by God, were their proper and peculiar portion among the nations, and that all who endeavoured to dispossess them might ever be justly destroyed by them.

† Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an idolater, nor to seek idolatrous enchantments, or to prophesy falsely, but to be no other than an ill-disposed prophet of the true God; and intimates that God's answer the second time, permitting him to go, was ironical, and on design that he should be deceived; (which sort of deception, by way of punishment for former crimes, Josephus never scruples to admit, as ever esteeming such wicked men justly and providentially deceived.) But perhaps we had better keep here close to the text, which says, Num. xxii. 20, 21. that God only permitted Balaam to go along with the ambassadors in case they came and called him, or positively insisted on his going along with them on any terms, whereas Balaam seems out of impatience to have risen up in the morning, and saddled his ass, and rather to have called them, than stayed for their calling him, so zealous does he seem to have been for his reward of divination, his wages of unrighteousness.



on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any one nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those excellent rules to your children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you; and it shall ever be under the command of your children: and both all the earth as well as the seas shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you as being comparatively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you; but will afford you an abundance of all good things in time of peace, with victory and dominion in time of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. But when Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? for he puts such words as he pleases into our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us, and enters into it, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their

race, but since he was so favourable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them a happy life, and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before; that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not even upon second sacrifices consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what several calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam, without thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak; and you Midianites that are here present, (for I am obliged, even without the will of God, to gratify you,) it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish: but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them: but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able: then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp; and give them in charge, that when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, they allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them take their leaves, and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to leave off their obedience to their own laws, and the worship of that God who established them, and to worship the gods of the Midianites and the Moabites; for by this means God will be angry at them."\* Accordingly, when

\* This grand maxim, that God's people of Israel could never be hurt nor destroyed, but by drawing them to sin against God, appears to be true by the entire history of that people, both in the Bible, and in Josephus. See in particular a most remarkable Ammonite testimony to this purpose, Judith v. 5-21



Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were allured by their beauty, and came to discourse with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and stayed with them, but when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them; then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses of all they had. This they said with an oath; and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other marks of concern as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to them.

"O you illustrious young men! we have houses of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural affectionate love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we come to discourse with you, nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our body for gain; but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we may treat you with such honours as hospitality required; and now, seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner;" and they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If, then, (said they,) this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods: nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do; for has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either

come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they might live by themselves according to their own laws.

Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women, to think they spake very well, so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws, and supposed there were many gods; and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; so far indeed, that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted with the rest.

Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the law of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own; and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters would grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair, who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said, "That they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will: that it was fit they should change their courses, while their affairs were in a good state; and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little." And so did he endeavour, by saying this, to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto but, under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of freemen, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the



Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom you do not think fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not, like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the imprudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude: upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded farther, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion: Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of Aaron Moses' brother,) who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity: and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory; so he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas' boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly, many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valour of those young men: the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly, there perished out of the army no fewer than twenty-four thousand at that time.

This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites; concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first stated what we have omitted; for it is but just not to

pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wives, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did he do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

## CHAP. VI.

### *How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.*

Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander, of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceiving beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them, they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense number of the Midianites fell, nor could they be numbered they were so very many: and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, 'Arecem,' from the name of the king that built it, but is by the Greeks called 'Petra.' Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey: fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses divided the prey into parts, and gave one-fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good



things by their valour, and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.\*

But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws, and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity, whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle. But Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as a handsome excuse for avoiding that war, called them arrant cowards: and said, "That they only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had showed them, and so obtain their land." But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that "it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles." They added this also, that "when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he

would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army." Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said: so he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war, until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

Moses also now built those ten cities, which were to be of the number of the forty-eight for the Levites: three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened, after which death of the high priest, he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain, may, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses' command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was 'Zelophehad,' who left no male children, but left daughters, and asked him, Whether these daughters might inherit his land or not? He made this answer, That if they shall marry in their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

\* The slaughter of all the Midianite women that had prostituted themselves to the lewd Israelites, and the preservation of those that had not been guilty therein; the last of which were no fewer than 32,000, are highly remarkable; and show, that even in nations otherwise for their wickedness doomed to destruction, the innocent were sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction; which directly implies, that it was the wickedness of the nations of Canaan, and nothing else, that occasioned their excision. In the Scriptures the reason of the delay of the punishment of the Amorites is given, because their 'iniquity was not yet full.' Saul is also ordered to go and 'destroy the sinners, the Amalekites,' plainly implying, that they were therefore to be destroyed because they were sinners, and not otherwise. The reason why king Agag was not to be spared, was because of his former cruelty; 'as thy sword hath made (the Hebrew) women childless, so shall thy mother be made childless among women by the Hebrews.' The apostles also gave this reason for the necessity of the coming of Christ:—that 'men had formerly perverted both the positive law, and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughter of the inhabitants of Palestine,' as signs of the most amazing impotence and insensibility, under the punishments of horrid wickedness.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *The Polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among Mankind.*

WHEN forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Aliba now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spoke thus to them:

"O you Israelites and fellow-soldiers! who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it, that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains



to be done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity: come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world: and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O children of Israel! 'there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favour of God,' for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to do, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you at present are in want of; only do thou be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form, and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage; and that God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose good-will I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your protector, in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest also, Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you: by following which advices, you will continue to be happy; to whom do you give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern,

if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do you not esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error, if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been: nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from your enemies. What I now put you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach you, for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you, but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean, that you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war; and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late.—Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do farther exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such, their nation, and their very memory, with fire, for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good that, if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws, and the constitution of government, written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation; they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of



what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, inasmuch that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation, and by calling them from the thought of how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep that form of government he had given them: and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall so far innovate, as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system, for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random: which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have a handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps,\* but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor a temple, in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and

\* This law of not going up to God's altar by 'ladder steps,' but on an acclivity, seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubits high, nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by steps, but rather to occasional altars of any considerable altitude and largeness, as also probably to Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Josephus, as well as to that in Zorobabel's and Herod's temple, which were I think all ten cubits high. The reason why these temples, and these only, were to have this ascent on an acclivity, and not by steps, is obvious, as before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, decency could not be otherwise provided for, in the loose garments which the priests wore, as the law required.

let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them by these means maintain a friendly correspondence with one another, by such meetings and feastings together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with another, and so renewing the memorials of this union: for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like strangers to one another.

Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honour of the donor.

You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman which is a harlot,† for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woollen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

When the multitude are assembled together into the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no, nor the servants neither: for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out, for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a great authority among them; as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that attention to the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they

† The hire of public or secret harlots was given to Venus, in Syria, and against some such vile practice of the old idolaters this law seems to have been made.



are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

Let every one commemorate before God, the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day; both when the day begins, and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them on their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.\*

Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them, it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear that they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence: for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs), let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is

confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of their levity and boldness of their sex.† Nor, let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope or gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he, against whom he bare witness, was to have suffered.

If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any who will discover him: but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed, or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and the senate of that city, shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer, and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution; and may you never have an inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws of your governors, and govern all your actions according to them: for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation: let him always be careful of justice, and other virtues, perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest, and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained; lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care that you do not take those landmarks away, which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever, since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions: for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

\* Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish memorials of the law, here mentioned by Josephus, and by Moses (besides the fringes on the borders of their garments), were literally meant by God, I much question. That they have been long observed by the Pharisees and the Rabbinical Jews, is certain: however, the Karaites, who receive not the unwritten traditions of the elders, but keep close to the written law, with Jerome and Grotius, think they were not literally to be understood; as Bernard and Reland here take notice. Nor, indeed, do I remember, that either in the more ancient books of the Old Testament, or in the books we call 'Apocrypha,' there are any signs of such literal observations appearing among the Jews, though their real or mystical signification, i. e. the constant remembrance and observation of the laws of God by Moses, be frequently inculcated in all the sacred writings.

† I have never observed elsewhere that in the Jewish government women were not admitted as legal witnesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the Pentateuch say a word of it. It is very probable, however, that this was the exposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the practice of the Jews in the days of Josephus.



He that plants a piece of land, whose trees produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it, carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen; and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them; but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike, nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together; for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblameable manner.

Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessities of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner, when they gather their grapes, let them leave some bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide, that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen, when they tread the ears of corn in the threshing floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have, and this whether they be of your own country, or strangers, as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the

wine presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them, I mean those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate, out of their great superfluities, to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one, by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a freeman, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty by the like sympathy to such as stand in need of it.

Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a third tithe to those that want;\* to women also that are widows; and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all unto the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that were for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and let them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes and other dues, according to the law of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him,

\* Josephus's plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, that the Jews were bound every third year to pay three tithes, that to the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusalem, and this for the indigent, the widows, and the orphans, is fully confirmed by the practice of good old Tobit, even when he was a captive at Assyria, see Tobit, chap. i, 6, 7, 8.



and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do, for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry an harlot; whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive: for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal,\* and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any farther power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions for suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife, in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father. But if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any man has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture, from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance (for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws), let not this be permitted; for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she

was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure, or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused, marry her: but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever (and many such causes happen among men), let him in writing give assurance that he never will use her as his wife any more, for by these means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do: but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that his brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children: and when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face and say, "He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased." And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now if any man take captive either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by these means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony, for it is good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient, to prudent persons, for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

As to those young men that despise their parents, and

\* These 'tokens of virginity,' seem to me very different from what our later interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins after a certain age, till they were married, but before witnesses, and which, while they were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity.



do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they; in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, (for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,) and let them say thus to them: "That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want." And say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought thee up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications of thy contempt of us, reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come, considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayest thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved, for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above the ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten, or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

Those who have borrowed either silver, or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, (I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind,) let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and

do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it; but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it, return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep; God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It also is not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what is lost; excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulct is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free: but if he have a son by a woman-servant in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his good-will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

If any one find gold or silver in the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God, that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others' advantages by setting them in a wrong way.

In like manner let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if, when he is carried home, he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him not escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay



for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarry,\* let him pay a fine in money as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb: and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison that may cause death,† or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.

Let him that is the owner of an ox, which pusheth with his horn, kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the threshing floor, let him be put to death by stoning: and let him not be thought fit for food: but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain;‡ but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide the price between them.

Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over it, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any person from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them: but if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

Let him that has received anything in trust for

another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing, and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether it be a man or a woman, no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he is intrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing has been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land, and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation: and do you avoid any conversation with them, who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld either men or any other animals.

Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace; and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance. And may that time never come which may innovate anything, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly, or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprized beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circum-

\* Philo and others appear to have understood this law better than Josephus, who seems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and so the infant had a rational soul, were killed by the stroke upon the mother, yet if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not only put to death; while the law seems rather to mean, that if the infant in that case be killed, though the mother escape, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understood it. It seems this was the exposition of the Pharisees in the days of Josephus.

† What we render a 'witch,' according to our modern notions of 'witchcraft,' Philo and Josephus understood of a 'poisoner,' or one who attempted by secret and unlawful drugs, or philtres, to take away the senses or the lives of men.

‡ We may here note, that 30 shekels, the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, was the old value of a bought servant, or slave, among that people.



stances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders; but when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust on their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making the use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him, one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body, and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those who have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those who have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, to continue in their own country, as well as those also who have betrothed or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards on account of their wives.

When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked, by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that, if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you; because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites, for as to that people you must entirely destroy them.

Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already delivered laws in writing, in the fortieth year, (after they came out of Egypt,) concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days, (for he called them to assemble continually,) he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse, and left it to them in the holy book. It contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward. Agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly he delivered these books to the priests, with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also; and exhorted the people that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them, for what mischief they did them, when they were in the wilderness: and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon mount Gerizzim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also: and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred.



or cut of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: but that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate, that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones in the high priest's breast for their direction,\* as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars, and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. Yet, said he, will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also, and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favourable to us: or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion; by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do

you good: on which account I think it proper to bless that divine power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay the debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God, which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you!"

When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward,† with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue, and mighty deeds; and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet what the people did, so overbore him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping, but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quite, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called 'Abarim,' (which is a very high mountain situate over-against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,) he dismissed the senate: and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he

\* Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the Urim was to Joshua himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch, which oath he and the other rulers never durst break, and this snare they were brought into, because they "did not ask counsel at the hands of the Lord."

† Since Josephus assures us here, that Moses blessed every one of the tribes of Israel, it is evident that Simeon was not omitted in his copy, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.



wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

Now Moses lived in all, one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler: and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians 'Dystrus,' but by us 'Adar,' or the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were, in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking, and addressing the multitude, and, as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as

rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army, as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him, had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses

## BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS.—  
FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF ELI.

### CHAP. I.

*How Joshua, the Commander of the Hebrews, made War with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their Land by Lot to the Tribes of Israel.*

WHEN Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to discover what forces they had; and what were their intentions, but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reubel, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan,\* he put them in mind what

they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them, that for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them, who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites: for, at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which part of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away,

\* The Amorites were one of the seven nations of Canaan: hence Reland is willing to suppose that Josephus did not here mean that their land beyond Jordan was a seventh part of the whole land of Canaan, but meant the Amorites as a seventh nation. His reason is, that Josephus, as well as our bibles, generally distinguish the 'land beyond Jordan' from the land of Canaan; nor can it be denied that, in strictness, they were different; yet after two tribes and a half of the twelve tribes came to inherit it, it might in a general way altogether be well included under the land of Canaan, or Palestine, or

Judea; of which we have a clear example here before us in Josephus, whose words evidently imply, that, taking the whole land of Canaan, or that inhabited by all the twelve tribes together, and parting it into seven parts, the part beyond Jordan was in quantity of ground one seventh part of the whole. But this land beyond Jordan was so peculiarly fruitful and good for pasturage, that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.



a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow-soldiers, but from God himself also.

Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called 'Gilgal,' which denotes 'liberty;' for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked upon themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

Now a few days after the calamity that befel Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but upon the fight of the people of Ai with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceedingly disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant, for this purpose, because thou hast promised us by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has always attended upon us, agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come."

These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, "That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution which was got into it; that things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me; and that this has been the occasion why this defeat has happened to them; and that when they should search out and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies." This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleazar the high priest,

and men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe, and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging, so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: so he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death: and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai; and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle, after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front: he then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these men took the city, and slew all that they met with, but Joshua forced those that came against him, to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war, that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them; so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship with him,





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and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bore no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them: and they said farther, that they came a long way on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in; for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been in their journey, for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood, that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said, that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak, and, showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly, Joshua believing what they said, and that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, swore to them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua, so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the

destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly, Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege, and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called 'Beth-horon;' where he also understood that God assisteth him, which he declared by thunder and thunder-bolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual.\* Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened,† that the night might not come on too

\* That such sometimes have fallen, as to kill men and cattle, is certain from the plague of hail in Egypt; and some, in very late times, have been known to fall, which were from eight, nine, and twelve inches about, some bigger than the eggs of turkeys, and some half a pound weight. But these seem to be proper stones, such as did not melt away as hailstones do, though so called because they fell from heaven. On the authority of the Imperial Encyclopædia we learn that large stones composed of oxyde of iron, sulphur, lime, &c., have fallen, both in ancient and modern times, and in all parts of the world, some of which have weighed even as much as two and three hundred pounds each, and that there have been showers of stones, as many as twelve hundred having been counted, that have fallen at one time. As late as the year 1800, a mass of iron of seventy cubic feet fell in America, as recorded in the Philosophical Magazine; and, in 1803, there were several stones weighing from ten to fifteen pounds each, which fell near L'Aigle, in Normandy.

† Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon were physical and real, by the miraculous stoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth for about half a revolution; or whether only apparent, by aerial 'phosphori' imitating the sun and moon as stationary so long, while clouds and the night hid the real ones, and this parhelion, or mock sun, affording sufficient light for Joshua's pursuit and complete victory (which aerial 'phosphori' in other shapes have been more than ordinarily common of late years), cannot now be determined; philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to this latter hypothesis. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Jasher. now lost, Josh. x. 13, and is confirmed by Isaiah, xxviii. 21, by Habakkuk, iii. 11, and by the Son of Sirach, Eccles. xli. 4. In the Wisdom of Solomon, it is also said of the luminaries, with relation, no doubt, to this and the other miraculous standing still and going back, in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah, "They have not wandered from the day that he created them; they have not forsaken their way from ancient generations, unless it were when God enjoined them so to do by the command of his servants." It is supposed by some that when Joshua, as related in the Septuagint, invoked the sun to stand still, that it was in the morning, when the sun was rising over Gibeon to the east of the Israelites, and the moon setting over Ajalon to their west. As a day was thus gained, and the length of the day in that part, near the vernal equinox, was about thirteen hours, Joshua obtained about twenty-six hours of daylight to destroy his enemies. Others have thought that the words "in the midst of heaven," fixes the time at noon-day; but as Joshua saw the sun and moon at the same time, it is more probable, as Mr. Taylor supposes, that the event happened in the evening. It is easy to declaim against this miracle, as infidels do, but he who made the heavenly bodies could certainly command their movements at pleasure. The statement being contrary to our scientific views of astronomy, is no argument against the fact; it is made in popular language, and in the received style of the day; and indeed, though we know to the contrary, we still speak of things happening at sunrise and sunset, while all the while it is the earth only that is in motion. Herodotus, the ancient Greek historian, says that there was a tradition of such an event, prevalent among the Egyptian priests. Mr. Taylor endeavours ingeniously to account for this miracle, and as the stoppage of the sun must have made a double day to a whole hemisphere, and a double night to the other hemisphere, with all their effects; and



soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, insomuch that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books laid up in the temple.

Those kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people, of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number of people were destroyed, were greatly affrighted at it: so the kings that lived about mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hopes of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them, Whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them? and promised them that they should overcome their enemies: and withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies, and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when they wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such time as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem,

as the moon must in this case have made an unusually long lunar month or revolution,—have kept the tides stationary, or have increased them so as to occasion great inundations on the one hand, and have decreased them so that the want of water must have been severely felt where it was low water:—he therefore conjectures that the light issuing from the sun, not the body of the sun itself, is spoken of; and in like manner the light reflected from the moon, and not the body of the moon itself. The argument may be seen at length in Taylor's *Calmet*.

together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had before directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on mount Gerizzim, and the other half on mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed and denounced the blessings and the curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situate in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making these enemies despair of taking them; for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong: so he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them, what prosperous success they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed, so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceeding fruitful, yet if they be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all. And although it so falls out, that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is, for the main, mountainous also, yet does it now come behind



other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty: for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sorts of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

So Joshua took both Eleazar, and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extending to the lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho, and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer, but in breadth as far as from Bethel till it ended at the great plain. The half tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city Dora, but its breadth was at Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis. And after these was Issachar, which had for its limits in length, mount Carmel and the river, but its limits in breadth was mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the lake of Gennesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Asher, had that part which was called The Valley, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named Actipus. The Naphtalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, into mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighbouring city Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and was bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had at all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the names of the son of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have showed already: but the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites and the Amathites, and the Aradians, were not regularly disposed of.

But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do (as did those that

succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public), so he gave it in charge to every tribe, to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, that they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites, and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the manslayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; and of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of Naphthali, Kadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan; for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them: "Since that God, who is the father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance, on all occasions according to his command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer, that so if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks, for the dangers you have undergone with us; and we do it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyment of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the good-will of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good-will towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted anything which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation



that is between us ; and that you will not imagine, that because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there ; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he had ordained, and are most carefully to observe ; because while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you ; but if you imitate other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes : and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those that should inhabit on the other side : but when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it, but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar, and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country, for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred, or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped ; so these men put themselves in array for war : but Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them ; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas, the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind, when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. But as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, "That the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future ; yet that they did not look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and a battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an ambassage to them, that when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too harsh in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove

that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true ; for we can hardly suppose that you who have been acquainted with the will of God, and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark, and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime, if you repent now, and proceed no farther in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country ; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them ; for do not you imagine, that because you are got over the river, that you are got out of the reach of God's power ; you are every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to over-run his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby : but if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep ; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes : and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore."

When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly and the whole multitude began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of, and they said, "That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation : and they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices ; that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect : and let God be our authentic witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar : whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had



received: now Joshua was glad he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same: so Joshua after that dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent them to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of the common people as could be present: and when they were come, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not be but a great many, since from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty, and exhorted them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them, that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety; and that it was proper for him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them, and he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom, nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity, in action and in dangers; and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city of Timnah, of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time died Eleazar the high priest,\* leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also and sepulchre are in the city of Gabbatha.

## CHAP. II.

*How, after the Death of Joshua their Commander, the Israelites transgressed the Laws of their Country, and experienced great afflictions; and when there was a Sedition, the Tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, excepting only six hundred Men.*

AFTER the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied, that according to God's will they should

\* Since not only Procopius and Suidas, but an earlier author, Moses Chorenensis, perhaps from his original author Mariba Catina, one as old as Alexander the Great, sets down the famous inscription at Tangier concerning the old Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, take it here in that author's own words: "We are those exiles that were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by Joshua the robber, and are come to inhabit here." Nor is it unworthy of our notice what Moses Chorenensis adds, viz. that "one of those eminent men among the Canaanites came at the same time into Armenia, and founded the Genthunian family, or tribe; and that this was confirmed by the manners of the same family, or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites."

commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites;† for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the 'lord of Bezek,' for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue, is called lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: but when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings."‡ So they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem; and when he was dead they buried him in the earth, and went on still in taking the cities: and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inha-

† By 'prophesying,' when spoken of a high priest, Josephus means no more than consulting God by Urim. And if St. John, who was contemporary with Josephus, and of the same country, made use of his style, when he says, that "Caiaphas being high priest that year, prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one, the children of God that were scattered abroad," he may possibly mean, that this was revealed to the high priest by an extraordinary voice from between the cherubim, when he had his breast-plate, or Urim and Thummin, on, before or in the most holy place of the temple, which was no other than the oracle of Urim and Thummin.

‡ This great number of seventy-two 'reguli,' or 'small kings,' over whom Adonibezek had tyrannized, and for which he was punished according to the 'lex talionis,' as well as the thirty-one kings of Canaan subdued by Joshua, and named in one chapter, Josh. xii. and thirty-two kings, or royal auxiliaries to Benhadad, king of Syria, 1 Kings, xx. 1. Antiq. b. viii. chap. xiv. intimate to us what was the ancient form of government among several nations before the monarchies began, viz. that every city or large town, with its neighbouring villages, was a distinct government by itself, which is the more remarkable, because this was certainly the form of ecclesiastical government that was settled by the apostles, and preserved throughout the Christian church in the first ages of Christianity. Mr. Addison is of opinion, that, "it would certainly be for the good of mankind to have all the mighty empires and monarchies of the world cantoned out into petty states and principalities, which, like so many large families, might lie under the observation of their proper governors, so that the care of the prince might extend itself to every individual person under his protection; though he despairs of such a scheme being brought about, and thinks, that if it were, it would quickly be destroyed." Nor is it unfit to be observed here, that the Armenian records, though they give us the history of thirty-nine of their most ancient heroes or governors after the flood, before the days of Sardanapalus, had no proper king till the fortieth Pararus. And that Almighty God does not approve of absolute and tyrannical monarchies, any one may learn that reads Deut. xvii. 14—20. and 1 Sam. viii. 1—22, although if such kings are set up as own him for their supreme King, and aim to govern according to his laws, he hath admitted of them, and protected them and their subjects in all generations.



bitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land heretofore belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses: this Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses, for they had left their own country and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, sorely galled those that attacked them: so these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute; so they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground: the rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed anything worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege, yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby: but after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessities, and they gave him some assurances that if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred: so he swore, that upon these terms he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the city was preserved, with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures, nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how, contrary to his directions, they had spared the Canaanites, and after that, how these Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very

barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war, and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion:

There was a Levite, a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarrelled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that out of his fondness for her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening: for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodging in some Israelite city. Accordingly, he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the marketplace invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him, who he was? and for what reason he came thither so late? and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: so the old man, as well because of their kindred, as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men, of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and



admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as condemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and when the old man alleged, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests; supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about day-break. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great affliction at what had happened, and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done, so she fell down and gave up the ghost; but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they offered to her.

Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the experience of such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle, they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them that they ought not so hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed to them by words concerning the accusation laid against them, it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves when they appear to have been injurious, without send-

ing an embassy first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not; and accordingly, they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they delivered them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders: but if they despised the message that was sent them, to punish them, by taking up arms against them. Accordingly, they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them, vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number, nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparations for war, for they were so insolently mad, as also to resolve to repel force by force.

When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites, and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch that when the battle was joined at Gibeah, the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night come on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain; and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a great slaughter. So they came to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God by Phineas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory, and power over their enemies. Accordingly, God promised them so to do by the prophesying of Phineas.

When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one-half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, and retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city, and the others followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city, the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lifted up the signal



they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do, and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age, and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly, those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

However, they afterwards were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed these men had suffered justly for their offence against the laws: so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called 'Rimmon,' which was in the wilderness; so the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness, and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could shew them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and

yet keep their oaths. They asked him what his proposal was? He said, "that three times in a year when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us; let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over-angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Accordingly, the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so those that lay scattered in the road rose up and caught hold of them: by these means these Benjamites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was the tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

### CHAP. III.

*How the Israelites after this Misfortune grew wicked, and served the Assyrians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them forty Years.*

Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following: when the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased and might thereby, for the time to come, dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered the soldiery together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askalon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, they sent five of their men into the midland country to see for a land to which they might remove their habitation: so these men went as far as the



neighbourhood of mount Libanus, and the fountains of the lesser Jordan; at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city of Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves farther in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost their happy state which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by their luxury; for when Chushan, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of the soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force: nay, there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from them in the following manner.

There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenez, of the tribe of Judah, an active man, and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking, (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him,) he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chushan had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Ehud, who retained the Dominion eighty years.*

WHEN Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder, and while they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them, on account of the disorders of their political government, that he

made war upon them and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted no method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty eighteen years: but when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlour that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke and not give him a deadly wound, so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of



their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ebud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government eighty years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

#### CHAP. V.

*How the Canaanites brought the Israelites under Slavery for twenty Years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty Year*

AND now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin came out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the lake Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with no fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

So they continued to undergo that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: so when they were at length become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee,) to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Napthali (now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies lightning).

So Deborah sent for Barak, and bid him choose out ten thousand young men, to go against the enemy, because God had said, that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said, that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee, into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites and Barak himself were so affrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah

retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords, while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came on their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them, so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail, and drove it through his temples with a hammer into the floor: and when Barak came, a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was commander of the Israelites for forty years.

#### CHAP. VI.

*How the Midianites and other Nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and afflicted their Country for seven Years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the Multitude.*

NOW when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine, and a scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to God, and besought him to save them.

Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and threshed them at the wine-press



for he was too fearful of their enemies, to thresh them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was a happy man and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, that "it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous: and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions." But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

Now therefore as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, "That mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue: now, that they might not pass over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies." And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time: but God being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: he thought he saw a barley cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army, and told him what his reason was which made him so to conjecture, viz. that the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley; and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites, was this Gideon and the army that was with him: "and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake

overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon."

When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them: so Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men; they all bare empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet: the enemies' camp took up a large space of ground; for it happened they had a great many camels: and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and on the signal given, sounded with their ram's horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized on the other men while they were fast asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the whole enemy's army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmunna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophra, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, "That it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them; but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as to those in the army." And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious



treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them; as the people came to him in their differences, and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophra.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The Judges who succeeded Gideon, made War with the adjoining Nations for a long Time.*

Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Drumah, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place: and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with him to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham; for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws, and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

Now, when on a certain time there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: so when silence was made, he said, "That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom, (it is a sort of wood good for firing,) promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it, but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he said was no laughing matter: for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren: and that he was no better than a fire himself." So when he had said this, he went away, and lived

privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather the fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage, whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them, at the head of his soldiery: so they gathered their fruit with safety, and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him, and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself: and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, that some armed men were coming; but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones; and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality; and said, they were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him? So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army, till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it; and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and cam-



against them with his forces, and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily; so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which befel upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly, he marched to Thebez, and took the city on a sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman; who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent his death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites, was according to the prediction of Jotham. However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own houses.

Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skilful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man, and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God, and the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest: but the Hebrews being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a com-

mander. Now there was one whose name was Jephthah, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man; the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness, and this they did out of a contempt of his inability to vindicate himself. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and swore that they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

And when Jephthah had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city of Mispah, and sent a message to the Ammonite king, complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephthah returned this answer, "That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited above three hundred years, but would fight with them about it."

And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed to perform sacred offices; and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child, and a virgin: upon this, Jephthah heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow-citizens: she only desired her father to give her leave for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens; and then she agreed, that at the fore-mentioned time, he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering; offering



such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, not because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done, to himself. As to which he said, first, that they were not ignorant how his country had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them, that with God's assistance he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

When Izban was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulun.

Abdon also, the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grand-children; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all very skilful in riding horses, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man; and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the Fortitude of Samson, and what Mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines.*

AFTER Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty

years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner:

There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife, celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and being uneasy at this want of posterity, he entreated God to give seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs,\* together with his wife, which suburbs were in the great plain. Now he was fond of his wife to the degree of madness, and on that account was immeasurably jealous of her. Now when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her; it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man, beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of drink, for so had God commanded, and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

Now the wife informed her husband when he came home, of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and beside himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly, she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favour of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long that she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel, he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife: but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality: so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which, when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame,

\* There appears to be no reason why Manoah and his wife came so constantly into these suburbs to pray for children, but probably it was because there was a synagogue, or place of devotion, in those suburbs.



was consumed, together with the loaves. And the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God; but his wife bid him to be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

So the woman proved with child, when he was born, 'Samson,' which name signifies one that is 'strong.' So the child grew apace, and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

Now when he once came with his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet, because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he overpersuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lighted upon a swarm of bees, making their combs in the breast of that lion; and taking three honeycombs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him, during the time of the wedding-feast (for he then feasted them all), thirty of the most stout of their youth, on pretence to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you expound it in these seven days' time, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as a reward for your wisdom." So they, being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle: he said, "that a great devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days' time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them, and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it, but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her; he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honeycombs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sunset, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to

those that make use of it." To which Samson made this rejoinder, "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly, he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as he met upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines as well as her: so, it being then summer-time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe. But the people of Judah said, that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson's offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they, being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemy's hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called "The Jaw-bone," on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with this jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and into great disorder.

Upon this slaughter Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, "that it was out of a dread of him that some of his



enemies fell, and the rest ran away upon his own use of the jaw-bone." But when a thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony to all that is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Samson called the place "The Jaw-bone,"\* and so it is called to this day.

After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived. But Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines; her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and, with promises, induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtilty; by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withs of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was disordered in drink, and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then upon her awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withs, and endeavoured to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound

him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her, the third time, that his hair should be wove into a web; but, even upon this, the truth was not discovered. At length Samson, upon Delilah's prayer (for he was doomed to fall into some affliction), was desirous to please her, and told her, that God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that "thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together. Now the room wherein they were had its roof supported by two pillars; so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary, and wanted to rest himself, and desired that he would bring him near the pillars; and, as soon as he came near to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house by overthrowing its pillars, with the three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that, in all other respects, he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarasat, his own country, with the rest of his family.

#### CHAP. IX.

*How, under Eli's Government of the Israelites, Booz married Ruth, from whom came Obed, the Grandfather of David.*

Now after the death of Samson, Eli, the high priest, was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi, his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the

\* This fountain, called "Lehi," or, "The Jaw-bone," is still in being, as travellers assure us, and was known by this very name in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all the past ages. See Antio b. vii. chap. xi



















happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech and, a little while after him, the sons died: and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now that those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also, and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly, Orpah stayed behind, but she took Ruth along with her, who would not be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her: and when Naomi was so called by her fellow-citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies, in the Hebrew tongue, happiness, and Mara, sorrow. It was now reaping time; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some time Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had, a little before, inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of that son of hers, to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience a prosperous condition: so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner, and make her drink, when he did the like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her: and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following, to gather the gleanings with Booz's maid-servants.

It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept on his threshing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived

it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly, she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet, who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awaked about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired that he, whom she owned for her lord, would excuse her; he then said no more, but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awaked her, and bid her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest thus: "He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife; if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse thee, I will marry thee according to the law."

When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now, about noon, Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also, and when he came, he said, "Dost not thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. "Then," said Booz, "thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry according to the laws, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the fields and the wife to Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and, by the advice of this woman, called him Obed, as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age; for Obed, in the Hebrew dialect, signifies a servant. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one-and-twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who without difficulty can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David; though he was born of such mean parents.



## CHAP. ...

*Concerning the Birth of Samuel; and how he foretold the Calamity that befel the Sons of Eli.*

AND now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli, the high priest, had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had, others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God at the tabernacle, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their life was no better than tyranny.

Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befel Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons' destruction.

I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of the middle condition of his fellow-citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best, although she were barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city of Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and lonesomeness, and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way that his manner of living should not be like ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drunk water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told her that God would send her children.

So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness: and when they had returned to their own country, she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was

asked of God. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithe with them; but the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

Now when Samuel was twelve years old he began to prophesy: and when he was once asleep, God called to him by his name, but he, supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him; but when the priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before; it is God that calls thee: do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration, whatsoever he should make use of him in; to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, such, indeed, as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die in one day, and the priesthood be transferred into the family of Eleazer, for Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it.

And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.\*

## CHAP. XI.

*Herein is declared what befel the Sons of Eli, the Ark, and the People; and how Eli himself died miserably.*

ABOUT this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of the multitude to their camp.

So the Hebrews, being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was

\* Although there had been a few occasional prophets before, yet was Samuel the first of a constant succession of prophets in the Jewish nation.





THE END OF THE WORLD









DANIEL BEFORE ELI







that this ark came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned the office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that, by the coming of the ark, they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectations on both sides; but when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected, was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of, fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten, as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemy.

When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither,) the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli, the high priest, who sat upon a high throne, at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family: so he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was

not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having beforehand known by divine revelation that these things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand, for when sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most; but as soon as the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

On the same day his son Phineas' wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour. However, she bare a son at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Icabod, which name signifies disgrace, and this because the army received disgrace at this time.

Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government, for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so had his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign: but then the posterity of Eleazar re-assumed it.

## BOOK VI.

### CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

#### CHAP. I.

*The Destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their Land, by the Wrath of God, on account of their having carried the Ark away captive; and after what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews.*

WHEN the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon,\* as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple the next morning, to worship

their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark; for he lay all along, having fallen down from the basis whereon he had stood. So they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon, and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of a dysentery, or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited

\* Dagon a famous maritime god, or idol, is generally supposed to have been like a man above the navel, and like a fish beneath it. The

ark was placed by Dagon as a dedicated spoil; it being customary among the Philistines to dedicate their spoils to their god.



up what they had eaten, which was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth, and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it stay among those others neither; for, since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

When those that had experienced these miseries were tired of them, and when those that heard them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it: so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza and Ashdod, met together, and considered what was fit to be done; and at the first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said, they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such a power and force upon them; for, had God such a regard for it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: so they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause for it but nature, which at certain revolutions of time produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsels that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said, it was not right either to send the ark away, or to detain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice, like to those that devoured

and destroyed their country,\* to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it,† but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hinderance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and to leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased, that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it."

So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there, and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and, as if some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, whose name was Bethshemesh, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being then in their fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labour of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart; and, taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine

\* This was also a custom among the ancient heathens, to consecrate to their gods such monuments of their deliverance, as presented the evils from which they were freed. Tavernier relates that this is still practised among the Indians: he says that, when any pilgrim goes to a pagoda for the cure of disease, he brings the figure of the limb, or part of the body which is affected, made either of gold, silver, or copper, according to his quality, which he offers to his god, and then begins to sing, as all others do, after they have offered. Mr. Selden also has observed, that mice were used among the ancient heathens for lustration and cleansing. The papists have imitated this, among other heathen customs practised among them, and to this day, in some parts of the continent, there are to be seen waxen arms, legs, and other members of the body, hung up, in some of the churches, as memorials of gratitude for their recovery from various diseases. Spanheim also informs us that, upon the coins of Tenedos, and those of other cities, a field mouse is engraven, together with Apollo Smintheus, or Apollo the driver away of field mice, on account of his being supposed to have freed tracts of ground from those mice; which coins show how great a judgment such mice have sometimes been, and how the deliverance from them was then esteemed the effects of a divine power; which observations are highly suitable to this history.

† This device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of kine to draw this cart, into which they put the ark of the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Sanchoniatho's account, under his ninth generation, that Agrouerus, or Agrotus, the husbandman, had a much-worshipped statue and a temple, carried about by one or more yoke of oxen, or kine, in Phenicia, in the neighbourhood of these Philistines.



as a burnt-offering: and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they turned back.

But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons dead at the village of Bethshemesh,\* who, not being priests, and so not being worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for these that thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God, and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one Abinadab, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did abide a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the divine service of the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Hebrews' Victory under the Conduct of Samuel the Prophet, who was their General.*

Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly, he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them: be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of

your souls, and by your worship supplicate the divine majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain, neither by weapons of war, nor by the strength of your bodies, nor by the multitude of your assistance; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises." When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which signifies, in the Hebrew tongue, a watch-tower; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, "that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that thence it was we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths to be obedient, our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bid them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly, God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by any body; for, in the first place, God disturbed the enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that, by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by

\* These seventy men, being not so much as Levites, touched the ark in a rash or profane manner, and were slain by the hand of God for such their rashness and profaneness, according to the divine threatenings; but how our other copies come to add such an incredible number as 50,000 in this one town, or small city, I know not. Dr. Waterland and Le Clerc would read "he smote three score and ten men out of fifty thousand," and they suppose that Israelites to that amount from the neighbouring tribes were assembled together from motives of curiosity; but it is observable, that the men of Bethshemesh only are said to have been smitten.



opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them, after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel, with the multitude, pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory, and their enemies' flight, and called it the Stone of Power, as a signal of that power God had given them against their enemies.

So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them; and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city of Ekron; but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

### CHAP. III

*How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old Age, that he could not take care of the Public Affairs, entrusted them to his Sons; and how, upon the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they required to have a King to govern them, although Samuel was much displeased thereat*

BUT Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice a year, and doing them justice: and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons; the elder of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside, and judge the people, the one at the city of Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided them into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration, how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents, but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men, turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for

the filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living, so that, as in the first place they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said, "that as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions." These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy constitution: nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and revolved these notions in his mind.

While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their King; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that, however, in no long time, they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity; that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and their ungrateful conduct towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testify before them unto what a great change of affairs they are hastening."

When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle: "For, know ye," said he, "that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others to be the runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing



which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers;\* and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants; and, to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them: and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, to be taken out of their mind, for they could not be turned from their purpose: nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not to trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbours were under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, "Go you every one home for the present; when it is fit, I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God, who it is that he will give you for your king."

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Appointment of a King over the Israelites, whose Name was Saul; and this by the Command of God.*

THERE WAS one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son, a young man of comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him; they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had; so he sent out his son

\* The despotic power of eastern monarchs on this point is described by a writer of the history of Ceylon: "He (the king) hath many women belonging to his kitchen, choosing to have his meat dressed by them. Several times he hath sent into the countries a command to gather handsome young women of the Chingulayes, to recruit his kitchen, with no exception, whether married or unmarried; and those that are chosen for that service never return back again."

and one servant with him, to search for the beasts; † but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him, told him, as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they would know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, that if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that, for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward. So they went to him, and when they were before the gates, they met with certain maidens that were going to fetch water; and they asked them which was the prophet's house? They showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had gathered many together to feast with him on this very account, for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, and that he would send him a certain young man, out of the tribe of Benjamin, about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time being come. ‡ And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house? for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he was himself the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him; he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellest me this in jest, and makest me an object of laughter, when thou discourest with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of." However, the prophet led

† Baron Du Tott informs us, that such seeking is a common practice in the East, as the animals often go far astray, and are sometimes not found for several days. The owner always knows his own by some particular mark put upon the animal.

‡ This is perfectly agreeable to eastern customs. It appears that Samuel conversed with Saul for coolness on the housetop in the evening; and in the morning he called Saul, who lodged there all night, and was not stirring. It is supposed that Saul slept on the roof of the house, and the following extract from the writings of modern travellers will serve to illustrate this passage: "At night all sleep on the tops of their houses, their beds being spread upon their terraces, without any other covering over their heads than the vault of heaven. The poor seldom have a screen to keep them from the gaze of passengers; and as we generally rode out on horseback at a very early hour, we perceived on the tops of the houses people either still in bed, or just getting up, and certainly no sight was ever stranger."



him in to the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number; \* and he gave order to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home, but Saul stayed with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him, when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, † and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king by the ordination of God against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of; as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them, carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gathatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the Divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, 'Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness?' And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than any other of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said

\* It seems that these seventy guests of Samuel, as here with himself at the head of them, were a Jewish Sanhedrim, and that hereby Samuel intimated to Saul that these seventy-one were to be his constant counsellors, and that he was to act not like a sole monarch, but with the advice and direction of these seventy-one members of the Jewish Sanhedrim upon all occasions, which yet we never read that he consulted afterwards.

† Though we read of no express command for the anointing of kings, yet it is plain, from the parable of Jotham, Judg. ix. 8, that this was a custom 200 years before this time. As Samuel was no priest, it is probable that he made use of common oil, and not of the sacred oil on this occasion.

nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy; and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred, nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

Then Samuel called the people together to the city of Mizpeh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: That "when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their king, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of beings; for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away by the lust of power, but will not endeavour to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and sceptres, and cast lots."

When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented their sending for him, and immediately went away and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that whilst the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many, and so great tribes, but crept away and concealed himself from the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him, and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

Then said the prophet, "God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion." So as soon as the people had made acclamation, "God save the king!" the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a



book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude and came himself to the city of Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born: and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

#### CHAP. V.

*Saul's Expedition against the Nation of the Ammonites, and Victory over them, and the Spoils he took from them.*

AFTER one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan, by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence, but weakening them by subtilty and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms,\* or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites; and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or universally perish. However, the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say anything to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him. But they desired that he would give them seven days' respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them, they would fight; but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from

them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

So Nahash, contemning the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief, at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said; and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of those related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow-citizens weeping; and when, upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun, upon its rising, might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under: but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites, by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sun-rising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing: and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites; as also their king Nahash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valour: for, although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of men: for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously: so the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamour against those that pretended he would be of

\* Theodoret says, "He that exposes his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: he therefore that plucks out that eye makes men useless in war." The intention of Nahash was to disable them into blind men; but he did not choose to have both their eyes thrust out, for then they could have been of no use and service to him as slaves or tributaries.



no advantage to their affairs; and they said, "Where now are these men? let them be brought to punishment," with all the like things that men do usually say, when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same image with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul, by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be king the second time. And so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy, but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior, and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government *The Judges*.

Then did Samuel the prophet call another meeting also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, what have I ever done that was cruel or unjust; or what have I done out of lucre or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet, when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or I have taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief? Lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out that "no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner."

Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there, to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of

our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces; he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and Moabites, and last of all, the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king? Yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest,\* I will entreat of God, and make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into the sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful to them as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him, and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and even to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also, to remember the strange signs God had showed them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

\* Rain usually fell in Judea only twice a year, called the former and the latter rain; and from the seventeenth of Nisan, or March, to the sixteenth of Marchesvan, or October, it was not usual for rain to fall, and so not in harvest, at that time especially. Rabbi Joseph Kimchi says, in the land of Israel rain never fell all the days of harvest: and this is confirmed by Jerome, who lived long in those parts, who says, at the end of the month of June, and in the month of July, we never saw rain in those provinces, especially in Judea. And Samuel not only by putting this question would have them observe that it was the time of wheat harvest in general; but, on that day in particular, the men were at work in the fields reaping the wheat, &c., and so the weather was not cloudy and inclining to rain, but all serene and clear, or otherwise they would not have been employed in cutting down the corn; all which made the case the more remarkable.



## CHAP. VI.

*How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.*

Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city of Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan, his son, to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal, for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was, that the husbandmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses, and they pitched their camp at the city of Michmash. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city of Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty, and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but that they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves, and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war, and the public affairs: so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited,\* as the prophet sent to him to do, yet did

\* Saul seems to have stayed till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel, the prophet of God, had appointed him, but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done; and Samuel appears, by delaying to come to the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him, (who seems to have been already, for some time, declining from his strict and bounden subordination to God, and his prophet, to have taken life-guards for himself and his son, which was entirely a new thing in Israel, and savoured of a distrust of God's providence, and to have affected more than he ought, that independent authority which the pagan kings took to themselves;) Samuel, I say, seems to have here tried Saul, whether he would stay till the priest came, who alone could lawfully offer the sacrifices, or would boldly and profanely usurp the priest's office, which he venturing upon, was justly rejected for his profaneness. And, indeed, since Saul had accepted kingly

power, which naturally becomes ungovernable and tyrannical, as God foretold, and the experience of all ages shown, the divine settlement by Moses would have been laid aside under the kings, had not God, by keeping strictly to his laws, and severely executing the threatenings therein contained, restrained Saul and other kings in some degree of obedience to himself.

† During all the forty years' oppression by the Philistines, they seem to have used the policy of forbidding the Israelites to practise the trade of smiths; as the Chaldeans afterwards carried the smiths captive out of the land. And after the termination of that entire slavery, the Israelites did not readily re-assume the trade; but as the Philistines had garrisons in many parts of the land, they were accustomed to go to the smiths resident in them, for such work as needed to be done: and these would doubtless exact an exorbitant price for their labour, and also exert themselves in preventing the Israelites from learning or practising their trade. Thus the Philistines had artfully obtained a most important advantage: and it is probable, that they had been more assiduous than common, while they expected that Saul would make war on them; so that, at the important crisis, the Israelites were almost destitute of armour.



with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice, which had three tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon therefore as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if when they see us they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemies' camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" and they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies; so he changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty; and so far overcame by force the nature of the place, till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled; but the greatest part, not knowing one another because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, (for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,) and so they fought one against another: and some of them died in battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

Now Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army? and when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bid the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said, "That they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies." So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also came running to him, who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When therefore the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all

over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for whether out of ignorance, or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently, as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced a curse on the Hebrews, "That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter of the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed." Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honeycomb, and ate part of it.\* But in the meantime, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste anything before sun-setting: so he left off eating, and said, "His father had not done well in this prohibition, because, had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies."

When therefore they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey, and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God, as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub, the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said, that God did not give any answer, "And not without some cause," said Saul, "does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him, that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear

\* In this country the honey dropped from the hollow trees, or the clefts of rocks, where bees make their combs, as they do sometimes on the ground. Wild honey was so copious there, and flowed so plentifully, that it gave occasion to the hyperbolical expression in the book of Job, of "brooks, or torrents of honey and butter." Burchell, in his travels in Africa, mentions finding a bees' nest in the ground, out of which was obtained about three pounds of honey; it was thin, but very delicious.



by Him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness? His answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hast denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of a honeycomb." But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself to it generously, and undauntedly, he said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me; death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me, that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan, and they swore that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

So Saul having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily: and he also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Isui, and Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle's son, for the captain of his host; that uncle's name was Ner. Now Ner and Kish, the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen: against whomsoever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations: and he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness, the guards of his body.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Saul's War with the Amalekites, and Conquest of them.*

Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, "That he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him above all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he

had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly, God said to him, that because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them, and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek\* entirely.

So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah; for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them a mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them, and, pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly; first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemy's king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy

\* The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xv. 18 "Go, and destroy 'the sinners' the Amalekites." Nor indeed do we ever meet with these Amalekites but as a very cruel and bloody people, and particularly seeking to injure, and utterly to destroy the nation of Israel; and, above all, the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites.—Esther iii. 1—16. This heavy sentence was pronounced against the Amalekites long previously, and renewed at the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, with a charge not to forget it; but they were not cut off until their iniquity had come to the full, as was the case of the devoted nations in general, and after a respite of more than 400 years from the time when their sentence was first pronounced.



of preservation: yet was not this done, however, according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not so safe for him to indulge it, for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity even on those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul, for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches, but if there were anything that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

But when Saul had conquered all those Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country: but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for, before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart hence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites, for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses' father-in-law.

Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things that he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected anything which the prophet had enjoined him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man, that was a king, would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion; and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him: but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, as not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of such sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; for while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good-natured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul to Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God who hath given me the vic-

tory, for I have performed everything that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the great cattle, in the camp?" Saul made answer, that "the people had reserved them for sacrifices, but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no man was left, but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is well done by them, but when they do it as God hath commanded them: that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so many and so fat, and be the presents they make never so ornamental, nay, though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will accept a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behaviour as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said, that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. But forgive me, said he, and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come. He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

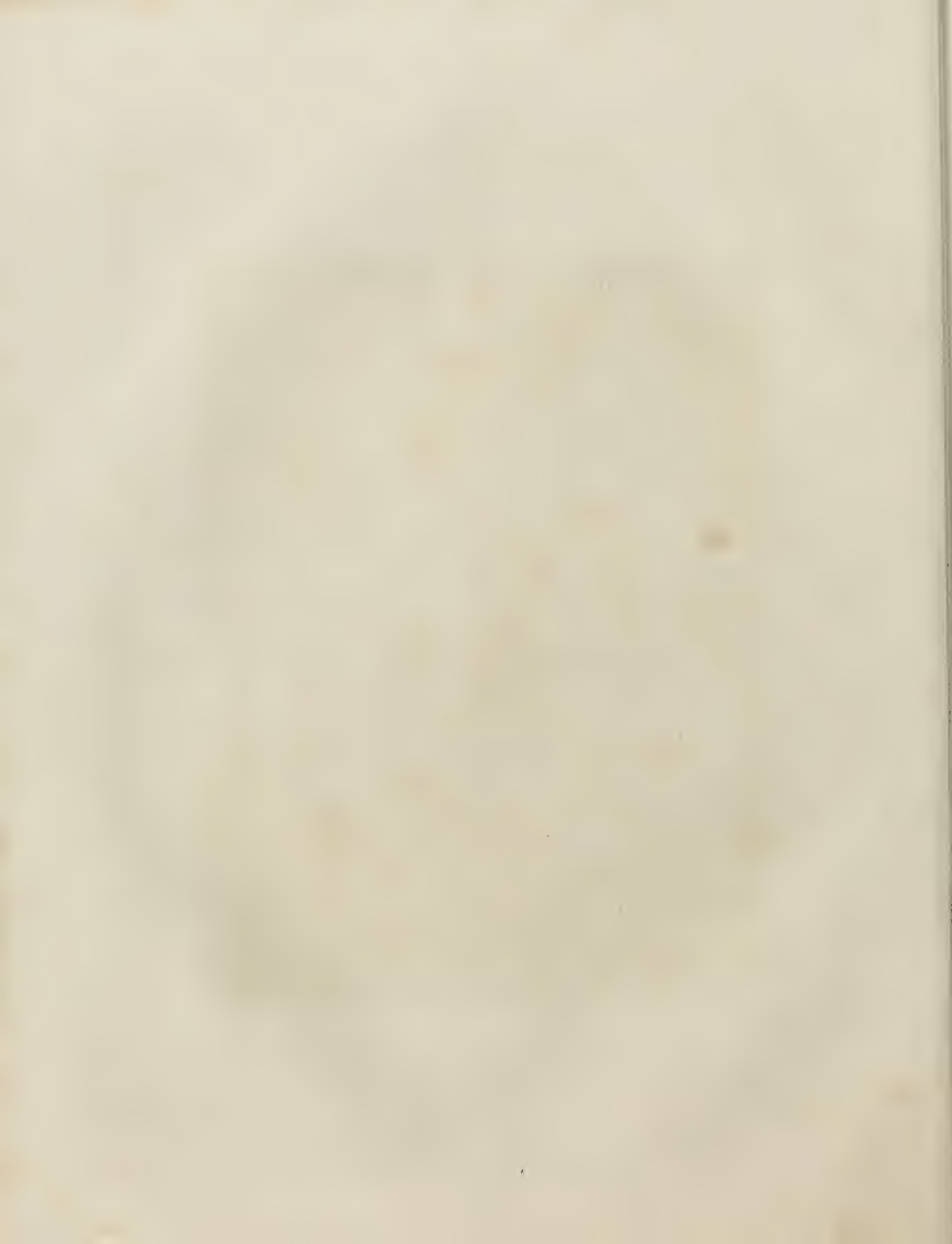
But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him;





DAVID PLAYING THE HARP







that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the divine power. Hereupon Saul said, that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone: he therefore desired him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag, also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was? Samuel said: As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail their children, so shalt thou by thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also. Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*How, upon Saul's Transgression of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel ordained another Person to be King privately, whose name was David, as God commanded him.*

Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes a 'hill,' and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem to Jesse, the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him, for their future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either by some private method or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the fore-mentioned city; and when they all saluted him, and asked, "What was the occasion of his coming?" he told them, he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence, for when Samuel inquired of God, whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom? God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hath respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteamest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect. I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons to come to him; of all of whom Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammah the third, Nathaneel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the

sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose for their king? And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse whether he had not some other sons beside these; and when he said that he had one more named David, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bid them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil, in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God chose him to be their king: and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendour, and celebrated in the world: that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nation soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight; and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away: but the divine power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him, for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, that if any person could charm those passions by singing and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him and play on the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly, Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said, that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an excellent soldier in war, he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness and his valour. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and had him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demon, whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to



stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

#### CHAP. IX.

*How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, under the Reign of Saul; and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in a single Combat.*

Now the Philistines gatnered themselves together again no very long time afterward, and having gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites: and having seized a place between Shocchoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and, by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Goliath, of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels; he had also a helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels: and many followed him to carry his armour. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and sent out a loud voice, and said to Saul, and to the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror, and determine the war; for these shall serve those others to whom the conqueror shall belong: and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, till Saul and his army were there-with terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war; and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing; while Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valour among them, that durst come

down to fight him: and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, "I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary." Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said, that he spake too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still spake to some of the soldiers, that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him: and when the king asked him what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down, nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being entrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no older in age than a child."

Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilful in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them; and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who will yet reduce him under my own power."

However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breast-plate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burthened with his armour, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armour be thine, O king, who art able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armour, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him in such a manner, disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked









DAVID AND GOLIATH



Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of his god, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowl of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breast-plate, but I have God for my armour, in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands; for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his providence, and that, without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed and a child also, without any trouble at all.

But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied by an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slang it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sunk into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword, for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath, the Philistines were beaten, and fled: for, when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavoured to save themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul, and the entire army of the Hebrews, made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; and David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God at the tabernacle.

#### CHAP. X.

*Saul envies David for his glorious Success, and takes an occasion of entrapping him, from the promise he had made him of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, but this upon condition of his bringing six hundred Heads of the Philistines.*

Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and said thus: the wives said, that "Saul had slain his many thousands of the Philistines;" the virgins replied, that "David had slain

his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and that the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself, that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly, he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which, out of fear, seemed to him much too near a station for him; and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post, better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty success, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him, and her affection so far prevailed over her, that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him; so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him, if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies," supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines, "and my designs about him will succeed finely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave orders to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly they began to speak thus to him, that king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said, "Tell him that I do not want any money or dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue (of which he saw David was possessed), and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold, nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this, than any of the accustomed dowries for his daughter, viz. that she should be married to a man



of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies."

When these words of Saul were brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him; so that, without bearing to deliberate any longer, or casting about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God who made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many of the Philistines, and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Philistines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly Saul, having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner was impossible, in order to have him slain, gave him his daughter in marriage; her name was Michal.

#### CHAP. XI.

*How David, upon Saul's laying Snares for him did yet escape the Dangers he was in, by the affection and care of Jonathan, and the contrivances of his Wife Michal: and how he came to Samuel the Prophet.*

HOWEVER, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was, for when he saw that David was in great esteem, both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid: and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom, and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan and his most faithful servants to kill him: but Jonathan wondered at his father's change with relation to David, that it should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good-will, to contrive how to have him killed. Now, because he loved the young man, and revered him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and I will then inform thee of my father's resolution. Accordingly, David complied with such advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

On the next day Jonathan came to Saul, as soon as

he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines? A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation, for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man who, in the first place, hath done us the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for, when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and, in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words, and swore to his son that he would do David no harm, for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

About this time it was that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them, he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bedchamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns; which, when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away; that he might come to the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the



last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity; and may God lengthen it for thy sake! for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver; and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, that he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So that when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented this plausible defence for herself, and said, "That when he threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity; for, (said she,) I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill thy enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance: which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him, to a certain place called Naioth, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him: and when they came to Samuel, and found there a congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the divine Spirit, and began to prophesy: which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered in mind, and under the vehement agitation of a spirit, and putting off his garments, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

And David went thence, and came to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, that "though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed." Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to his own

suspicious, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that his father had no such intention, since he would have acquainted him with that matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common, when he acted in other affairs. But David swore to him, that so it was; and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, "What he would have him do for him?" To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in everything, and procure me what I desire. Now tomorrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper; now if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe: and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, 'It is well that he went,' then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared in his hands; but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some other designs against me. Accordingly, thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case, and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied anything of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and swore that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused everywhere, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the secret parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be gently or peevishly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do: and if it fall out that I die,



preserve my children alive, and requite what kindnesses thou hast now received, to them." When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him go to a certain place of that plain wherein he used to perform his exercises, for that as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him, with one servant only: and "if (says he) I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry those three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king: however, thou shalt gain security by my means, and shall by no means suffer any harm; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee, in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children." Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper; and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said, that "he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; and, (says Jonathan,) if thou wilt give me leave, I will go thither, for thou knowest the good-will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of a renegade, and an enemy; and said, "He was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this, that while David was alive, their kingdom was not secure to them; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished." And when Jonathan said, in answer, "What hath he done, that thou wilt punish him?" Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words, but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends, but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to dispatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being not able to admit anything into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined: but as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards

him, as he had agreed with him to do. And when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared, and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul: but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

## CHAP. XII.

*How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterwards to the Kings of the Philistines, and of the Moabites; and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his Family.*

BUT David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city of Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause why there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about: and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high priest said, that he had no such weapons, but he added, "Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hadst slain the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God."

When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned: and when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many ten thousands of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from Saul; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did other the like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe that they proceeded from such a dis-temper. Accordingly the king was very angry with his servants that they had brought him a madman; and



he gave orders that they should eject David immediately out of the city.

So when David had escaped in this manner out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred; and as many others as were either in want, or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey his orders: they were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him: so he removed thence, and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him his favour, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city of Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble: but as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep, and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Aroura, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body being with him, he spake thus to them: "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you; and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders, and bestowed posts of honour upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? For I know that you are all inclinable to him, even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same: for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counsellor and an assistant to those that conspire against me; and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence, and watch to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had done his speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer, but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city of Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he had learned future events by his prophesying: that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred, and said to them, "What terrible or ungrateful thing hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on

him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And further, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself: and he said, "I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law, and kinsman. Men do not use to confer such favours on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest goodwill and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times, as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired, I should have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him: wherefore, do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of David's attempts against thee, for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary."

When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul; his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob, the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was Abiathar, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgressions of his two sons.

Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labours that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are done, but clearly know those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise.



but when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they put off all such notions; and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and divine laws; and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men: then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power: and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumours they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it. They raise those to honour, indeed, who had been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as, on account of their extravagant nature, are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this as if he were endeavouring in some sort to render the temple (tabernacle) destitute both of priests and prophets, which endeavour he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father: who hereupon said, "He was not unapprized of what would follow with relation to them, when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself for having been the cause of this misfortune." But he desired him to stay there, and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How David, when he had twice the Opportunity of killing Saul, did not kill him. Also concerning the Death of Samuel and Nabal.*

ABOUT this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of

Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said, that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king, that David was with the men of Keilah; for what had been done, and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard that David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he commanded all the people to set upon Keilah suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there, the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men, and retired into a desert that was over against a city called Engedi. So when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness comes with great labour and pains: they also took oaths that they would all their lives long continue in good-will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness as to what execrations he made upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and assured him that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, so that if the king could seize on the straits of Ziph, David could not escape to any other people. So the king commanded them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he promised them that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he answered, that he himself would follow them. Accordingly, they went before the king, to hunt for, and to catch David, and used endeavours, not only to show their good-will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering



such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse, and promise to deliver up, a man beloved by God, and one that was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for, when David was apprised of the malignant intention of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for, as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the straits of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the straits of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi: so he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him, and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way-side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David, with his four hundred men, were concealed. When, therefore, he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, and he that saw him, saying to him, that "he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on. But soon he repented of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; "for that, although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behove me to be so disposed towards him." But when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him, whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him, and said, "O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions, for calumny deludes men, but men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words, indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore, it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe

those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute. For how comes it about that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it, nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip; for, when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head?" So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon thee, yet art thou not ashamed to persecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions." But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man, he groaned: and when David had done the same, the king answered, that "he had the justest occasion to groan, for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee. And thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me, then, assurances upon oath that thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and protect my house." So David swore as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up to the straits of Masteroth.

About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree: for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature, and on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king: and thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another



flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt, and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered; but to esteem freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favours he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name, a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behaviour, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants, at the time that he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him: and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds that he had done them no injury, but had been their guardian a long time together, while they had been in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner, for he asked them who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, "Now is the time," said he, "that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, for he had already six hundred,\* and went against Nabal; he also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal; for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

Hereupon, one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal, said to his mistress, Nabal's wife, that "when David sent to her husband, he had received no civil answer at all from him, but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master." When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was the wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents, and, without telling her husband any thing of what she was about (for he was not sensible, on account of his drunkenness), she went to David. She was then met by David as

she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman was David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name. Now Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies folly. So she made her apology, "That she did not see the messengers whom he sent. Forgive me, therefore," said she, "and thank God, who hath hindered thee from shedding blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent,† he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept these presents from me; and out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house; for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly, David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but, O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us to-day, for otherwise thou hadst not seen another day, I having sworn to destroy Nabal's house this very night,‡ and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions; but now hast thou prevented me, and mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's providence; but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice, for his evil conduct on some other occasion will be his ruin."

When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing then to him about what had happened; but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them. So Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said, that "God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his hands clean." At which time he understood, that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him,

† In this and the following remarks, we may perceive how Josephus, nay, Abigail herself, would understand the "not avenging ourselves, but heaping coals of fire on the head of the injurious," not as we commonly do now, of melting them into kindness, but of leaving them to the judgment of God, to whom vengeance belongeth, and who will take vengeance on the wicked. And since all God's judgments are just, and all fit to be executed, and all at length for the good of the persons punished, I incline to think that to be the meaning of this phrase of heaping coals of fire on their heads.

‡ We may note here, that how sacred soever an oath was esteemed among the people of God in old times, they did not think it obligatory, where the action was plainly unlawful. For so we see it was in this of David, who, although he had sworn to destroy Nabal and his family, yet does he here, and 1 Sam. xxv. 32-34. bless God for preventing his keeping his oath, and from shedding of blood, as he had sworn to do.

\* The number of men that came first to David are distinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but 400. When he was at Beilah, still but 400, both in Josephus and in the LXXII.; but 600 in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. xxx. 9, 10. Now the 600 there mentioned are here intimated by Josephus to have been so many, only by an augmentation of 200 afterwards, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.



to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came with all her servants, and became his wife; having received that honour on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he married from the city Abesar; for, as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.

After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul, that David was come again into their country; and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and, upon the approach of the night, he pitched his camp at a certain place, called Hachilah. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zerniah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep; and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered the king's tent, but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay by the spear that was struck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do; for he said, "It was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man; for that He who gave the dominion, would in time inflict punishment upon him." So he restrained his eagerness; but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him, when he refrained from it, he took his spear, and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any of the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So, when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awakened them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him? To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is a sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when, a little while ago, some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear, and his cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp, without your knowing of it." Now

when Saul knew David's voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him when he might justly have cut him off, he said, "that he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was beloved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing." So David bade them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, that "God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, who knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee, I abstained from it."

Thus Saul having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city; but David was afraid that if he stayed there he should be caught by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines, and abide there. Accordingly he came, with the six hundred men that were with him, to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice in a manner caught by him, while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation; for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag, which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader farther information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish, yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked, when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay on the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, that he should have him for his servant, and that he would stay in his country.



## CHAP. XIV.

*How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the Fight with the Philistines, desired a necromantic Woman to raise up the Soul of Samuel to him; and how he died with his Sons upon the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle.*

ABOUT the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggan, near the city Shunem, whence they might gather themselves together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality: so the king promised to make him the keeper of his body after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind; which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortune-tellers, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa, he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer, and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women that bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretel future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him that there was such a woman in the city of Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp: hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said, she did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished; he swore that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger. As

soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bade her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose? she said, that "she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god." And when he bade her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was? she told him, "He was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle." So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted, and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up? he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, that his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets, nor by dreams; and that these were "the reasons why I have recourse to thee, who always tookest care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come,\* said, "It is vain

\* This history of Saul's consultation, not with a 'witch,' as we have the Hebrew word in our Bibles, but with a 'necromancer,' as the whole history shows, is easily understood, especially if we consult the Recognitions of Clement, b. i. chap. v. at large, and Eccles. xlv. 20. "Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed the king his end, and lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy," to blot out "the wickedness of the people." Nor does the exactness of the accomplishment of this prediction, the very next day, permit us to suppose any imposition upon Saul in the present history; for as to all modern hypotheses against the natural sense of such ancient and authentic histories, I take them to be of very small value or consideration. There is scarcely any event recorded in Scripture which has occasioned so much controversy as the appearance of Samuel to Saul, nor is there one which has yielded less satisfaction to the disputants. The following ingenious mode of accounting for this remarkable transaction is worthy of notice:—"Whatever might have been the nature of this woman's art, or her design in undertaking to raise Samuel; whether she meant to impose on Saul by getting some accomplice to personate Samuel, whom she must have often seen and well known, during his long administration; or whether she expected to raise a demoniacal spirit to give an answer, it is evident from the original, more closely translated and compared throughout with itself, that "Samuel himself," or his spirit, was actually raised immediately, and before the witch had time to utter any incantations, by the power of God in a glorified form, and wearing the appearance of the ominous mantle, in which was the rent that signified the rending of the kingdom from Saul's family. This opinion is founded on the following reasons: 1. The woman herself was surprised at his unexpected appearance, and immediately concluded that the inquirer could be no other than Saul; for that the venerable prophet would not answer any one inferior to the king. 2. Saul acknowledged his reality, when he prostrated himself before him, and declared the cause of his evocation. 3. The very soul of Samuel seems to breathe in the keenness and severity of his reproaches, "Why hast thou provoked me to raise me? And why dost thou inquire of me, since the Lord has departed from thee, and is with thy rival?—David," whom he now expressly names, as "the neighbour" meant in his former prophecy, of which this is the terrific sequel; foretelling the impending defeat of his army, and death of himself and his sons in the battle; and their going to join the prophet in Hades, or the region of departed spirits in general. 4. Saul gave the most unequivocal proof of the reality of the denunciation, which none surely but a prophet of the



for thee to desire to learn of me anything further, when God hath forsaken thee: however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and thou shalt be with me in Hades."

When Saul had heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down: and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favour on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it, on which account she entreated that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself, for she was a woman that got her living by her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

Now it is but just to commend the generosity of this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made to her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want; and to

Lord could utter; for he fell down in a swoon, overwhelmed with anguish and despair, when he heard his doom, and the just reward of his sacrilegious impiety, and was with difficulty restored to his senses, and refreshed by the witch and his attendants, who might also have been witnesses of the awful scene. He returned that night to his camp, and on the fated "morrow" rushed on his doom, after he was sore wounded by the Philistine archers, falling on his own sword. The reality of Samuel's appearance on this occasion was the doctrine of the primitive Jewish Church.

think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general benefice, nor what will sooner render God favourable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak further upon another subject, which will afford me an opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame; and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities; and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse, by Saul, king of the Hebrews: for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life, as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity, but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better that his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honoured with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man; for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul; for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be affrighted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, this it is that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly, this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead, are so to act as they may obtain the same: this especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be more than moderately good to them. I could say more that this



about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king, whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, that "It was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him a requital for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate." The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bid him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, who were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, "Whether God would grant, that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake

them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies." And when the high priest bade him pursue after them, he marched apace, with his six hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor, and had lit upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine, (for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days,) he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him.\* He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him, that he was one of those that had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword with no less ease than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly, David recovered not only all the spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in the pursuit of the enemy, but said, they should be contented to have safely recovered their

\* The sustenance here spoken of was a piece of cake of figs, and two clusters of raisins, with some bread and water. The temperance of the inhabitants of the east was remarkable, and the fatigue they were capable of enduring was much greater than those in our times who are deemed to be better fed. A writer of the history of the Barbary States, says the temperance of the natives of that country employed in carrying messages is admirable; for some meal, and a few figs and raisins, which they carry in a goat's skin, serve them for a seven or eight days' journey. The Moors now carry with them the same description of food when on a journey. And the support carried by David and his men in their hurrying pursuit of the Amalekites appears to have been of the like kind, since they could only bestow on the famishing Egyptian bread and water, and a few figs and raisins.



wives; yet did David pronounce, that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affair of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy, (for they had nothing else to hope for,) so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round, and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Melchisua; and when these were slain, the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after him those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armour-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's

guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul, and of his sons, and stripped them and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen: and they dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city of Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul, and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in mind and body) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul, and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage: so the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named Aroua; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink till the evening.\*

To this his sad end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years, while Samuel was alive, and after his death two and twenty, ended his life in this manner.

\* This way of speaking in Josephus, of 'fasting seven days without meat or drink,' is almost like that of St. Paul's, Acts xxvii. 33. "This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried, and continued fasting, having taken nothing." The nature of the thing, and the impossibility of strictly fasting so long, require us here to understand Josephus to mean only fasting till the evening; so must we understand St. Paul, either that this was really the fourteenth day of their tempestuous weather in the Adriatic Sea, as verse 27, and that on this fourteenth day alone they had 'continued fasting and had taken nothing' before the evening. The mention of their 'long abstinence,' verse 21, inclines me to believe the former explication to be the truth, and that the case was then for a 'fortnight' what it was here for a 'week,' that they kept all those days entirely as fasts till the evening, but not longer.



## BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FORTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF SAUL  
TO THE DEATH OF DAVID.

## CHAP. I.

*How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Son of Saul reigned over the rest of the Multitude; and how in the civil War, which then arose, Asahel and Abner were slain.*

THIS fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites: and he informed him, that the end of it was unfortunate, many ten thousands of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said, that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled. Nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and his crown† which he had taken away from Saul's dead body, and had brought them to him. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions, in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most

faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him: for when David had said to him that he was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left off his mourning; and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to dwell in? Who answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men; whereupon all the people of the fore-mentioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead had buried Saul and his sons, honourably, he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to make them amends for their care of those that were dead; and at the same time he informed them that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man, and good-natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was Ishbosheth, he passed over to the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim, but in the language of the Grecians, The Camps: from whence Abner made haste with a select body of soldiers to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruah, David's sister, who was general of David's army, met him, according to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to

\* The things here spoken of were the insignia of royalty. The crown was probably a fillet of ribbon to which some precious stones were attached, which was covered by a helmet. The bracelets were ornaments fastened above the elbows, composed of precious stones of great value, and all worn by the king and his sons. The bringing these things to David appears like a token of fealty, for we learn that when the Caliph Cayem Bemrillah granted the investiture of certain dominions to an eastern prince, the ceremony was performed by sending him letters patent, a crown, chain, and bracelets.











fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers; it was agreed between them, that twelve soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight, came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, and especially the younger, Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face. But when Asahel would not admit of any persuasion, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself, and his brother Abishai, ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah: it was about sunset. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin before him, whence he took a view of them and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said, "That it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another; that as for Asahel, his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any further, which was the occasion of his wounding and death." So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse about Asahel, and called the soldiers back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any further pursuit. After which Joab pitched his camp there that night; but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's

soldiers about three hundred and sixty, but of those of David nineteen, and Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulchre of their fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time, therefore, there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's son did almost every day become weaker.

About this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Ahinoam, and he was called Amnon; the second was Daniel, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was Absalom, by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named Adonijah, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth he called Ithream, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of Saul's son, who by his prudence, and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishbosheth; and, indeed, it was a considerable time that they continued of his party; but afterwards Abner was blamed, and an accusation was laid against him, that he went in to Saul's concubine: her name was Rispah, the daughter of Aiah. So, when he was complained of by Ishbosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereupon he threatened that he would transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity in leading his army. So he sent ambassadors to Hebron, to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath, that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and choose him king of the whole country. And when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would give this as the first mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul, her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders, and captains of thousands, and spake thus to them, that "he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution, when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, by Samuel the prophet: and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under." Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those



sentiments, about the public affairs which they were before, they changed their measures, and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spake to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends, and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer, which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when David had received him in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to permit him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the general of his army, came immediately to Hebron; and when he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted David to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army; so he took a knavish and wicked course. In the first place, he endeavoured to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the government of Saul's son: that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management. But when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former. He determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him, they should recal him in David's name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said (for they overtook him in a certain place called Besira, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs), he suspected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Hereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for, such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretences to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him to a void place of the gate, having himself

nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the groin; upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab's, which, as he said himself, was in the way of punishment for his brother Asabel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may learn how many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon, for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either of them; for as when they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices, so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices much worse than the former, as if no other calamity so terrible could befall them as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority, and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, the losing it again; and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions, they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out, that he was not partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light on him that slew him, and upon his whole house; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the people to weep and lament this man, and to honour his dead body with the usual solemnities; that is, by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth, and that this should be the habit in which they should go before the bier, after which he followed it himself, with the elders, and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron, in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him: he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, for he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good-will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had plighted to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; insomuch that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposi-









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non, every one being ready to suppose that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw he showed in the burial of the dead body of Abner. And, indeed, David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case, whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said this to the multitude, that "he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man; and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. But," he added, "that God, who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man, Joab, to go off unrevenge; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have, but God will requite their insolent attempts upon their own heads." And this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

## CHAP. II.

*Upon the slaughter of Ishbosheth by the treachery of his friends, David receiveth the whole kingdom.*

WHEN Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive him any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon (Baanah and Rechab were the names), and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishbosheth they should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman who kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favour, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favour to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and

suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good-will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands, for you could not lay a greater blot on my honour, than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments,\* and then put them to death; and he bestowed all accustomed rites on the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good-will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet, he and his sons;† and declaring besides, how God had given him the power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their alacrity on his account; and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which there came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had till now continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand, but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valour, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred,‡

\* The "all sorts of torments" here spoken of consisted in cutting off their hands and their feet, and hanging them over the pool in Hebron. It is still the custom in Turkey, when the ministers of state incur the displeasure of the people, to cut off their hands, head, and feet, and throw them before the palace-gate; and thus were the sons of Rimmon served for slaying Ishbosheth.

† This may be a true observation of Josephus, that Samuel, by command from God, entailed the crown on David and his posterity, for no farther did that entail ever reach, Solomon himself having never had promise made him that his posterity should always have the right to it.

‡ These words of Josephus concerning the tribe of Issachar, "who foreknew what was to come hereafter," are best paraphrased by the passage in 1 Chron. xii. 32, "Who hath understanding of the



who foreknew what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulun fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Nephtali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being (in a manner) innumerable, thirty-seven thousand. Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

### CHAP. III.

*How David laid Siege to Jerusalem; and when he had taken the City, he cast the Canaanites out of it, and brought in the Jews to inhabit therein.*

Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like evil disposition towards him: so he took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still;\* whence it was that the king,

times to know what Israel ought to do;" that is, Who had so much knowledge in astronomy as to make calendars for the Israelites, that they might keep their festivals, and plough and sow, and gather in their harvests and vintage in due season.

\* What our other copies say of mount Zion, as alone properly called the 'City of David,' 2 Sam. v. 6-9, and of its siege and conquest now by David, Josephus applies to the whole city Jerusalem, though including the citadel also: by what authority we do not now know; perhaps after David had united them together; or joined the citadel to the lower city. Josephus esteemed them as one city. However, this notion seems to be confirmed by what Josephus says concerning David's and many other kings of Judah's sepulchres, which, as the authors of the books of Kings and Chronicles say, were in the city of David, so does Josephus still say they were in Jerusalem. The sepulchre of David seems to have been also a known place in the several days of Hyrcanus, of Herod, and St. Peter, Antiq. b. xiii. chap. viii, b. xvi. chap. vii. Now no such royal sepulchres have been found about mount Zion, but are found close by the north wall of Jerusalem, which I suspect, therefore, to be these very sepulchres. In the mean time, Josephus's explication of

knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither; out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it "The City of David," and abode there all the time of his reign; but for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only in Hebron, it was seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper, by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him; and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar trees and mechanics, and men skilful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, the City of David: for under our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem or] Solyma;† but after that time some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma, [for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, (nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,) this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

the 'lame, and the blind, and the maimed,' as set to keep this city or citadel, seems to be the truth, and gives the best light to that history in our Bible. Mr. Otthus truly observes, that Josephus never mentions mount Zion by that name, as taking it for an appellative as I suppose, and not for a proper name: he still either styles it 'the citadel,' or 'the upper city;' nor do I see any reasons for Mr. Otthus's evil suspicions about this procedure of Josephus.

† Some copies of Josephus have here Solyma, or Salem, and others Hierosolyma, or Jerusalem. The latter best agree to what Josephus says in his History of the Wars, that this city was called Solyma, or Salem, before the days of Melchisedec, but was by him called Hierosolyma, or Jerusalem: I suppose it to have been so called after Abraham had received that oracle Jehovah-Jireh. "The Lord will see, or provide." The latter word Jireh, with a little alteration, prefixed to the old name Salem, Peace, will be Jerusalem. And since that expression, "God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering," ver. 8, 14, is there said to have been proverbial, till the days of Moses, this seems to me the most probable derivation of that name, which will then denote, that "God would provide peace by that Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world." However, that which is put into brackets can hardly be supposed the genuine words of Josephus, as Dr. Hudson well judges.



I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself, which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons whom he had were in number eleven, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jeban, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenae, Eliphale; and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last named of concubines: and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

#### CHAP. IV.

*That when David had conquered the Philistines, who made War against him at Jerusalem, he removed the Ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a Temple.*

WHEN the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called the valley of the Giants, and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein. But the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do anything without prophecy,\* and the command of God, and without depending upon him for the time to come, bade the high priest foretel to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle. And, when he foretold that he should gain the victory, and the dominion, he led his army out against the Philistines; and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phenicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this war. Which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose

\* It deserves here to be remarked, that Saul very rarely, and David very frequently, consulted God by Urim, and that David aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence or abilities, but on the divine direction, contrary to Saul's practice. And when Saul's daughter (but David's wife) Michal laughed at David's dancing before the ark, and here it is probable she did so, because her father Saul did not use to pay such a regard to the ark, to the Urim therein inquired by, or to God's worship before it, and because she thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be so religious.

in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Groves of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should without delay go out to gain, what was already prepared, an evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city of Gaza, (which is the limit of their country;) after this, he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age, out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices, and those other honours, with which God used to be well pleased: for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sound of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God;† for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now because he was not a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah unto this day. So David was afraid, and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself

† Josephus seems to be partly in the right, when he observes here that Uzzah was no priest, (though perhaps he might be a Levite) and was therefore struck dead for touching the ark contrary to the law, and for which profane rashness death was the penalty by the law. It is not improbable that the putting the ark in a cart, when it ought to have been carried by the priests or Levites, might be also an occasion of that anger of God on that breach of his law.



into the city, but he took it aside unto a certain place belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him; and it remained there three entire months. This augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become, of a poor man in a low estate, exceedingly happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage; and hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house, the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch, that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him. But when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude, and dealt both to the women and the men, and the infants, a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness; and entreated that whatsoever he should farther desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favourable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing, uncover himself among the servants and handmaidens. But he replied, "That he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others; that he would pray frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaidens and she herself thought of it." So this Michal had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, (for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,) she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

Now, when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be built. And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David, that "he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon

his having such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies: that however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them, but that he would still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land."\* When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyful at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed: and when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

#### CHAP. V.

*How David brought under the Philistines, and the Moabites, and the Kings of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Idumeans, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the Friendship that Jonathan, the Son of Saul, had borne to him.*

A little while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in the battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with

\* Josephus seems in this place to confound the two distinct predictions which God made to David and to Nathan, concerning the building him a temple by one of David's posterity: the one belonging to Solomon, the other to the Messiah; the distinction between whom is of the greatest consequence to the Christian religion.



him at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept.\*

Now when Hadad, king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus also of Damascus makes mention of this king, in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was Hadad, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, excepting Phenicia. He made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood." Nay, besides this, he says of his posterity, that "after his death they succeeded one another in his kingdom, and in his name;" where he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father that his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to avenge the defeat his forefathers had received; so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called Samaria." Nor did he err from the truth; for this is that Hadad who made the expedition against Samaria, in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel; concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria,† and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute he returned home. He also dedicated to God, at Jerusalem, the golden quivers, the entire armour which the guards of Hadad used to wear, which Shishak the king of Egypt took away when he fought with David's grandson Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, these things will come to be explained in their proper places hereafter. Now as for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and made an expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Betah, and Machon; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a

\* David's reserving only 100 chariots for himself, was most probably done in compliance with the law of Moses, which forbade a king of Israel to 'multiply horses to himself,' one of the principal uses of horses in Judea at that time being for drawing their chariots.

† One of David's battles with the Syrians was fought in that remarkable place, "The Valley of Salt," said to be near the land of Edom.—Dr. Halifax, in his account of Palmyra, speaks of a great plain all covered with salt, from whence the whole country round is supplied. This plain is about a league from Palmyra, and extends itself towards the eastern part of Idumea (or Edom.)

very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold; of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called the brazen sea, and those most curious lavers, when he built the temple for God.

But when the king of Hamath was informed of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Joram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi, (for that was the name of the king of Hamath,) and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides. But then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans,† and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea; for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle: whereupon the king of Israel placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phineas, to be high priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisan the scribe: and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceedingly mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's free-men was brought to him, who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him, "Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now

† By this great victory over the Idumeans or Edomites, the posterity of Esau, and by the consequent tribute paid by that nation to the Jews, were the prophecies delivered to Rebecca before Jacob and Esau were born, and by old Isaac before his death, that 'the elder Esau, or the Edomites, 'should serve the younger,' Jacob, or the Israelites, and Jacob, or the Israelites, should be Esau's or the Edomites' lord, remarkably fulfilled.



alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan?" And when he said, "That a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child was fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed." So when he had learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him; but David encouraged him, and bade him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day; and bestowed upon the youth, Ziba and his sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dieted at the king's table, and had the same care taken of him that a son could claim. He also had himself a son, whom he named Micha.

#### CHAP. VI.

##### *How the war was waged against the Ammonites, and happily concluded.*

THESE were the honours that such as were left of Saul's and Jonathan's lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David; and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had showed to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it, and said, that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretence of humanity and kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him; and so fall into an inconsolable calamity. Accordingly, Nahash's son, the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused

the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments,\* and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that pay, and Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country, called Maacah, and a fourth king, by name Ishob; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor the force of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in

\* The indignity offered to David, through his messengers, on this occasion, was of the grossest nature. Ancient and modern history both furnish abundant examples of the value set upon the beard in many countries, especially in the East, and the consequent injury inflicted upon those who were in any way deprived of it. Ancient Indian kings used to order the greatest offenders to be shaven, as the heaviest punishment they could inflict upon them. Tavernier relates a parallel case to the above. He tells us, that the sophi of Persia caused an ambassador of Aurengzebe to have his beard shaved off, telling him he was not worthy to wear a beard, and therefore commanded it to be shaved off; which affront offered to Aurengzebe, in the person of his ambassador, was most highly resented, as this was by David. D'Arvieux assures us, that among the Arabs he visited, it is a greater mark of degradation to cut off any one's beard than whipping or branding among the French. Many Arabs would prefer death to this kind of punishment, and one of them, who had received a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life rather than suffer the surgeon to take off his beard. So great, indeed, is the estimation of the Arabs for the beard, that they even beg for the sake of it, saying, "By your beard—by the life of your beard, do!" In like manner, some of their benedictions are, "God preserve your blessed beard!—God pour his blessings on your beard!" And when they would express their value for any thing, they say, "It is worth more than his beard." One great cause of the Easterns setting so high a value upon the beard was, because it distinguished men from women, and was the mark of freemen in opposition to slaves. The beard is also held in high esteem among the Russians; for, when Peter the Great attempted to introduce the manners and fashions of the more refined parts of Europe, nothing met with more opposition than the cutting off their beards, and many of those who were obliged to comply with this command, testified such great veneration for their beards, as to order them to be buried with them. The above instances will show how great was the disgrace inflicted upon the messengers of David, by shaving off their beards; and this was in some respects aggravated, by cutting off their garments: for, as the Hebrews, like other Eastern nations, wore long flowing garments, scarcely any thing could be conceived more disgraceful than the cutting off their clothes, and thus exposing their persons. Among the Roman soldiers, the cutting of their garments, and making them stand in them from morning till evening, was considered a heavy punishment.



array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates, over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bade him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, "That in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should turn about, and order his troops to assist him:" and he said, that "he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites." So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously, and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, and compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they stayed no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with joy to Jerusalem, to the king.

Still this defeat did not induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to acknowledge as superior to them those who were so, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself, with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter-time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites; who over-ran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis, Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

## CHAP. VII.

*How David fell in love with Bathsheba, and slew her husband Uriah, for which he is reproved by Nathan.*

BUT David now fell into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of our forefathers: for when, late in an evening, he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing

herself in her own house; she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was Bathsheba. So he was overcome by that woman's beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he should contrive some way for concealing her sin; for, according to the laws of their fathers, she, who had been guilty of adultery, ought to suffer death. So the king sent for Joab's armour-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband; his name was Uriah; and when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege, and when he had made answer, that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and to take his rest with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king, with the rest of his armour-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife, after so long an absence? which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a king's journey. He replied, that it was not right, while his fellow-soldiers, and the general of the army, slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismiss him the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to the supper, and, after a cunning and dexterous manner, plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates, without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him; and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him he had offended him; and he suggested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy, for he bade him order his fellow-soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written this to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry it to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them; and gave him for his partners some of the best soldiers in the army; and said, that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such pains, and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, he gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the



city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered, so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the fore-front, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy, and receiving the violence of their onset, he slew many of them, but being encompassed around, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him.

When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him that "he did what he could to take the city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss." And bid them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, "that Uriah was slain also." When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said, that "they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, by undermining and other stratagems of war, to endeavour to take the city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower of Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone, thrown at him by an old woman; and, although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other." But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also, whereupon he was pacified. So he bid the messengers go back to Joab, and tell him, that "this misfortune was no other than what is common among mankind, and that such is the nature, and such the accidents of war; insomuch, that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others, but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it hereafter; that they should raise bulwarks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they had gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it." Accordingly, the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently, and a son was born to him by her.

With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by jus-

tice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and made a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following: He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case: "There were," said he, "two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and the other poor; the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine, but the poor man had but one ewe lamb; this he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them, and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and thence feast his friend, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan that "this man was a wicked man, who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said, that "he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence, and that it was he who had perpetrated this great and horrid crime. He also revealed to him, and laid before him the anger of God against him, who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married; and now this God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, when he had married, and now had another man's wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him: that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness; that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son; and that, although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him; that moreover," said he, "the child which was born to thee of her, shall soon die." When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said with tears and sorrow, that he had sinned (for he was, without controversy, a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah), God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom: for he said, that "seeing he repented of the things he had done, he was no longer displeased with him." So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah; at which the king was troubled, and did not take any food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it; but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entreating God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved the child's mother. But when, on the



seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it, he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself, by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since, when the child was only sick, he so greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him. But when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected, as those who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him; and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon, having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct; he then called them unskilful people; and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly "did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him, but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose." When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, who conceived and bare a son, and, by the command of Nathan the prophet, called his name Solomon.

But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink; for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king accepted of his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold,\* and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men he tormented them,† and then

destroyed them: and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his own Sister, and how he was banished, and afterwards recalled by David.*

WHEN the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befel his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar: she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was much out of order; nay, his grief so ate up his body, that he grew lean, and his colour was changed. Now there was one Jonadab, a kinsman and friend of his, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When therefore he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however, he said, that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jonadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him, for if that were done, he should be better; and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly he presently ordered her to be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should take them better from her hand than from any one's else. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and baked them in a pan, and brought them to him; but at that time he would not taste them, but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlour; which, when the damsel had done, he

\* That a talent of gold was about 7lb. weight, see the description of the temples, chap. xiii. Nor could Josephus well estimate it higher, since he here says that David wore it on his head perpetually.

† Whether Josephus saw the words of our copies, 2 Sam. xii. 31. and 1 Chron. xx. 3, that David 'put' the inhabitants, or at least the garrison of Rabbah, and the other Ammonite cities, which he besieged and took, 'under, or cut them with saws, and under, or with harrows of iron, and under, or with axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick kiln, is not here directly expressed. If he saw them, as it is most probable he did, he certainly expounded them of tormenting these Ammonites to death, who were none of those seven nations of Canaan, whose wickedness had rendered them incapable of mercy; otherwise I should be inclinable to think, that the meaning, at least as the words are in Samuel, might only be this, that they

were made the lowest slaves, to work in sawing timber or stone, in harrowing the fields, in hewing timber, in making and burning bricks, and the like hard services, but without taking away their lives. We never elsewhere, that I remember, meet with such methods of cruelty in putting men to death in all the Bible, or in any other ancient history whatsoever: nor do the words in Samuel seem naturally to refer to any such thing.



took hold of her, and endeavoured to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but reproach and disgrace." She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair, for he would permit him to marry her. This she said as desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he would not yield to her, but, inflamed with love, and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he hated her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, bade her rise up and be gone. And when she said that "this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go away in the daytime, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame," he commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat, (for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen,) and sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out, and lamenting, for the violence that had been offered her. Now, Absalom her brother happened to meet her, and asked her, What sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight? and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and to take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude: and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him: but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him: But when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would however send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father: but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons

that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor stayed to hear anything else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible a misfortune was related to him, but rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay, lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the meantime, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, there were tears on both sides; they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed, also: but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him: "That two of her sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favour to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death; that so she might not be farther deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favour, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by anything else than by the fear of him." And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him: "I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but, in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him; for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favour upon me, while thou thyself continuest after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add wilfully another to thy dead son, while the death of



the other was brought about without thy own consent." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he requested according to his own mind; and he bade him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with. So Joab bowed himself to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geshur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon his father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family only. Now, his beauty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent (in a fine appearance) than those that dieted the most luxuriously, and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day: and his hair weighed two hundred shekels,\* which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and became the father of three sons, and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and whom Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named Abijah. But Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglected to do so, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so? To which Absalom replied, "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me: and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father's wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he had discoursed with his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his

offences, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Insurrection of Absalom against David; concerning Ahithophel and Hushai; concerning Ziba and Shimei; and how Ahithophel hanged himself.*

Now Absalom, upon this success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had more-over fifty armour-bearers that were about him; and he came early every day to the king's palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice, and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good-will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him; but when four years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him,† he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

Among them came Ahithophel, the Gilonite, a counsellor of David, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was affrighted at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offence had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first to deprive him of that kingdom which was given him of God; and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude; who went hastily away with him, and parti-

\* Of this weight of Absalom's hair, how in twenty or thirty years 't might well amount to 200 shekels, or to somewhat above 6lb. avoirdupois, see the *Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies*, p. 77, 78. Dr. Wall thinks that the LXXII, meant not its 'weight' but its 'value' was 200 shekels. It does not appear what was Josephus's opinion: he sets the text down honestly as he found it in his copies, only he thought, that 'at the end of days,' when Absalom polled or weighed his hair was 'once a week.'

† This is one of the best corrections that Josephus's copy affords us of a text that in our ordinary copies is grossly corrupted. They say, that this rebellion of Absalom was forty years after what went before, (of his reconciliation to his father,) whereas the series of the history shews it could not be more than 'four' years after it, as here in Josephus; whose number is directly confirmed by that copy of the Septuagint version whence the Armenian translation was made, which gives us the small number of four years.



cularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight in the days of Saul. But he persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal: but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on; and he had their sons, Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all things; but Ittai, the Gittite, went out with him, whether David would let him or not, for he would have persuaded him to stay, and on that account he appeared the most friendly to him. But as he was ascending the Mount of Olives, barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahitophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief; and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahitophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel; for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeking what was advantageous. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain, he took a view of the city; and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as having already lost his kingdom: here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and having ashes all over his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and to contradict the counsels of Ahitophel, for that he could not do himself so much good by being with him, as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterwards.

When David was gone a little further, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth (whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul), with a couple of asses, laden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth? he said, "He had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them." At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other: at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words: and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He bade him also "go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch, and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had

done to his master (Saul), and this by the means of his own son." Now when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, won had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger, "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard or concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us, if it be his will we shall overcome them." So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully. But when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves; for they were weary.

But when Absalom, and Ahitophel his counsellor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai, came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will, therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have showed to thy father: nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred unto another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahitophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do; he persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines: for he said, that "by this action the people will believe that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him, that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahitophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now Ahitophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he



said, that "then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead, but not otherwise." Absalom was pleased with this advice; and called for Hushai, David's friend (for so did he style him), and informing him of the opinion of Ahitophel, he asked further what was his opinion concerning that matter? Now he was sensible that if Ahitophel's counsel was followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "Thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory; though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies, yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock: so that when our army join battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them; and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it; and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahitophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahitophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

So Hushai made haste to the high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahitophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bade them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken; and to desire him further to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid-servant whom they could trust, to carry them the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse or delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David; but certain horsemen

saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high priests saw this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bahurim; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly, she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them: and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them? she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they staid with her some time, but she said they went their ways; and she foretold, that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them. But when, after a long pursuit, they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go on their journey. Accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David, and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

But Ahitophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country Gilon; and calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again. So he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus to them, he went into the inmost room in his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Ahitophel, who was self-condemned; and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, a very fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away from Jerusalem, and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai, the Gileadite, and Sphar, the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir, the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch, that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and offered them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessities.



## CHAP. X.

*How, when Absalom was beaten, he was caught in a Tree by his Hair, and was slain.*

AND this was the state of David and his followers. But Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ithra, and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts: the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, but one that came from the city of Gath. And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him; and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise reasons: "For, (said they,) if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with this their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they received from him, which though they had not been very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them a victory therein.

Then did Joab put his army in battle array over against the enemy in the great plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands, and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being no way deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father, for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders, because that would be the greatest disgrace to them, while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many ten thousands as the enemy had with them. Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew,

and more in the flight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king's mule, and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung after a surprising manner; and as for the beast, it went on further, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back; but he hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David's soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that "if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels," he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if thou wouldst have given me a hundred shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared, in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab's armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, in order to spare their countrymen.

Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons, and one daughter, named Tamar, as we said before, who, when she was married to David's grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom: but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request; but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushai, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushai. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, who said, he was a good messen-



ger. A little while after he informed him, that another messenger followed him; but when the watchman saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok, the high priest, who came running. So David was very glad, and said, "He was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear."

While the king was saying this, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said, "He brought him the good news of victory and dominion." And he inquired what he had to say concerning his son? he said, that "he came away on the sudden, as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory." But when Cushai was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son; who replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city, and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing the hair of his head, and tormenting himself in all manner of ways, and crying out "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" For he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for this son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now doest: for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee; nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for, had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept over us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son, hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly, and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow; and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multi-

tude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

## CHAP. XI.

*How David, when he had recovered his kingdom, was reconciled to Shimei and to Ziba; and showed a great affection to Barzillai: and how, upon the rise of a sedition, he made Amasa captain of his host, in order to pursue Sheba, which Amasa was slain by Joab.*

Now those Hebrews that had been with Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, which other governor, whom they had set up, was already dead, they did not now beseech David to leave off his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And, this notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar, the high priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah, after the manner following: that "it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, and this," said he, "while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood." He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa, the captain of their forces: that "whereas he was his sister's son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom of David: that he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but that supreme command of the army also which Absalom had bestowed upon him." Accordingly, the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men; which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin, and Ziba, the freed man of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge of boats over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him "to forgive him what



he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had come first of all to him." While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed the king whom God hath appointed to reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will ye never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit all offenders their punishments, and not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. Be thou, therefore," said he, "O Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshipped him, and went on before him.

Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected: for, after David was fled away, he was in such grief that he had not polled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king, by Ziba, his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him, "Why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during his flight?" He replied, that "this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba; because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; and, indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and my master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of his own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail. For, when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfather, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially forget all those injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table, nor have I wanted any thing which one of thine own kinsmen, of greatest esteem with thee, could have expected." When he said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, that as he had before granted all his estate to Ziba, because he did not come along with him, so he now promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

But David desired Barzillai, the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful pro-

vision for him at Mahanaim, and conducted him as far as Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect; to take care of him, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home, that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said, that "his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures of a court, since he was fourscore years old, and was therefore making provision for his death and burial; so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him, for he had no relish of his meat or his drink, by reason of his age; and that his ears were too much shut up to hear the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as those that live with kings delight in." When he entreated this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him I will bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and worshipped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs, according to his own mind, and then returned home; but David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people of Israel, and the whole tribe of Judah.

Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner, whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; "for," said they, "we are David's kinsmen, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him, yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him; which might give them who came last any uneasiness." When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said farther, "O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part: we also are elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man, who took a pleasure in seditious practices (his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin), stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: "We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had used these words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king, and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house; and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before



had; and commanded him to gather together out of the tribe of Judah as great an army as he could, and to come to him within three days, that he might deliver his entire army, and might send him to fight against Sheba the son of Bichri. Now while Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king sent to Joab, "It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more, than did Absalom himself: do not thou therefore wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that old body of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavour to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labour and pains before we take him."

So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword and his priestplate on; and when Amasa came near to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out as it were of its own accord: so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and altogether profane action, Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king: and for the same cause it was that he killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretence, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. "But," said he, "if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai Joab's brother." But because the body lay on the road, and all the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence, and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him, that he was in a strong city called Abel-beth-maachah; hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and by means of the armed men called for Joab; and when he came near her, she began to say, that "God ordained kings and generals of armies that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art endeavouring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offence." But he replied, "God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this: and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place." Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty and strong arm?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. The king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards and of the six hundred men. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilais over the records. He made Sheva the scribe; and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high priests.

## CHAP. XII.

*How the Hebrews were delivered from a Famine, when the Gibeonites had caused Punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain: as also, what great actions were performed against the Philistines by David, and the Men of Valour about him.*

AFTER this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And then the prophets answered, That God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to שׂוּא. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain, as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries. As soon therefore as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them, What it was they should have? and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them, to be punished, he



delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruit as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterward the king made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy, his name was Achmon, the son of Araph; he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain work, and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay David their enemies king, for he was quite tired out with labour; but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain: and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time among them.

When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city of Gazara, he sent an army against them, when Sibbechai the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account; and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again: and when David had sent an army against them, Nephan his kinsman fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the flight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against him by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him: and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight, the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre:\*

\* This passage is a very remarkable one, and shews, that, in the opinion of Josephus, David composed the Book of Psalms, not at several times before, as their present inscriptions frequently imply, but generally at the latter end of his life, or after his wars were over. Nor does Josephus, nor the authors of the known books of the Old and New Testament, nor the Apostolical Constitutions, seem to have

some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters: he also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath-day, and on the other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: the viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

Now all the men that were about David were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimaas, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam. This man, when once the Israelites were under a consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword clung to his hand by the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when, in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called Lehi, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their enemy, and did not stay, he stood still alone, as an army and a body of men, and some of them he overthrew, and some, who were not able to abide his strength and force, he pursued. These are the works of the hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs

ascribed any of them to any other than to David himself. Now, it appears that the instruments of music that were originally used by the command of king David and Solomon, and were carried to Babylon at the captivity of the two tribes, were brought back after that captivity; as also, that the singers and musicians, who outlived that captivity, came back with those instruments, and that this music and these instruments at the temple, could not but be well known to Josephus, a priest belonging to that temple: who accordingly gives us a short description of three of the instruments, and gives us a distinct account, that such psalms and hymns were sung in his days at that temple. That the ancient music of the Hebrews was very complete also, and had in it a great variety of tunes, is evident by the number of the musical instruments, and by the testimony of another most authentic witness, Jesus the Son of Sirach, who says, that at the temple in his days, "The singers sang praises with their voice, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody."



distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink: but he said, that "he would rather have it than a great deal of money." When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of their enemy's camp, and came to Bethlehem; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and alacrity, that they were quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that "it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it." But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the salvation of the men. Next to these were Abishai, Joab's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benaiah, by lineage a priest; for being challenged by two eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valour. Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him, yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him, for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons, while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with his own weapons. One may also add this to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the principal of them in alacrity or as resembling the rest. When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow, it was evident he would perish, being enclosed with the snow; so when he saw no way to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit, and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him. The other thirty-three were like these in valour also.

### CHAP. XIII.

*That when David had numbered the People, they were punished; and how the Divine Compassion restrained that Punishment.*

Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot the commands of Moses, who told them beforehand, that if the people were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly, the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude: but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded to countermand it, but he enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the head of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israel-

ites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms and go to war, but the tribe of Judah by itself was four hundred thousand men.

Now when the prophets had signified to David, that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best: "Whether he would have famine come upon the land for seven years? or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days?" But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said, that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; that in case he should choose to be overcome by his enemies for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that therefore he feared nothing therefrom; so he chose that affliction which is common to kings, and their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, "that it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies."

When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now, the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly, some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell, were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with sudden darkness; some there were, who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead, without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreating God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satis-



fied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby into Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that "he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd, but that the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people."

When God heard this supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease; and sent Gad, the prophet, to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty; but made haste to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was threshing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him, and worshipped him. He was, by his lineage, a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David; and for that cause it was, that when he overthrow the city he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" He answered, to buy of him the threshing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice." He replied, that "he freely gave him both the threshing-floor, and the ploughs, and the oxen for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice." But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good-will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said, he would do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifices, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there. Which words he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterwards; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him, that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*That David made great preparations for the house of God, and that upon Adonijah's attempt to gain the kingdom, he appointed Solomon to reign.*

AFTER the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand: of these

he appointed fourscore thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many (and those exceeding large) cedar trees; the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends, that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and, by reason of his age, unskilful in such matters, but he might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God; and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars: but he hath foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son, and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him; and that, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of all blessings. "Since, therefore," says he, "thou wast ordained king by God himself before thou wast born, endeavour to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands, and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou affrighted at the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousand stone-cutters, and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing farther, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also farther exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace, and a happy settlement, with which God rewards such as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them, that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge that when they had got possession of this land, they should build him a temple." Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.



David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel should communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman of a superior beauty to all other women, her name was Abishag, who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith, his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon himself. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so? Now Adonijah had for his assistants, Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar, the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok, the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab, the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah; but had not invited to this feast neither Zadok, the high priest, nor Nathan, the prophet, nor Benaiah, the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself, and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that "he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that, in the mean time, Adonijah had already taken the kingdom." He said, that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king, and worshipped him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited; Abiathar, the high priest, and Joab, the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, that "all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king." She desired him also to consider how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon.

Now as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he

should be admitted, he came in and asked him whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him or not? for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons except Solomon, as also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host, and Abiathar, the high priest, who are feasting with applauses, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever: but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok, the high priest, nor Benaiah, the captain of the guards: and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshipped him, and wished him a long life: and the king sent for Zadok, the high priest, and Benaiah, the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan, the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and to wish aloud, "That Solomon, the king, may sit upon the royal throne for ever," that so all the people may know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favourable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time: and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing, and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab, the captain of the host, said, "He was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets." And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he was a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David: hereupon both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes; Adonijah also, as afraid of the king for what he had done,



became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that "he forgave him this his offence; but said withal, that if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment." So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bade him go away to his own home, and have no suspicion of any harm: and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as that would tend to his own advantage.

But David being desirous of ordaining his son king of all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same six thousand to be judges of the people, and scribes, four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses: and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar: and he ordained that one course should minister to God eight days, from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and of all the rulers: and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained, that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders, (and captains of hundreds,) and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these offices after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: "My brethren and my people, I would have you know, that

I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not seditious one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him: for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue therein for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou shewest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them."

Now when the king had said this, he left off, but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all, to Solomon: of the foundations and of the chambers, inferior and superior, how many there were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones: and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubims, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed, and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drachms, and of silver, ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward



ambition of the rulers and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him "the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue;" and then he commanded the multitude to bless God. Upon which they all fell down upon the ground, and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day he presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

#### CHAP. XV.

*What charge David gave to his Son Solomon, at the approach of his Death; and how many things he left him for the Building of the Temple.*

A little afterward David also fell into a distemper by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: "I am now, O my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go, from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know anything that is done in this world. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom: to observe his commands, and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses, and neither do thou, out of favour nor flattery, allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee, to disregard them; for if thou transgress his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself so as it behoves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but we ourselves for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab, the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa, the son of Jether, whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and

so hath escaped punishment hitherto.\* I also commit to thee the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honour, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father, for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei, the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities. He was righteous and humane, which are good qualities peculiarly fit for kings: nor was guilty of any offence in the exercise of so great an authority, but in the business of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews, or of other nations, ever did.

He was buried by his son Solomon in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with: moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him; the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at by what I shall now say; for, a thousand and three hundred years afterward, Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was

\* David is here greatly blamed by some for recommending Joab and Shimei to be punished by Solomon, if he could find a proper occasion, after he had borne with the first a long while, and seemed to have pardoned the other entirely, which Solomon executed accordingly; yet I cannot discern any fault either in David or Solomon in these cases; Joab's murder of Abner and Amasa were very barbarous, and could not properly be forgiven either by David or Solomon; for a dispensing power in kings of the crime of wilful murder is warranted by no law of God, nay, is directly against it everywhere; nor is it, for certain, in the power of men to grant such a prerogative to any of their kings. Though Joab was so nearly related to David, and so potent in the army under a warlike administration, that David durst not himself put him to death. Shimei's 'cursing the Lord's anointed,' and this without any just cause, was the highest act of treason against God, and his anointed king, and justly deserved death; and though David could forgive treason against himself, yet had he done no more in the case of Shimei than promised him that he would not 'then,' on the day of his return and re-inauguration, or upon that occasion, himself put him to death. And he swore to him no further, than that he would not 'then' put him to death, which he performed: but Solomon was not under any obligation to spare such a traitor.



besieged by Antiochus the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money to get him to raise the siege, and draw off his army; and having no other method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulchre, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and by this means caused the siege to be raised, as we have informed the reader elsewhere. Nay, after him, and

that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

## BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS.—  
FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.

### CHAP. I.

*How Solomon, when he had received the kingdom, took off his enemies.*

WE have already treated of David, and his virtue; and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen; of his wars also, and battles which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon, his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people, according to God's will: when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion, and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the government, came to the king's mother, Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not? and bade him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford it him, he began to say, that "she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both on account of his elder age, and the disposition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God." He also said, "that he was contented to be a servant under him, and was pleased with the present settlement, but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favour from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but because his father was too old, he did not lie with her, and she was still a virgin." So Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring this marriage about; because the king would be

willing to gratify him in such a thing, and because she would press it to him very earnestly. Accordingly he went away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Adonijah's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where the royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bade them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful; which thou wilt do, if thou deniest me." And when Solomon bade her lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing she should ask, and complained that she did not begin her discourse with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother, and said, that "Adonijah aimed at great things, and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag, and that he had potent friends, Joab, the captain of the host, and Abiathar, the priest." So he called for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar, the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death, because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with me, but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou





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shouldest retain thy dignity any longer." For the fore-mentioned cause therefore it was, that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar (of which family Eli was the first that received it), were these that follow: Bukki, the son of Abishua, the high priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's son was Arophæus; Arophæus' son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

Now when Joab, the captain of the host, heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger, on account of his favour to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat, in order to make his defence. However, Joab said, he would not leave the altar, but would die there, rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there,\* and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also named Zadok to be alone the high priest, in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. Accordingly, Shimei said, that "he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction;" and added an oath, "that he would do as he bade him;" and leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he came back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst thou not swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? thou

shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices, but in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the wife of Solomon; concerning his wisdom and riches; and concerning what he obtained of Hiram for the building of the temple.*

SOLOMON having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem,† much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably: nor was his youth any hindrance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there burnt-offerings, in number a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honour to God, for, as he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts, which he was ready to give him, as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God; "But," said he, "give me, O Lord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With these petitions God was well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this

\* This execution upon Joab, as a murderer, by slaying him, even when he had taken sanctuary at God's altar, is perfectly agreeable to the law of Moses, which enjoins, that "if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar that he die." Exod. xxi. 14.

† This "building of the walls of Jerusalem," soon after David's death, illustrates the conclusion of the 51st Psalm, where David prays, "build the walls of Jerusalem," thev being, it seems, unfinished or imperfect at that time. See chaps. xi. vii. also 1 Kings ix. 15.



in such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous, and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed: and when he had worshipped him, he returned to Jerusalem, and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

In these days a hard cause came before him for judgment, which it was very difficult to find an end of; and I think it necessary to explain the fact about which the contest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult cause Solomon was to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king's for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions. There were two women, who were harlots in the course of their lives, that came to him; of whom she that seemed to be injured began to speak first, and said, "O king, I and this woman dwell together in one room: now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour of the same day, and on the third day this woman overlaid her son, and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now when, in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and found it to be so. Hence it was that I demanded my son; and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this woman had told this her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to that story? But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist's child that was dead; and when no one could devise what judgment could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone invented the following way how to discover it: he bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and to cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the living, and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child cried out, that he should not do so, but deliver that child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's child: but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous moreover that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her that cried out to save it,

for that she was the real mother of it; and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavouring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked upon this determination as a great sign and demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and, after that day, attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus: Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora, and the sea coast, under him: the great plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan: Gabarius ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities of Og: Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon, and had himself married a daughter of Solomon, whose name was Basima: Banacates had the sea coast about Arce; as had Shaphat Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and the Lower Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country: Shimei was entrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds: for, as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having besides an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria, and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day,\* thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting, harts and buffaloes, birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day.

\* It may not be amiss to compare the daily furniture of king Solomon's table here set down, and 1 Kings iv. 22, 23, with the like daily furniture of Nehemiah the governor's table, after the Jews were come back from Babylon: and to remember withal, that Nehemiah was now building the walls of Jerusalem, and maintained, more than usual, above 150 considerable men every day, and that, because the nation was then very poor, at his own charges also, without laying any burden upon the people at all. "Now that which was prepared for me daily was one ox, and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me; and once in ten days, store of all sorts of wine; and yet for all this, I required not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people." Neh. v. 18. See the whole context, v. 14—19. Nor did the governor's usual allowance of forty shekels of silver a day, v. 15, amount to £5 a day, nor to £1800 a year. Nor does it indeed appear, that under the judges, or under Samuel the prophet, there was any such public allowance to those governors at all. Those great charges upon the public for maintaining courts, came in with kings, as God foretold they would. 1 Sam. viii. 11—18.



Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand; and besides these, he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of whom waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages: but the same officer who provided for the king's expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that time.

Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and very much distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and five; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, and about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons,\* which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed such incantations also, by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return: and this method of cure is of great force unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: he put a ring that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or bason full of water, and

\* Some pretended fragments of these books of conjuration of Solomon are still extant in Fabricius' Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test. page 1054, though I entirely differ from Josephus in this supposal, that such books and arts of Solomon were parts of that wisdom which was imparted to him by God in his younger days; they must rather have belonged to such profane, but curious arts, as we find mentioned Acts xix. 13—20, and had been derived from the idolatry and superstition of his heathen wives and concubines in his old age, when he had forsaken God, and God had forsaken him, and given him up to demoniacal delusions. Nor does Josephus's strange account of his root Baara seem to be other than that of its magical use in such conjurations. As for the following history, it confirms what Christ says, Matt. xii. 27, "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?"

commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon were shown very manifestly; for which reason it is that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed, may not be unknown to any people under the sun; for this reason I say it is, that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

Moreover, Hiram, king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solomon succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:—

*"Solomon to King Hiram.*

"Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God,† but was hindered by wars and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute: but I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to Mount Lebanon, to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatever price thou shalt determine."

When Hiram read this epistle he was pleased with it, and wrote back this answer to Solomon:—

*"Hiram to King Solomon.*

"It is fit to bless God, that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about; for when, by my subjects, I have cut down many and large trees of cedar, and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem. But do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island."‡

† These epistles of Solomon and Hiram are those in 1 Kings v. 3—9, and as enlarged, in 2 Chron. ii. 3—16, but here given us by Josephus, in his own words.

‡ What Josephus here puts into his copy of Hiram's epistle to Solomon, and repeats afterwards, chap. v. that Tyre was now an 'island,' is not in any of the three other copies, viz. that of the Kings, Chronicles, or Eusebius; nor is it any other, I suppose, than his own conjectural paraphrase; for when I, many years ago, inquired into this matter, I found the state of this famous city, and of the island whereupon it stood, to have been very different at different times. The result of my inquiries in this matter, with the addition of some later improvements, stands thus—That the best testimonies hereto relating, imply that Palatyrus, or oldest Tyre, was no other than that



The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also, inasmuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much, out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations, which deceive men and please them at the same time; nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian; and yet be blameless; but we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration and the strongest vouchers.

Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle from the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat, and as many baths of oil; now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more: and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand labourers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them: for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon for one month, and then to come home; and the rest two months until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time; and so afterward it came to pass that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month: and it was Adoram who was over this tribute. There were also of

most ancient smaller fort, or city Tyre, situated on the continent, and mentioned in Joshua xix. 29, out of which the Canaanite, or Phenician inhabitants, were driven into a large island, that lay not far off in the sea, by Joshua; that this island was then joined to the continent, as the present remains of Palætyrus, by a neck of land over against Solomon's cisterns, still so called; and the city's fresh water probably was carried along in pipes by that neck of land; and that this island was therefore in strictness no other than a peninsula, having 'villages in its fields,' Ezek. xxvi. 6, and a 'wall' about it, Amos i. 10, and the city was not of so great reputation as Sidon for some ages. That it was attacked both by sea and land by Salmanasser, and afterwards came to be the metropolis of Phenicia, and afterwards taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, according to the numerous scripture prophecies thereto relating. That seventy years after that destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, this city was in some measure revived and rebuilt, Isa. xxiii. 17, 18, but that, as the prophet Ezekiel had foretold, the sea arose higher than before, till at last it overflowed not only the neck of land, but the main island or peninsula itself, and destroyed that old and famous city for ever; that, however, there still remained an adjoining smaller island, once connected to old Tyre itself by Hiram, which was afterward inhabited; to which Alexander the Great, with incredible pains, raised a new bank or causeway. And that it plainly appears from Maundrell that the old large and famous city, on the original large island, is now laid so generally under water, that scarce more than forty acres of it, or rather of that adjoining small island, remain at this day; so that, perhaps, not above an hundredth part of the first island and city is now above water. This was foretold in the same prophecies of Ezekiel; and according to them these poor remains of Old Tyre are now "become like the top of a rock, a place for spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."

the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones, and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these, three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Of the Building of the Temple.*

SOLOMON began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus out of Egypt, but after one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty years; and from Adam, the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now, that year on which the temple began to be built, was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and became a basis and sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it: they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures, and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent; they erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of white stone: its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures: so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house: and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into one through another. Every one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height



twenty.\* Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal both in their measures and number: so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no build-ings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof com-mon to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole build-ing, so that the middle walls being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer; but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them, so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill, of polished stones, and those laid toge-ther so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture, but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple, and that was by steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides, through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits every way, to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits;† they had each of them two wings stretched

out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern: their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them: but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glued gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place; but the porch of the temple had nothing of this sort.

Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram, he was by birth of the tribe of Naph-tali, on the mother's side, (for she was of that tribe,) but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skilful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, in silver, and brass, by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two hollow pillars, whose outsides were of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits,‡ and their circumference twelve cubits, but there was cast with each of their chapiters lily work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered the lily work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows: the one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand, and called it Jachin, and the other at the left hand, and called it Booz.

Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere: this brazen vessel was called a sea, for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in di-iameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm: its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it; and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadran-gular lavers: the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: there were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner, these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter: they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to

\* These small rooms, or side chambers, seem to have been no less than twenty cubits high apiece, otherwise there must have been a large interval between one and the other that was over it, and this with double floors, the one of six cubits distance from the floor beneath it.

† Josephus says here that the cherubims were of solid gold, and only five cubits high, while our Hebrew copies say they were of the olive-tree, and the LXXII of the cyprus tree, and only overlaid with gold; and both agree they were ten cubits high. I suppose the num-ber here is falsely transcribed, and that Josephus wrote ten cubits also

‡ As for these two famous pillars, Jachin and Booz, their height could be no more than 18 cubits, as here, and 1 Kings vii. 15. 2 Kings xxv. 17, Jer. liii. 21; those 35 cubits in 2 Chron. iii. 15 being contrary to all the rules of architecture in the world.



support the laver, upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore part of the eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them, insomuch that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm-trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths;\* for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called *Mechonoth*; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple,† which was that side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east: the same eastern way he also set the sea. Now, he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple, and were to ascend the altar, but the lavers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all of its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendour and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God: and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand; those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day-time, according to the law; and one table with loaves

\* The round or cylindrical lavers of four cubits in diameter, and four in height, must have contained a great deal more than these 40 baths. Where the error lies is hard to say. In the mean time, the 40 baths are probably the true quantity contained in each laver, since they went upon wheels, and were to be drawn by the Levites about the courts of the priests, for the washings they were designed for; and had they held much more, they would have been too heavy to have been so drawn.

† Here Josephus gives us a key to his own language, of right and left hand in the tabernacle and temple, that by the right hand he means what is against our left, when we suppose ourselves going up from the east gates of the courts towards the tabernacle or temple themselves, and so vice versa; whence it follows, that the pillar *Jachin*, on the right hand of the temple, was on the south against our left hand, and *Boaz* on the north, against our right hand.

upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house, which was forty cubits long, and were before the veil of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

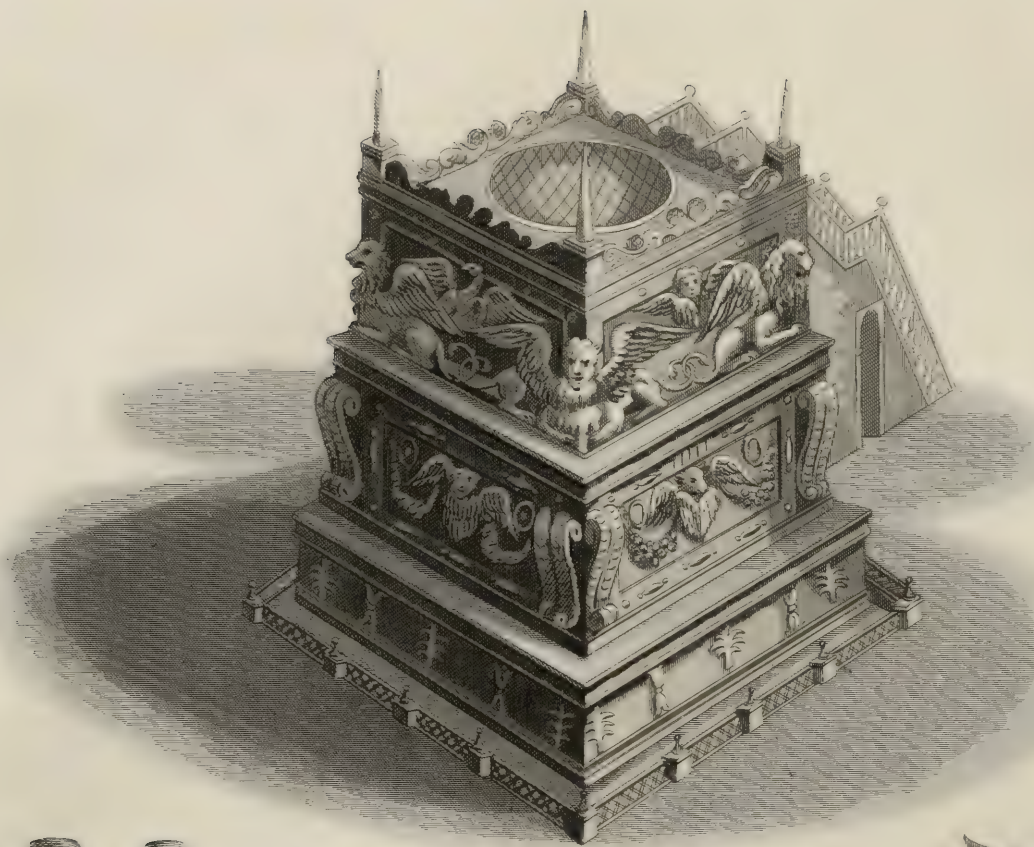
The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials: of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the *Hin* and the *Assaron*, (a tenth deal,) there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand: the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments that belonged to the high priest, the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote the name of God was only one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest, and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses: also, two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called *Nablæ* and *Cinyræ*, (psalteries and harps,) which were made of electrum, or the finest brass, forty thousand.

Solomon made all these things for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we call *Gison*, but it is called *Thringcos* by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the four winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure, and observant of the laws. But he made that temple which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up with earth great valleys that, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the utmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a

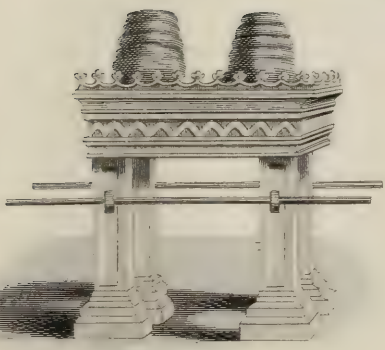




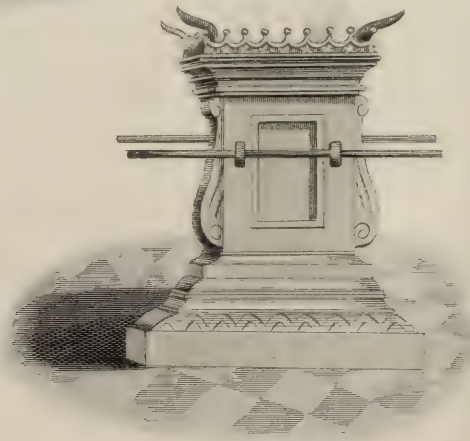




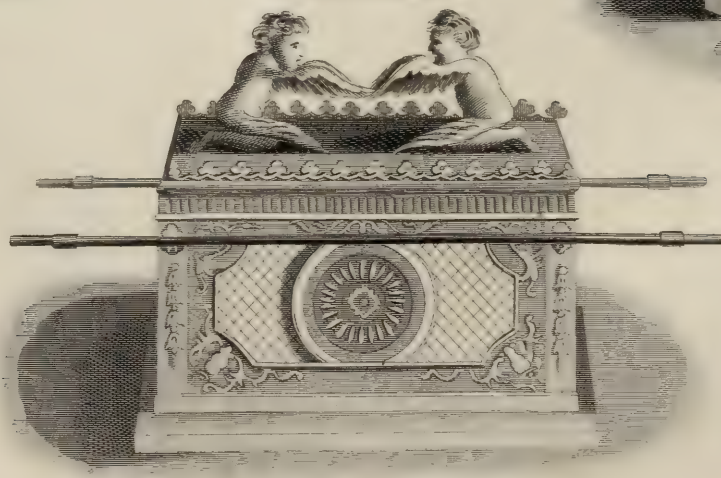
*Brazen Altar of the Burnt Sacrifice.*



*Table of Show Bread.*



*Altar of Incense.*



*Ark of the Covenant.*



double row of cloisters, that stood on high pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Solomon removed the Ark into the Temple: how he made supplication to God, and offered public sacrifices to him.*

WHEN king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and would be surprised that so much should be finished in so short a time: short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work; he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together in Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is by our countrymen called Thisri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetæus. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple.\*

The king himself, and all the people, and the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices, and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense; and this till the very air itself every where round about was so full of these odours, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence, and, as men's opinions were, of his habitation with them in this newly-built and consecrated place; for they did not grow weary either of singing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple: and in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embracing it with their wings, for so were they framed by the artificer, they covered it as under a tent, or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in Mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them;

\* This solemn removal of the ark from Mount Sion to Mount Moriah, at the distance of almost three quarters of a mile, confutes that notion of the modern Jews, and followed by many Christians also, as if those two were, after a sort, one and the same mountain, for which there is, I think, very little foundation.

but they set the candlestick, and table, and the golden altar, in the temple, before the most secret place, in the very same place wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifice, might be thence seen: and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

Now, as soon as the priest had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself after a gentle manner into the temple; such a cloud it was, as was diffused and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up (for he was sitting before), and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give: for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such an one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest; nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them; how he had showed all things that were come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king after his father's death he should build him a temple, which, since they saw accomplished according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and, lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what men can do to return sufficient thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O



Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and upon the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee, when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice; which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards towards thee. I therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy: and in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day. And I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so; but I entreat thee to keep, it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession: but if this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague because of their sin, as with dearth, or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of thee to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions; nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee, and that we are not ourselves of an unsocial nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them."

When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of, and consumed the sacrifices. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demon-

stration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater, and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come, for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin, whereby it may be hurt.

So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself and for the Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein; nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twice seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

When all these solemnities were abundantly satisfied, and nothing was omitted that concerned the divine worship, the king dismissed them; and they every one went to their own homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing, and making merry, and singing hymns to God: and indeed the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness, and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they every one returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep, informed him, that "God had heard his prayers; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it, in case his posterity and the whole multitude would be righteous. And for himself, it said, that if he continued according to the admonitions of his father, he would advance him to an immense degree of dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country, of the tribe of Judah, for ever: but that still if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and



forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots, and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would overlook the temple of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple, which was now built, to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies; and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him? And that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country." Accordingly, we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

#### CHAP. V.

*How Solomon built himself a royal Palace, very costly and splendid; and how he solved the riddles which were sent to him by Hiram.*

AFTER the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the fore-mentioned number of years; but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that this was only an habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof: but it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may thereby make a conjecture, and, as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitude for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have causes determined. It was an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar, but its roof was

according to the Corinthian order,\* with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities: which building was at once firm, and very ornamental. There was also another house, so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle: it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, raised upon massy pillars; in which temple there was a large and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house, that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby was represented trees, and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigious thin and subtle, that you would think they were in motion: but the other part up to the roof was plastered over, and, as it were, embroidered with colours and pictures. He moreover built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace; and among them a most glorious dining room, for feastings and comutations, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude and the variety of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort; how many of a bigness inferior to those; and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves of the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar wood, and gold and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified

\* This mention of the Corinthian ornaments of architecture in Solomon's palace by Josephus, seems to be here set down by way of prolepsis: for although it appears to me that the Grecian and Roman most ancient orders of architecture were taken from Solomon's temple, as from their original patterns, yet it is not so clear that the last and most ornamental order of the Corinthian was so ancient, although that one of the gates of Herod's temple was built according to the rules of this Corinthian order is no way improbable, that order being, without dispute, much older than the reign of Herod. However, I confess I have not hitherto been able fully to understand the structure of this palace of Solomon's, either as described in our Bibles, or even with the additional help of this description here by Josephus; only the reader may easily observe with me, that the measures of this first building in Josephus are the very same with the area of the court of the tabernacle of Moses, and just half an Egyptian 'aroura,' or acre.



the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step, two lions, two other lions standing above also; but, at the sitting place of the throne, hands came out, and received the king; and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back, but still was fastened together with gold.

When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years' time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents; corn he sent him also year by year, and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; which, when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon, that he did not want such cities as they were; and after that time those cities were called the land of Cabul, which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phenicians, denotes, *what does not please*. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him, but he conquered them all, by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phenicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called Libanus, for the roofs of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte: and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchi, or Titii, who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem commanded him to explain." Dios also makes mention of him, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them; and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to them

that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles proposed by Solomon, he paid a great deal of money for his fine: but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdemon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This it is which Dios wrote.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Solomon fortified the City of Jerusalem, and built great cities; and how he brought some of the Canaanites into subjection, and entertained the Queen of Egypt and of Ethiopia.*

Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger, (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,) he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor, and Megiddo, and the third, Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh the king of Egypt had made an expedition against, and besieged it, and taken it by force, and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon; for which reason the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it; Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Baalath of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days' journey from Babylon the great. Now, the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited is this, that below there is no water to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had therefore built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians; but the Grecian name is Palmyra.

Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt from Menes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the



occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies *a king*,\* but I suppose they made use of other names from their childhood; but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority; for thus it was also that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies, from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their nativity called by other names, but are styled Cæsars, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said that there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs; for when after their death there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name Nicaule, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same name, while a woman did not admit the same, he did therefore set down that her name which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father in law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name; and that it was after that time when the fore-mentioned queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in mount Lebanon, and as far as the city of Hamath; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbandry; for none of the Hebrews were servants in such low employments: nor was it reasonable, that when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life, rather than those nations; while all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armour; and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and

instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-Geber: it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city of Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping, from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

There was then a woman, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia:† she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him, and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing; (for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend upon the credit of the relators,) so she resolved to come to him, and that especially in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly, she came to Jerusalem with great splendour, and rich furniture; for she brought with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king's kind reception of her, he both showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any one could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she had heard by report beforehand; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace, and not less at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had therein shown great wisdom; but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of its preparation and ministration, with the apparel of his servants that waited, and the skilful and decent management of their attendance; nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful management which the priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, insomuch that she

\* This signification of the name Pharaoh appears to be true. But what Josephus adds presently, that 'no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law,' does hardly agree to our copies, which have long afterwards the names of 'Pharaoh-nechoh,' and 'Pharaoh-hophrah,' besides the frequent mention of that name Pharaoh in the prophets. However, Josephus himself, in his History of the Wars speaks of Nechoh, 'who was also called Pharaoh,' as the name of that king of Egypt with whom Abraham was concerned; of which name Nechoh we have elsewhere no mention till the days of Josiah, but only of Pharaoh. And indeed it must be confessed, that here, we have more mistakes made by Josephus; and those relating to the kings of Egypt, and to that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia whom he supposes to have come to see Solomon, than almost any where else in all his Antiquities.

† That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabæa in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose, now generally agreed. And since Sabæa is well known to be a country near the sea, in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judea also; and since our Saviour calls this queen, 'the queen of the south,' and says 'she came from the utmost parts of the earth,' Math. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31. which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter.



was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at the things before related; and said, "All things indeed, O king, that came to our knowledge by report, came with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast from thy kingdom, certainly the fame that came to us was no falsity; it was not only a true report, but it related thy happiness after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For, as for the report, it only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so make known the dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, by reason of the multitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly, I esteem the Hebrew people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, who enjoy thy presence, and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them."

Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones. (They say also that we possess the root of that balsam which our country still bears by this woman's gift.)\* Solomon also repaid her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

\* Some blame Josephus for supposing that the balsam tree might be first brought out of Arabia, or Egypt, or Ethiopia, into Judea, by this queen of Sheba, since several have said, that of old no country bore this precious balsam but Judea: yet it is not only false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea, but both Egypt and Arabia, and particularly Sabæa, had it; which last was that very country whence Josephus, if understood not of Ethiopia but of Arabia, intimates this queen might bring it first into Judea. Nor are we to suppose that the queen of Sabæa could well omit such a present as this balsam tree would be esteemed by Solomon, in case it were then almost peculiar to her own country: nor is the mention of balm or balsam, as carried by merchants, and sent as a present out of Judea by Jacob, to the governor of Egypt, Gen. xxxvii. 25, and xliii. 11, to be alleged to the contrary, since what we there render 'balm' or 'balsam,' denotes rather that 'turpentine,' which we now call 'turpentine of Chio,' or 'Cyprus,' the juice of the turpentine tree, than this precious balsam. This last is also the same word that we elsewhere render by the same mistake 'balm of Gilead;' it should be rendered the 'turpentine of Gilead,' Jer. viii.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Solomon grew rich, and fell desperately in love with Women, and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Ader and Jeroboam against him. Concerning the Death of Solomon.*

ABOUT the same time there were brought to the king from the Aurea Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine trees, and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple, and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which take that their denomination from the merchants, who so call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fir-tree, but were whiter and more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference of these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing when we mentioned it, and the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and he had them carried, and put into that house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of precious stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver, for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus; these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes, and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

Accordingly, there went a great fame all around the neighbouring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, inasmuch that all the kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being almost incredible; they also demonstrated the regard they had for him, by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had before from those that were sent him



augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could, upon the comparison, appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sunbeams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armour, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment; and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham,\* very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot.

Now Solomon had divine sagacity in all things, and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner: so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone along the road that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to render them easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted his chariots, and set them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, still keeping a few about him; and those cities he called the *cities of his chariots*. And the king made silver so plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar trees in the plains of Judea, which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees. He also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise to sell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmæ of silver, and he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond Euphrates.

But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, and the best beloved of God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches all those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did not he persevere in this

happy state till he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the law of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lust: nor was he satisfied with the women of his country alone; but he married many wives out of foreign nations, Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites, and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, which he did to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatise from our own, lest we should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into unseasonable pleasures, and regarded not these admonitions. For when he had married seven hundred wives,† the daughters of princes, and of eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and these besides the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon was governed by them till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason became weaker by length of time, it was not sufficient to recal to his mind the institutions of his own country, so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods his marriages had introduced: nay, before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the law, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea,‡ and the images of lions about his throne; for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God: nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father; so he died ingloriously. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him, that "his wicked actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had

\* Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about six miles from Jerusalem, whither Solomon rode so often in state, be not those alluded to, Eccles. ii. 5, 6, where he says, "He made him gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits; he made him pools of water, to water the wood that bringeth forth trees." And to the finest part whereof he seems to allude, when, in the Canticles, he compares his spouse to a "garden enclosed," to a "spring shut up," to "a fountain sealed," chap. iv. 12 (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, page 87, 88), cannot now be certainly determined, but may be very probably conjectured. But whether this "Etham" has any relation to those "rivers of Etham" which Providence once dried up in a miraculous manner, Psalm lxxiv. 15, and in the Septuagint, I cannot say.

† These 700 wives, or the daughters of great men, and the 300 concubines, the daughters of the ignoble, make 1000 in all: and are, I suppose, those very 1000 women, intimated elsewhere by Solomon himself, when he speaks of his not having found one good woman among that very number, Eccles. vii. 28.

‡ Josephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon, who, in making the cherubims, and these twelve brazen oxen, seems to have done no more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all given him by divine inspiration. And although God gave no direction for the lions that adorned his throne, yet does not Solomon seem therein to have broken any law of Moses; for, although the Pharisees and latter rabbins have extended the second commandment to forbid the very making of any image, though without any intention to have it worshipped, yet do not I suppose that Solomon so understood it, nor that it ought to be so understood. The making any other altar for worship but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses, yet did not the two tribes and a half offend when they made an altar for a memorial only. Josh. xxii.



done; that indeed the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he would have a temple."

When Solomon heard this, he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Ader, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him: he was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal: and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up, he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes, to wife, by whom he had a son, who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country: upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardships he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him? And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it; but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse,\* on account of his forementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lit upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a pro-

phesy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother, and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behaviour, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge over the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shiloh, whose name was Ahijah, met him and saluted him, and when he had taken him a little aside, to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bade Jeroboam take ten of them: and told him beforehand, that "This is the will of God; he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will give ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing, therefore, thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou righteous, and keep the laws, because he hath proposed to thee the greatest of all rewards for thy piety, and the honour thou shalt pay to God, namely, to be as greatly exalted as thou knewest David to have been."

So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet; and being a young man of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet:† and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavoured to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon, by which means he gained these two advantages, to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years he was deluded by women, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befel the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

† This youth of Jeroboam, when Solomon built the walls of Jerusalem, not long after he had finished his twenty years' building of the temple, and his own palace, or not very long after the twenty-fourth of his reign, and his youth here still mentioned, when Solomon's wickedness was become intolerable, fully confirm my former observation, that such his wickedness began early, and continued very long

\* Since the beginning of Solomon's evil life and adversity was the time when Hadad, or Ader, who was born at least twenty or thirty years before Solomon came to the crown, in the days of David, began to give him disturbance, this implies that Solomon's evil life began early, and continued very long, which the multitude of his wives and concubines does imply also; I suppose when he was not 50 years of age.



## CHAP. VIII.

*How, upon the Death of Solomon, the People forsook his Son Rehoboam, and ordained Jeroboam King over the ten Tribes.*

Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam (who was born of an Ammonite wife, whose name was Naamah) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he was come to them, to the city Shechem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him and besought him, and said, "That he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed upon them, because they had borne a heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do it more out of love than fear." But Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favourable answer to their mind immediately, for they thought that he should have given them a humane answer off-hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that his consultation about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude: upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him, "to speak in a way more popular than suited the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with good-will, it being most agreeable to subjects, that their kings should be almost upon the level with them." But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable advice, (it was such, at least, at that time, when he was to be made king,) God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men, who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people, (for neither their youth, nor God himself, suffered them to discern what was best:) "That his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions."\* The king was pleased with this advice, and

thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed that they should hear something of a kind nature; but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Abijah had foretold might come to pass.

By these words the people were struck as it were by an iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them, and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out aloud and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said farther, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;" and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, who was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him if he had said anything that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not hear it, but threw stones at him and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest, so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king: but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God by the prophet Shemaiah to go to war, for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said, that this defection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

When therefore Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life: so he invented this contrivance; he made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountains of the

\* By scorpions is not here meant that small animal so called, which was never used in corrections, but either a shrub, with sharp prickles like the stings of scorpions, such as our furze bush, or else some terrible sort of whip of the like nature. See Hudson's and Spanheer's notes here.



lesser Jordan,\* and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And when he had called those ten tribes together, over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it, nor is there any one determinate place in which he is, but he everywhere hears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest those cities, may go to them, and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

When the feast of tabernacles was just approaching Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but when he was going to offer the sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a prophet, whose name was Jadon, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus, "God foretels that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall so come to pass, I foretel a sign to them that shall also come to pass: This altar shall be broken to pieces immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it, shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bade them lay hold of him; but that hand which he stretched

out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it was become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of veracity, and had a divine foreknowledge; and entreated him to pray to God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to sup with him; but Jadon said, That "he could not endure to come into his house, no, or to taste of bread or water in this city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do; as also to go back by the same way which he came, but he said he was to return another way." So the king wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear, as suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

#### CHAP. IX.

*How Jadon the prophet was persuaded by another lying prophet, and returned to Bethel, and was afterwards slain by a lion. As also what words the wicked prophet made use of to persuade the King, and thereby alienated his mind from God.*

Now there was a certain wicked man in that city who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem, but was deceived by him, and his flattering words. This man was bed-ridden by reason of the infirmities of old age: however, he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him: and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him, and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might go out. Accordingly they made haste to do what they were commanded, and he got upon the ass, and followed after the prophet; and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said, that "God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city," he replied that "for certain God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost; and I am now come as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, and make thee "my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said, that "he should suffer punishment for transgressing his

\* Whether these fountains of the Lesser Jordan were near a place called Dan, and the fountains of the greater near a place called Jor, before their conjunction; or whether there was only one fountain arising at the lake Phiala, at first sinking under ground, and then arising near the mountain Paneum, and thence running through the lake Semochonitis to the sea of Galilee, and so far called the Lesser Jordan, is hardly certain, even in Josephus himself, though the latter account be the most probable. However, the northern idolatrous calf, set up by Jeroboam, was where Little Jordan fell into Great Jordan, near a place called Daphnæ, as Josephus elsewhere informs us. Of the War, b. iv. chap. 1. See the note there.



commands, and he told him what that punishment should be; for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchres of his fathers." Which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon, as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him, yet did he not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body into the city, and made funeral for him at a great expense. He also charged his sons to bury him with him; and said, that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and the priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder." But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the name of a divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavoured, by a wicked trick, to weaken that his opinion, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him that "his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting awhile it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it." He also informed him of the death of him that that had foretold those things, and how he perished; whence he concluded that he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spake any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices;\* and accordingly he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day, but how he might be guilty of some new instance of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

\* How much larger and better copy Josephus had in this remarkable history of the true prophet of Judea, and his concern with Jeroboam, and with the false prophet of Bethel, than our other copies have, is evident at first sight. The prophet's very name, Jadon, or, as the Constitutions call him, Adonai, is wanting in our other copies: and it is there, with no little absurdity, said, that God revealed Jadon, the true prophet's death, not to himself, as here but to the false pro-

## CHAP. X.

*Concerning Rehoboam, and how God inflicted punishment upon him for his impiety, by Shishak, king of Egypt.*

Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethlehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, and Bethzur; and Shoco, and Adullam, and Ipan, and Maresha, and Ziph, and Adoram, and Lachish, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears, for many ten thousand men. The priests also that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made; and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Absalom, by Tamar, whose name was Maachah, and by her he had a son, whom he named Abijah. He had moreover many other children by other wives; but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines: and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and threescore daughters; but he appointed Abijah, whom he had by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom; and entrusted him already with the treasures, and the strongest cities.

Now I cannot but think, that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change into posterity, often becomes the occasion of mischief and of transgression to men; for when Rehoboam saw this his kingdom so much increased, he went out of the right way, and to unrighteous and irreligious practices; and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions; for so it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors; which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness, as if it were virtue, for it is not possible to show that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeably whereto it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam;

phet. Whether the particular account of the arguments made use of, after all, by the false prophet, against his own belief and his own conscience, in order to persuade Jeroboam to persevere in his idolatry and wickedness, than which more plausible could not be invented was intimated in Josephus' copy, or in some other ancient book, cannot now be determined; our other copies say not one word of it.



for when he was grown impious, and a transgressor himself, they endeavoured not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behaviour towards him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris: for this Shishak,\* in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition into Judea, with many ten thousand men, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and threescore thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore, when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.

Now when Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side: but Shemaiah, the prophet, told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind, and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, make them servants to the Egyptians, that they might learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenant he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah, and had dedicated to God. And when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and in saying that he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him; for he saith, that "he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women." Now our king, Rehoboam, delivered up our city without

fighting. He says withal,† that "the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their privy parts from the Egyptians; with this addition, that the Phenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians." Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that lived in Palestine, besides us alone, are circumcised; but as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made buckles and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace. So, instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and a foolish man, and lost part of his dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes: and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life; for he ceased not, nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning the death of a son of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterwards, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Asa. And also how, after the death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his son Nadab, and all the house of Jeroboam.*

HOWEVER, God was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to

\* That this Shishak was not the same person with the famous Sesostris, as some have very lately, in contradiction to all antiquity, supposed, and that our Josephus did not take him to be the same as they pretend, but that Sesostris was many centuries earlier than Shishak: see Authen. Records, part 2, page 1024

† Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies, b. ii. chap. civ. affirms that "the Phenicians and Syrians in Palestine, which last are generally supposed to denote the Jews, owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians;" whereas it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. 9—14. John vii. 22, 23, as I conclude the Egyptian priests did also. It is not therefore very unlikely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did thereupon think they had learned that circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than Herodotus, complains frequently of his mistakes about their affairs, as does Josephus more than once in this chapter: nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews: for, as he never names them, so little or nothing of what he says about them, their country, or maritime cities, two of which he alone mentions. Cadytus and Jentytus, proves true; nor indeed do there appear to have ever been such cities on their coast.



lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Ahijah, the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who "told me that I should be king." He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Ahijah live: and as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, that the wife of Jeroboam was to come to him; and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was coming into the house like a private person, and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me thou wast coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said, "That she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods, and honoured them; I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, because they followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life: yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son; for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes, for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of

Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth, and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Zemaraim, and pitched his camp near the other, and prepared every thing necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now, as the armies stood in array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them, "God had consented that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those, who, by God's own determination, are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained; for, as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer, but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer, and hath persuaded you to do the same; yet when you were not any farther unjustly treated by my father than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but in reality you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age, and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and his unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father, Solomon, and the benefits you received from him, for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parents: but you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? is it upon the golden heifers, and the altars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands, when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God, which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter, nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude; but who is his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war; and to call to mind the laws of your



country, and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in."

This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijah round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; and when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them: for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army as is never recorded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks, or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew and slew five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Micaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us: but Rehoboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two-and-twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was conspired against while he was there, by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Ahijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and that others of them that died in the fields, were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety, and of his wicked actions.

## CHAP. XII.

*How Zerah, King of the Ethiopians, was beaten by Asa; and how Asa, upon Baasha's making war against him, invited the King of the Damascens to assist him; and how, on the destruction of the House of Baasha, Omri got the Kingdom, as did his Son Ahab after him.*

Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed anything but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah king of Ethiopia made an expedition against him,\* with a great army, of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zephathah, not far from the city: and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy: "For, said he, I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him."

While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them, (for the city Gerar was already taken,) and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of other prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: that "The reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had shown themselves righteous and religious men, and had done everything according to the will of God; that therefore he said, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily: but that if they left off his worship, all

\* The reader is to remember, that 'Cush' is not 'Ethiopia,' but Arabia.



things shall fall out on the contrary; and a time should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers." So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city of Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude; and was injurious to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand, that "his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house, which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness, by governing the multitude righteously, and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness; and, in the next place, were pleasing to God: that he had imitated this very wicked king, Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said, that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been guilty of the like wickedness." But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behaviour, yet did he not leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he then repent of his past actions, nor endeavour to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labours; for thus did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family, and the destruction of his house) which are really among the greatest of evils, were good things; and, as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it: and at last he took his army and assaulted a certain considerable city, called Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him; and considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascens, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in

mind that we have had a friendship together from the time of our forefathers. So he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others, Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmaim,\* and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned presently to assist his own people under the distresses they were in; but Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the same place two strong cities, the one of which was called Geba, and the other Mizpah: so that after this Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city of Tirzah, and Elah, his son, took the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Arza, his steward's house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him, when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

When Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and, according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam: but the army that was besieging Gibbethon, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that when Zimri had killed him, he had gained the kingdom, they made Omri, their general, king, who drew off his army from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, when he had reigned only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were presently divided, and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa that Omri reigned (for twelve years); six of these years he reigned in the city of Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon, but named by the Greeks Samaria; but he himself called it Semareon, from Semer, who sold him the moun-

\* This "Abelmaim," or, in Josephus's copy, "Abellane," that belonged to the land of Israel, and bordered on the country of Damascus, is supposed, both by Hudson and Spanheim, to be the same with Abel, or Abila, whence came Abilene. This may be that city so denominated from Abel the righteous, there buried, concerning the shedding of whose blood within the compass of the land of Israel, I understand our Saviour's words about the fatal war and overthrow of Judea by Titus and the Roman army, "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the land, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation."



tain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, but he grew worse than they; for they all sought how they might turn the people away from God, by their daily wicked practices; and on that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another, and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died at Samaria, and Ahiab, his son, succeeded him.

Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, and hates the wicked, and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgression and wickedness; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a blessed old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty and one years; and when he was dead, his son, Jehoshaphat, succeeded him in the government. He was born of Asa's wife, Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David, his forefather, and this both in courage and piety; but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Now Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to wife, became more wicked than all the kings that had been before him. Of the actions of the prophet Elijah, and what befel Naboth.*

Now Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behaviour towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers; he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, the king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they called Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all the kings that went before him.

There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that "God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country but when he should ppear." And when he had confirmed this by an oath,

he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for food, ravens brought it to him every day: but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for God told him that he should there find a woman who was a widow, that should give him sustenance: so when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands gathering of sticks; so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance: so he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her bring him a loaf of bread also; whereupon she affirmed on oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and be consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretel to thee that this vessel of meal, and this cruse of oil shall not fail, until God send rain." When the prophet said this, she came to him, and made him the before-named cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; nor did any thing of this fail until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians, wherein he says thus: "Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperboreæ of the year following; but when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city of Botrys, in Phenicia, and the city of Auza, in Libya." By these words he designed this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

Now this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breast with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him, that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this account it was that her son was dead. But he bade her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that "God had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him, and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again." Accordingly God took pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief; and the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again. So the mother returned the



prophet thanks, and said she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

After a little while Elijah came to king Ahab,\* according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance; insomuch, that it was not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horses and the other beasts, of what was useful for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, that "he would have him go to the fountains of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts." And when he had sent persons all over the habitable earth,† to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him: so it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them, and Obadiah took one road and the king took another. Now it happened that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him, and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bade him go to the king, and tell him that "I am here ready to wait on him:" but Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee?" Or, was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death? For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place, and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath, that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

\* Josephus, in his present copies, says, that "a little while after" the recovery of the widow's son of Sarepta, God sent rain upon the earth; whereas, in our other copies, it is "after many days," I Kings xviii. 1. Several years are also intimated there, and in Josephus, as belonging to this drought and famine; nay, we have the express mention of the "third year," which, I suppose, was reckoned for the recovery of the widow's son, and the ceasing of this drought in Phenicia, which, as Menander informs us here, lasted one whole year. And both our Saviour and St. James affirm, that this drought lasted in all three years and six months, as their copies of the Old Testament then informed them. Luke iv. 25. James v. 17.

† Josephus here seems to mean, that this drought affected "all the habitable earth," and presently "all the earth," as our Saviour says it was "upon all the earth." Luke iv. 25. They who restrain those expressions to the "land of Judea" alone, go without sufficient authority or examples

So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him in anger, "If he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under." But Elijah, without any flattery, said, "That he was himself the man, he and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him." However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people to him, to Mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for, ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country god to be the true and only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired that, for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer, and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire, for if that were done they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bade the prophets choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and call on their gods; but when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lancets,‡ according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade the prophets go away, but bade the people come near and observe what he did, lest he should hide fire among the pieces of wood. So, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invoke him to manifest his power to a people that had already been in an error a long time: upon which words a fire came

‡ Mr. Spanheim takes notice here, that in the worship of Mithra, the god of the Persians, the priests cut themselves in the same manner as did these priests in their invocation of Baal, the god of the Phenicians.



on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped one God, and called him the great and the only true God, but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and vile opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly, Ahab went his way: but Elijah went up into the highest top of mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising anywhere, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel; and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezreel, a city of Izar [Issachar.]

When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called Beersheba, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very desirous to live, when they were dead: and he lay and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him, and water; so when he had eaten and recovered his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, "Why he was come thither, and had left the city?" he said, that "because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing." And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, when he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendour of a fire; and after a silence

made, a divine noise exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead; and that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him, driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do: and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I despatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

Now there was one Naboth of the city Izar [Jezreel,] who had a field adjoining to that of the king: the king would have persuaded him to sell him that his field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said, he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this, the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither wash himself, nor take any food: and when Jezebel asked him, what it was that troubled him? and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat dinner or supper? he related to her the perverseness of Naboth, and how, when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for that she would take care to have Naboth punished: and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast, and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had written to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay, to go to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that "he had slain the true owner of the field unjustly." And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said, that he might do with him what he pleased (for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus



caught in his sin,) Elijah said, that "in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of his country." Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot, and would not touch any food :<sup>a</sup> he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that "while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfil his threatening under Ahab's son." Which message the prophet delivered to the king.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*How Hadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.*

WHEN the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad [Benhadad,] who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries : so he made an expedition against Ahab ; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad's, he did not set in array to fight him, but having shut up every thing that was in the country, in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassadors came, and, by their king's command, spake thus : that "Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives, were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege." Upon this, Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he had were his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his whom he should send the next day ; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send, whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but what

did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassy of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them, "That for himself he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassy ; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon us ; however, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be done." But the multitude advised him to hearken to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer to be reported, that "he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first desired, for the safety of the citizens ; but as for his second desires, he cannot submit to them," he dismissed them.

Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army "would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth ;" hereby making a show of the great number of his army, and aiming to affright him. Ahab answered, that "he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he should have conquered his enemies in the battle." So the ambassadors came back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer ; who then immediately gave order for proceeding thus to make lines round the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege all manner of ways. Now as this was doing, Ahab was in a great agony, and all his people with him ; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, upon a certain prophet's coming to him, and saying to him, that "God had promised to subdue so many ten thousands of his enemies under him." And when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the princes, but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their unskilfulness in war." Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred thirty and two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels had told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him ; and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the out-guard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp ; and when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, which falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out ; on which

\* "The Jews weep to this day, (says Jerome, here cited by Reland,) and roll themselves upon sackcloth, in ashes, barefoot, upon such occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "That after the same manner, Bernice, when his life was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Florus barefoot."



account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked\* and drunk, insomuch that they left all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by flying away on horseback: but Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when they had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and more-over a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but as the prophet told him, he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this farther advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews; and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphek, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over-against him, although his army was a very small one, in comparison to that of the enemy: but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that "God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power to be, not only on the mountains, but on the plains also;" which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days, but on the last of those days, when the enemies came out of their camp, and put themselves in

array in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army, and when the battle was joined, and they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphek, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand.† Now there was slain in this battle a hundred thousand more: but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground: and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads,‡ (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said, that "Benhadad desired he would save him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favour." Ahab replied, "he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle." And he further promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him, he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was hid, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and bade him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bade him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief was to be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and professed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life: and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of that war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

But a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah, came to one of the Israelites, and bade him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion and be destroyed by him. When this sad accident had befallen the man, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction, so he smote him, and wounded his skull; upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him, that he had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger

\* Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word 'naked,' does not always signify entirely naked, but sometimes without men's usual armour, without their usual robes or upper garments; as when Virgil bids the husbandman plough naked and sow naked; when Josephus says, *Antiq. b. iv. chap. iii.* that God had given the Jews the security of armour when they were naked; and when he here says, that Ahab fell on the Syrians when they were both naked and drunk; when *Antiq. b. xi. chap. v.* he says that Nehemiah commanded those Jews that were building the walls of Jerusalem, to take care to have their armour upon occasion, that the enemy might not fall upon them naked. I may add, that the case seems to be the same in the Scripture, when it says, that Saul lay down naked among the prophets, *1 Sam. xix. 24*, when it says, that Isaiah walked naked and barefoot, *Isa. xx. 2, 3*, and when it says, that Peter, before he girt his fisher's coat to him, was naked, *John xxi. 7*. What is said of David also gives light to this, who was reproached by Michal for "dancing before the ark, and uncovering himself in the eyes of his handmaids, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself," *2 Sam. vi. 14-20*, yet it is there expressly said, that "David was girded with a linen ephod," i. e. he had laid aside his robes of state, and put on the sacerdotal, Levitical or sacred garments, proper for such a solemnity.

† It was not a wall, as in our English version, but the wall, or the entire walls, of the city that fell down, as in all the originals.

‡ This manner of supplication for men's lives among the Syrians, with ropes or halters about their heads, or necks, is, no strange thing in latter ages, even in our own country.



of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped, he would kill him. And when Ahab had said, that he would justly die, he shook off the binding about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of this artifice as a prelude to his following words: for he said, that "God would punish him, who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should die by the other's means, and his people by the other's army." Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave commandment that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

#### CHAP. XV.

*Concerning Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem; and how Ahab made an expedition against the Syrians, and was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in battle, and perished therein.*

AND these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, and had set garrisons in the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim, by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes, than he did into the other: but then he had God favourable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day, that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him, honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon, or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute; and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armour were three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand; the same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under

him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and fourscore armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife, the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts: and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city of Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him: and, upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance (for, indeed, his army was not inferior to the other's), and his sending for the army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bade them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

So Ahab called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bade them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition; and said, that "he would beat the king of Syria; and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power." But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that they might have surer information concerning futurities? Hereupon Ahab said, "there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome, and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah." But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent an eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that "it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were." When he came to Ahab, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said, that "God had showed to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as are flocks of sheep dispersed when their shepherd is slain." He said farther, that "God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in battle." When Micaiah had thus spoken,



Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophecy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that "he ought to bear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed." Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself: but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which, he instanced in what Elijah had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah,\* for he foretold that "the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude;" that therefore it was plain that this Micaiah was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying that he would be slain at three days' journey distance. "And," said he, "you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria, for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one, that it might take an occasion of bringing him to his end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that "God made those horns signals, that by them he should overthrow all Syria." But Micaiah replied, that "Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one secret chamber to another, to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying." Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city, and to give him nothing but bread and water.

Then did Ahab and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem take their forces, and marched to Ramoth, a city of Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and Jehoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes,† but that the king of Jerusalem

should put on his (Ahab's) proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold: but Ahab's fate found him without his robes; for Benhadad, the king of Syria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round: but when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted, from the morning-light till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breast-plate, in his lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away, but he bade the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded: however, he sat in his chariot, and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

And now the Syrian army, upon the coming of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home: and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterwards to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should happen to Ahab by the two prophets, came to pass, we ought to have high notions of God, and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable, is worthy of belief before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy, and that foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate, that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place where it will be too hard for them. Accordingly, Ahab seems to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat, but by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain, and his son, Ahaziah, succeeded him.

\* These reasonings of Zedekiah, the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah, the true prophet, are plausible; but being omitted in other copies, we cannot now tell whence Josephus had them; whether from his own temple copy, from some other original author, or from certain ancient notes.

† This reading of Josephus, that Jehoshaphat put on, not his own, but Ahab's robes, in order to appear to be Ahab, while Ahab was without any robes at all, and hoped thereby to escape his own evil fate, and disprove Micaiah's prophecy against him, is exceedingly probable. It gives great light also to this whole history; and shows

by the escape of the good man Jehoshaphat, and the slaughter of the bad man Ahab, the great distinction that divine Providence made betwixt them.



## BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS  
FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he constituted judges; and, by God's assistance, overcame his enemies.*

WHEN Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that "God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good." Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them "to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs." When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests and the Levites,\* and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zeba-

diah, both of the tribe of Judah; and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltitis, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opobalsamum. Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country, which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God "to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them (for that those who built this his temple had prayed that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it), for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession." When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also; upon which a certain prophet, Jahaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called the Eminence, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude that "they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting, but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites, with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased the people, and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and commotion to

\* These judges were a kind of Jerusalem sanhedrum, out of the priests, the Levites, and the principal of the people, much like the old Christian judicatures of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the people.



arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped: and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he himself by his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and, indeed, so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, the valley of Berachah, or blessing.

And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And, indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly affrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel: and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus,\* and the traffic cities of Thrace; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great and unwieldy; on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem.

## CHAP. II.

### *Concerning Ahaziah, the King of Israel, and again concerning the Prophet Elijah.*

AND now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and, in all respects, like to both his parents, and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. On the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to in-

quire about his recovery:† but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, "Whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them return and tell the king, that he would not escape this disease." And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately: and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that a certain man met them, and forbade them to go any farther; "but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end." And when the king bade them describe the man that said this to them, they replied, "that he was a hairy man and was girt about with a girdle of leather." So the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down, and to come to the king, for so had he enjoined, but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell from heaven, and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away; upon his prayer against him, the fire from heaven slew this captain as well as the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what had happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said, "that he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command that he came unto him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account: he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him; and that he would come down and follow him to the king." So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him, that "God said, Since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretel the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou shalt die."

Accordingly, the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded

\* What are here Pontus and Thrace, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sailed, are in our other copies Ophir and Tarshish, and the place whence it sailed is in them Eziongeber, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; so that Josephus's copy differed from our other copies, as is farther plain from his own words, which render what we read, that the ships were broken at Eziongeber, 'from their unwieldy greatness.' But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one Ophir to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Ophir in that South Sea also, and that fleets might then sail both from Phœnicia, and from the Red Sea, to fetch the gold of Ophir.

† This god of flies seems to have been so called, as was the like god among the Greeks, from his supposed power over flies in driving them away from the flesh of their sacrifices.



man in the kingdom, for he died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and impiety towards God; for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods: but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

### CHAP. III.

*How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition against the Moabites; as also concerning the Wonders of Elisha; and the Death of Jehoshaphat.*

WHEN Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesha; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother Ahaziah, while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience; who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom; and when they had taken a compass of seven days' journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and desired to know what wickedness had been committed by them, that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said, that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him, "What would become of the army?" and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they, to be sure, were true prophets,"

he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God that he would not answer him unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the divine spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, "Though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this valley full of water, till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it: nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit-trees,\* and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun-rising, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom; so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst, and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings entered the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently: and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lit upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and

\* This practice of cutting down, or plucking up by the roots, the fruit-trees, was forbidden, even in ordinary wars, by the law of Moses. Nothing could therefore justify this practice but a particular commission from God by his prophet, as in the present case, which was ever a sufficient warrant for breaking any such ritual or ceremonial law whatsoever.



the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outlived this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Jehoram succeeds Jehoshaphat: how Joram, his namesake, King of Israel, fought with the Syrians: and what Wonders were done by the Prophet Elisha.*

JEHOSHAPHAT had a great number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious and worthy to be related, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

For they say that the widow of Obadiah,\* Ahab's steward, came to him; and said, that "he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab: for she said that he hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance; and that after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband did, and afford her some assistance." And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse. So the prophet bade her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all; for

\* That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who in our Bible is styled 'the wife of one of the sons of the prophets,' 2 Kings iv. 1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrast, and by the rabbins and others. Nor is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those 'hundred of the Lord's prophets, whom he maintained by fifty in a cave,' in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 4, which circumstance rendered it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Lev. xxv. 39, Matt. xviii. 25, which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.

God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full: upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

Elisha also sent an hasty message to Joram,† and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wrath with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram; and sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And when one that was present said, that "he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels," he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent brought word, that he was in Dothan: wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha, he came running and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bade him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly, God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha; till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did further entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek? and when they replied, the prophet Elisha, he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he

† The omission by Josephus of the curing of Naaman's leprosy is somewhat remarkable, especially as he seems to allude to it in b. iii. chap. xi, where he says that "there were lepers in many nations who yet have been in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples."









THE RESURRECTION



ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising; and as king Joram asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come thither by the divine power." So that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present: so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessities, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city; and the plenty of necessities was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dove's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means prevented them; but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, "he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition." Upon which she said, "She did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman." And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said, "She had made an agreement with another woman, who was her neighbour and her friend, that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day upon one

son, and the other day upon the other: and, (said she,) I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday, but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded, and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet; but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, who was the son of a murderer,\* had sent one to take away his head; but, said he, "when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came; but Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet, and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet: and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour at which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so it is impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply, "Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them."

Now what Elisha had thus foretold, came to pass in the manner following:—There was a law in Samaria,† that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city; and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason

\* This 'son of a murderer' was Joram, the son of Ahab, which Ahab slew, or permitted his wife Jezebel to slay, the Lord's prophets, and Naboth, 1 Kings xviii. 4, xxi. 19; and he is here called by this name, I suppose, because he had now also himself sent an officer to 'murder' him.

† This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of the cities in Judea, is a well-known one. Lev. xiii. 46, and Num. v. 1—4.



of the extremity of the famine: and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine, as also, that if they stayed where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live, but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemies' camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, that "Joram, the king of Israel, had hired for auxiliaries, both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands, and led them against them, for they heard the noise of them as they were coming." And Benhadad believed what they said (for there came the same noise to his ears, as well as it did to theirs), so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents, and when they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried garments and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby that the enemies had departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they to they came to the walls of Samaria; and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, that "he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said, that "he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and," said he, "those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by

famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away, and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of so many ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for, as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent too great a crowd of the multitude, that they might not endanger one another and perish, by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

Hereupon Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed; he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said, that "he was sent to him by king Benhadad, and brought presents with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not?" Whereupon the prophet bade him tell the king no melancholy news, but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plentifully at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the occasion of this confusion he was in, he said, that "he wept out of commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and will burn their strongest cities, and will destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and will rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied,





ELIJAH RAISING THE WIDOW'S SON

REV. J. J. J.













ELIJAH TAKEN UP TO HEAVEN



"That God had informed him that he should be king of Syria." So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper;\* but on the next day he spread a wet cloth in the nature of a net over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these kings,† and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

#### CHAP. V.

##### *Concerning the wickedness of Jehoram, King of Jerusalem. His defeat and death.*

Now Jehoram, the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning, and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jeho-

ram did not leave off the introduction of the new sorts of customs, to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad, as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

And as he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah the prophet,‡ which declared that "God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel, and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous." And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle, what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, "the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children, and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, whose bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch, that though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner." This it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king's house; moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: only one of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah: after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while (for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him), and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body: I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight: and the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son, Ahaziah.

\* Since Elijah did not live to anoint Hazael king of Syria himself, as he was empowered to do, 1 Kings xix. 15, it was most probably now done, in his name, by his servant and successor, Elisha: nor does it seem to me otherwise, but that Benhadad immediately recovered of his disease, as the prophet foretold; and that Hazael, upon his being anointed to succeed him, though he ought to have staid till he died by the course of nature, or some other way of divine punishment, as did David for many years in the like case, was too impatient, and the very next day smothered or strangled him, in order to come directly to the succession.

† What M. Le Clerc pretends here, that it is more probable that Hazael and his son were worshipped by the Syrians, and the people of Damascus, till the days of Josephus, than Benhadad and Hazael, because under Benhadad they had greatly suffered, and because it is almost incredible, that both a king, and that king's murderer, should be worshipped by the same Syrians, is of little force against those records out of which Josephus drew his history, especially when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by Hazael's treachery. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this adoration, and that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too remote from the political suspicions of Le Clerc; nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of any force against authentic testimonies of antiquity.

‡ The name of Elijah has here crept into the text of Josephus, instead of Elisha, there being nothing in any copy of that epistle peculiar to Elijah.



## CHAP. VI.

*How Jehu was anointed King, and slew both Joram and Ahaziah; as also what he did for the punishment of the wicked.*

NOW Joram the king of Israel, after the death of Ben-hadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly, he made an expedition against it, with a great army: but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal: so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, with Jehu the son of Nimshi for their general, for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him, that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bade him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said, that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said, that "God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets, that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family." So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains: and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him; and added withal that he was mad; he replied, "You guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman:" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, he had chosen him to be king "over the multitude." When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment,\* and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city of Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this

upon account of their kindred; but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram and those with him on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had sent there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was? for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bade him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly,† and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him, if all things were well in the camp? but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and an harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery:" but Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart; so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him,

\* Spanheim here notes, that this putting off men's garments, and strewing them under a king, was an eastern custom, which he had elsewhere explained.

† Our copies say, that this "driving of the chariots was like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously," 2 Kings ix. 20, whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was this, that on the contrary, Jehu marched slowly and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jehu, and at length to go out with king Ahaziah to meet him, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.











and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him, so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo, and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself, and stood upon a tower, and said, "he was a fine servant that had killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower, and being thrown down, she besprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bade his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said, that "they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab." This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid, and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, and that he had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer, that "they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them." So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting anything at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates, and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that "he did himself make an expedition against his master Joram, and slew him, but that it was not he that slew all these: and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold." And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of

Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going? They replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah; for they knew not that he had slain them both: so Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done everything according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and to make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him, that "he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and a most pleasing sight to a good and a righteous man to see the wicked punished." So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile: for he gathered all the people together, and said, that "he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god, and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death." Now Ahab's god was called Baal. And when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house of Baal, with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bade them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the house of Baal; and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs, (idolatrous worship.) Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet that his sons should reign over Israel four generations: and in this condition was Jehu at this time.



## CHAP. VII.

*How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for five [six] years, when Jehoiada the high priest slew her, and made Jehoash, the son of Ahaziah, king.*

Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavoured that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterwards; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high priest, Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bedchamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

Now on the seventh year Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God had foretold should reign over you for all time to come: I exhort you, therefore, that one-third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also gave them this order besides, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bade them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king. So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened the

armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried, "God save the king!"

When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and the acclamations she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army, and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her, but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded her guards to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the government: but Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishment of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was, by this stratagem, after this manner despatched, Jehoiada called together the people, and the armed men, into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security upon oath that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Matan, that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada entrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple to the king's palace, and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom: his mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived, Jehoash was care-



ful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

### CHAP. VIII.

*Hazael makes an expedition against the people of Israel, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds in the government. Jehoash, the King of Jerusalem, at first is careful about the worship of God, but afterwards becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. When Jehoash, King of Judah, was dead, Amaziah succeeds him in the kingdom.*

Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites, and their king, Jehu, and spoiled the eastern part of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to the half tribe Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on; and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress: nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despoiler of holiness, and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria; and left Jehoahaz, his son, his successor in the government.

Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but on the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was well pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold: and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasures, had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Jehoash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most cu-

rious sort, and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basons, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of, as long as Jehoiada lived.

But as soon as he was dead, which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and, in every respect, a very good man, he was buried in the king's sepulchre at Jerusalem (because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David), king Jehoash betrayed his want of care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people; and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness: but they had gotten such a strong affection, and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression, to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zachariah, the son of the high priest, Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment; but as Zachariah was ready to die, he appealed to God, as a witness of what he suffered, for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression: for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem: upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings before him, and took down the gifts that had been dedicated in the temple, and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem: yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom.

In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not properly imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in con-



tempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascens. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue, and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted them deliverance from wars and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like his father.\* Now at this time it was, that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power: so he said it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bade the king bend a bow that was brought him: and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands, and bade him shoot; and when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of

Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father."† So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after, the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory among the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash king of Israel made war, and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

#### CHAP. IX.

*How Amaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but when he afterwards made War against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded in the Government.*

Now in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehohaddan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceedingly careful in doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Jehoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severity upon their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set

\* This character of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, that he was a good man, "and in his disposition not at all like his father," seems a direct contradiction to our ordinary copies, which say, that "he did evil in the sight of the Lord." Which copies are the truest, it is hard to determine. If Josephus's be true, this Joash is the single instance of a good king over the ten tribes: if the other be true, we have not one such example. The account that follows in all copies, of Elisha the prophet's concern for him, and his concern for Elisha, greatly favour Josephus's copies, and suppose this king to have been then a good man, and no idolater, with whom God's prophets used not to be so familiar. Upon the whole, it is most likely that these different characters of Joash suited the different parts of his reign, and that, according to our common copies, he was at first a wicked king, and afterwards was reclaimed, and became a good one, according to Josephus.

† It was an ancient custom to shoot an arrow or cast a spear into a country before the commencement of hostilities. The chief of the heralds went to the confines of the enemy's country, and, after some solemnities, cried with a loud voice, "I wage war with you for such and such reasons," and then threw a spear. If the parties did not come to some accommodation within 30 days the war was begun.









JONAH.



captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said, that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive; whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismissal for an affront, as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory; and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, that "he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them honours; nor had delivered them from his hand, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive; for that they had been carried to Jerusalem, in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither." This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, "That he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation." But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and "commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon;" and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which message Joash returned this answer in writing: "King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle: this thistle sent to the cypress tree to give the cypress tree's daughter

in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trode down the thistle: and this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom."

When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God when he is displeased sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly, Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him: by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city of Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

#### CHAP. X.

*Concerning Jeroboam, King of Israel, and Jonah the Prophet: and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his Son Zechariah took the Government. How Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, subdued the Nations that were round about him; and what befel him when he attempted to offer incense to God.*

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel and Samaria forty years. The king was guilty of contumely against God,\* and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign.

\* What I have above noted concerning Jehoash, seems to me to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam II.; viz. that although he began wickedly, he was afterwards reclaimed, and became a good king, and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, and had great successes afterward.



He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts, to the city Hamath, and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltitis, for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and, finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus in Cilicia,\* and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea: but Jonah lay still and covered, in the ship, without imitating any thing that the others did: but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was.—When they had cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet;† and when they asked him, whence he came? and what he had done? he replied; that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortunes overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they

were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also related, that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard; and preached, that “in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia.” And when he had published this he returned. Now I have given the account about him, as I found it written in our books.

When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zechariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls: after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He after this overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life, for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valour and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breast-plates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war, for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

While Uziah was in this state, and making preparation for futurity, he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration, (which

\* When Jonah is said in our Bibles to have gone to Tarshish, Jonah i. 3, Josephus understood it that he went to Tarsus in Cilicia, or to the Mediterranean Sea, upon which Tarsus lay: so that he does not appear to have read the text, 1 Kings xxii. 48, as our copies do, that ships of Tarshish could lie at Ezion-Geber, upon the Red Sea. But as to Josephus's assertion that Jonah's fish was carried by the strength of the current, upon a storm, as far as the Euxine Sea, it is no way impossible; and since the storm might have driven the ship, while Jonah was in it, near to the Euxine Sea; and since in three more days, while he was in the fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Assyrian coast; and since withal that coast could bring him nearer to Nineveh than could any coast of the Mediterranean—it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus.

† This ancient piece of religion, of supposing there was great sin where there was great misery, and of casting lots to discover great sinners, not only among the Israelites, but among these heathen mariners, seems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition which prevailed over all mankind, that Providence used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue, notorious judgments but for notorious sins, which the most ancient book of Job shows to have been the state of mankind for about the former 3000 years of the world, till the days of Job and Moses.



consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of his laws,) so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his fathers which the splendour of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had fourscore priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do." And when they cried out, that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the meantime, a great earthquake shook the ground,\* and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called Eroge, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

#### CHAP. XI.

*How Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah took the Government over the Israelites; and Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made an Expedition against the Israelites. How Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah, and what things Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.*

Now when Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, had

\* This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem, at the very same time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office, and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequences of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our other copies, though it be exceedingly like to a prophecy of Jeremiah's now in Zech. xiv. 5, in which prophecy, mention is made of "fleeing away from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah;" so that there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetic earthquakes.

reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city of Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zechariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphseh, but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphseh had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years: but when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not think meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachmæ as poll money for every head: † after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man, and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh and Hazer, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

Now Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city, (for what parts soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and

† Dr. Wall observes, "That when this Menahem is said to have exacted the money of Israel of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give Pul, the king of Assyria, 1,000 talents, this is the first public money raised by any Israelite king by a tax on the people; that they used before to raise it out of the treasures of the house of the Lord, or of their own house; that it was a poll money on the rich men, and them only, to raise £353,000, or, as others count a talent, £400,000, at the rate of £6 or £7 per head; and that God commanded, by Ezekiel, that no such thing should be done at the Jews' restoration, but the king should have land of his own."



adorned them.) He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute, a hundred talents and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

Now there was at that time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians, and Nineveh: "Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion; so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions. God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which things happened about Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterwards; so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

## CHAP. XII.

*How, upon the death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead; against whom Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, made War: and how Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, came to the assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascens into Media, placed other nations in their room.*

Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now at amity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had

taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians, and when he had slain those in the other garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and, joining battle with him, was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly, there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Eleanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria, he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them, "that they had gotten the victory not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained, that they were not satisfied with the good success they had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished." So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God: we have sin enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his war against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascens, with a promise to send him much money; he sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, the



ing Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all they had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would procure him the victory: and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honour any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt of God's worship, that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in their appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

#### CHAP. XIII.

*How Pekah died by the treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser; and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz, and what actions of Piety and Justice he did.*

ABOUT the same time, Pekah, the king of Israel, died, by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years' time, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the divine worship. And Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him, (which must have been because he had not God favourable or assistant to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant, how by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods: I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to

recover all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it; for by this means we may render God favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this, he said, was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they affronted the prophets who gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they should suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them: nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: Nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies; but of that, more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem to Hezekiah, that they might worship God there.

When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God. But as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after



that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence: and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it; and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifice should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of their priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities from Gaza to Gath; but the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*How Shalmaneser took Samaria by Force, and how he transplanted the Ten Tribes into Media, and brought the Nation of the Cutheans into their Uountry in their Room.*

WHEN Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that Hoshea the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted into the city by the king, he besieged Samaria three years,\* and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah king of Jerusalem, and quite

\* The siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of, either in our Hebrew or Greek Bibles, was so very long, not less than three years, that it was no way improbable but that parents, and particularly mothers, might therein be reduced to eat their own children, as the law of Moses had threatened upon their disobedience, Levit. xvi. 29, Deut. xviii. 53—67, and as was accomplished in the other shorter sieges of both the capital cities, Jerusalem and Samaria; the former mentioned, Jer. xix. 9. Antiq. b. ix. chap. iv. and the latter, 2 Kings vi. 26—29.

demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive;† and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, (for there is still a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea, nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre, in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One, whose name was Eluleus, reigned thirty-six years; this king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overran all Phenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon and Ace, and Palætyrus, revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phenicians had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies' ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased: but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

But now the Cutheans who removed into Samaria,

† It is conjectured that Shalmaneser took Hoshea prisoner before he laid siege to Samaria, and that Hoshea ended his days in a prison. Not only the inhabitants of Samaria but all the ten tribes of Israel were carried into captivity.



(for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria; and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them

taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cutheans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them: but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

## BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.—FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.

### CHAP. I.

*How Sennacherib made an expedition against Hezekiah; what threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians: how Isaiah the Prophet encouraged him; how Sennacherib, having failed of success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his army destroyed, he returned home; and what befel him a little afterward.*

IT was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard what offers the ambassadors had made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it; and

yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabсарis.

Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him: but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends, the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following: "Sennacherib, the great king,\* desires to know of him on whom it is that he relies and depends in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall over-

\* The title of 'Great King,' both in our Bibles, 2 Kings xviii. 19, Isa. xxxvi. 4, and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib, as Spanheim takes notice on this place.



throw the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also." When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed, so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue; but the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made him answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue, and said, "that since they all heard what were the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us, for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist: but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me, for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength; but what you have not, you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you."

When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner; and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold, that "their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now shew, for that God would take care that they should be destroyed." He also foretold, that "Sennacherib the king of Assyria should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should perish by the sword."

About the same time also, the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said, "he was a foolish man in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem." When he read this epistle, he despised it on account of the trust he had in God, but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his further prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said that "God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be besieged at this time by the king of

Assyria; that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs." But, after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success, on the following account:—He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium, and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, he heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the Desert, and so fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now, concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, "How this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan, and that as he was besieging Pelusium he broke up the siege on the following occasion: this Egyptian priest prayed to God, who heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king." But in this Herodotus was mistaken when he called this king not king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians; for he saith that "a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does in fact give us this history; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt, and says thus:—

"Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh his general, in danger by a plague, for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed: so the king was in a great dread, and in a terrible agony, at this calamity; and being in great fear of his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city of Nineveh: and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons Adrammelech and Seraser,† and was slain in his own

\* This slaughter of 185,000 Assyrians in one night was frequently foretold by the Jewish prophets, and was undoubtedly accomplished, but there have been various conjectures as to the way in which this army perished. Isaiah, when comforting the servants of Hezekiah, declared that the Lord had threatened to "send a blast" upon Sennacherib, and it is thought by modern commentators that the pestilential or hot wind of the desert is intended in these words. This vapour is described to be in colour like the purple part of the rainbow, but not so compressed or thick, about 20 yards in breadth, and about 12 feet high from the ground. A kind of blush in the air, moving very rapidly, and the heat of it so great as to produce suffocation.

† We are here to notice, that these two sons of Sennacherib, that ran away into Armenia, became the heads of two famous families there, the Arzerunii and Genunii; of which see the particular histories in Moses Choronenensis, page 60.



temple, which was called Araske. Now these sons of his were driven away on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib.\* And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

## CHAP. II.

*How Hezekiah was sick and ready to die; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen years longer life, [and secured that promise,] by the going back of the shadow ten degrees.*

Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate, that they departed from Jerusalem, but that divine assistance: yet, while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterward fall into a severe distemper, insomuch that the physicians despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends;\* and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that "within three days' time he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also." Now upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him, so he desired that Isaiah would give

him some sign of wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God: for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him what sign he desired to be exhibited, he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps or degrees in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before.† And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God and made vows to him.

At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes,‡ but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally, and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him, "Whence those ambassadors came? To which he replied, that "they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces they might thereby guess at the plenty he was in, and be able to inform the king of it." But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that "he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities, yet since it is not possible to alter what God had deter-

\* Josephus, and all our copies, place the 'sickness' of Hezekiah after the 'destruction' of Sennacherib's 'army,' because it appears to have been after his first assault, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he pushed his conquests as far as they would go, and in order to despatch his story altogether; yet does no copy but this of Josephus say it was 'after' that destruction, but only that it happened 'in those days,' or about the time of Hezekiah's life. Nor will the fifteen years' prolongation of his life after his sickness allow that sickness to have been later than the former part of the 15th year of his reign, since chronology does not allow him in all above twenty-nine years and a few months, whereas the first assault of Sennacherib was on the 14th year of Hezekiah, but the destruction of Sennacherib's army was not till his 18th year.

† As to this regress of the shadow, either upon a sun-dial, or the steps of the royal palace built by Ahaz, whether it were physically done by the real miraculous revolution of the earth in its diurnal motion backward from east to west, for a while, and its return again to its old natural revolution from west to east, or whether it were not apparent only, and performed by an aerial phosphorus, which imitated the sun's motion backward, while a cloud hid the real sun, cannot now be determined. Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypothesis. However, it must be noted, that Josephus seems to have understood it otherwise than we generally do; that the shadow was accelerated as much at first forward as it was made to go backward afterward, and so the day was no longer nor shorter than usual, which, it must be confessed, agrees best of all to astronomy, whose eclipses older than that time were observed at the same times of the day as if this miracle had never happened. After all, this wonderful signal was not, it seems, peculiar to Judea, but either seen, or at least heard of, at Babylon also, as appears by 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, where we learn, that the Babylonian ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things, 'to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land.'

‡ This expression of Josephus, that the Medes, upon this destruction of the Assyrian army, 'overthrew' the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong, for although they immediately cast off the Assyrian yoke, and set up Deioeces, a king of their own, yet it was some time before the Medes and Babylonians overthrew Nineveh, and some generations ere the Medes and Persians under Cyaxares and Cyrus overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire.



mined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived." Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet, Isaiah, he was by the confession of all a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events, by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

*How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to his son Amon.*

WHEN king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt at that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine: but when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hophzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country; for, by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men who were among the Hebrews, nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflowed with blood.\* So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries, yet did they in earnest learn what the prophets had told them was true.

And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them, from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and

esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established what concerned the divine worship as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation: when therefore he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden;† and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was Meshulemeth, of the city of Jotbath.

### CHAP. IV.

*How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh: and after Amon, reigned Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. As also concerning Huldah the Prophetess.*

THIS Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young: so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two: but the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath; and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and

\* Jewish writers assert that Manasseh caused the venerable prophet Isaiah to be sawn asunder for warning him and his people of approaching vengeance.

† Dr. Clarke explains this passage by observing that he was buried in the garden of the sepulchre of his own house or family; the cemeteries of the Jews being always a series of gardens, each of which belonged to some particular family. The garden to which our Saviour "oft times resorted with his disciples" was doubtless a place for private meditation in the midst of tombs. The custom of adorning cemeteries with gardens and resorting to them for meditation and prayer still exists among all the Eastern Jews, who write upon the tomb of a deceased person, "Let his soul be in the garden of Eden."



followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and when he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious and plucked them down, and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities. And when the money was brought in, he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joash the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto, who made no delay, nor put off the work at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave order that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups and dishes, and vials, for ministration in the temple; and besides that they should bring all the gold and silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lit upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple, and when he had brought them out he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment, and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for Shaphan the scribe, and for certain other of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, (which Shallum

was a man of dignity and of an eminent family), and bade them go to her and say that he desired "she would appease God, and endeavour to render him propitious to them, for that there was cause to fear, lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably." When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bade them go back to the king, and say, that "God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets: that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but that, after his death, he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined for them."

So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king, whereupon he sent to the people everywhere, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also: and when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out; so when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols that were not of the family of Aaron.

And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built. And as the prophet Jadon, who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, viz. that a "certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned." And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

After these things, Josiah went also to each other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under



the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses and the villages, and the cities, out of suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away, the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace,\* which his predecessors had framed; and what thing soever there was besides, which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the Passover. He also gave the people, for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats and lambs, thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover, two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Joash had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

#### CHAP. V.

*How Josiah fought with Neco, King of Egypt, and was wounded, and died in a little afterward: as also, how Neco carried Jehoahaz, who had been made King, into Egypt, and delivered the Kingdom to Jehoiakim: and lastly, concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.*

Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians,† for he had a desire to reign

over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him, that "he did not make this expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go." But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from this intended march. I suppose that it was fate that pushed him on to this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his army in array,‡ and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days: and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also.§ Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing, two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth; but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befel this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom; being about twenty-three years old: he reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life: but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called Hamath,|| which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bonds, and delivered the

\* It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings, chap. xxiii. 11, with this account of Josephus, and to translate this passage truly in Josephus, whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect: however, the general sense of both seems to be this, that there were certain chariots with their horses dedicated to the idol of the sun, or to Moloch, which idol must be carried about in procession and worshipped by the people: which chariots were now taken away, as Josephus says, or as the book of the Kings says, burnt with fire by Josiah. Several Jewish doctors state that the horses mentioned in the Septuagint were used to draw the chariots of the sun, which advanced before the sun on his appearance in the morning, running over the ground from the house of Nathanmelech to the temple. Others suppose that these horses were intended as sacrifices to the sun, which opinion is strengthened by the fact that the horse, in Persia and elsewhere, was one of the principal victims offered to the sun.

† This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, that

about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobit's continuator, that "before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchodonosor the Babylonian, and Assuerus the Mede," Tob. xiv. 15.

‡ This battle is justly esteemed the very same that Herodotus mentions, when he says that "Necao joined battle with the Syrians (or Jews) at Magdolum (Megiddo), and beat them."

§ Whether Josephus here means the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, or any other like melancholy poem now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, belonging peculiarly to Josiah, cannot now be ascertained.

|| This ancient city Hamath, which is joined with Arpad, or Aradus, and with Damascus, 2 Kings, xviii. 34, Isa. xxxvi. 19, Jer. xlix. 23, cities of Syria and Phenicia, near the borders of Judea, was also itself evidently near the same borders, though long ago utterly destroyed.



kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute: but Neco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief: nor was he either religious towards God or goodnatured towards men.

#### CHAP. VI.

*How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the King of Egypt, made an Expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made Jehoiachin his son King.*

Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army\* to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates, to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands of his soldiers in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened on his refusal to make war against him. He was affrighted at this threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude, and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that a

sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of the prison, and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said, that "he was not the only person who had foretold them what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered anything of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God." So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions, of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bade him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king, who gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

Now a little time afterward, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received into the city, and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven: but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehusta: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

#### CHAP. VII.

*That the King of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin King, and took him to Babylon, giving the kingdom to Zedekiah, who disbelieved Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and joined himself to the Egyptians, who were defeated by the King of Babylon; also what befel Jeremiah.*

BUT a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had

\* This army consisted of 180,000 foot, 120,000 horse, and 10,000 chariots.



given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately : he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him ; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem ; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city ; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him ; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two ; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends : and when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle Zedekiah to be king ; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

Now Zedekiah was twenty-and-one years old when he took the government ; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased ; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted, that " he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, (among whom were wicked men,) nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against them, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such as they expected." Now, as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage ; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them into Jerusalem : but Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reasons following : it happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said, as in all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive ; but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that " Zedekiah should not see Babylon," while Jeremiah said to him, that " the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds." And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as we shall show upon a fitter opportunity.

Now when Zedekiah had preserved the league of mutual assistance he made with the Babylonians, for eight

years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him : he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it : but when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege : upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said, that " the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon, and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple, of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple." But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that " they did ill, and deluded the king ; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple ; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years ; that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians, and that we shall be dismissed, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem."\* When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him, but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem ; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians : but Jeremiah said, that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country ; but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished ; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the

\* Josephus says here, that Jeremiah prophesied not only of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and this under the Persians and Medes, as in our other copies ; but of their rebuilding the temple, and even the city Jerusalem, which do not appear in our copies under his name.



utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilential distemper, and made great havock of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families, but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but that if he would fly to the enemy he should escape death: yet did not those rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but they came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said, that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty in the prison.

But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say;" but he said withal, he "should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be hearkened to: for, said he, thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness: and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more; but I

am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said, that it was God that prophesied this by him, that he must do so if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but that, if he disobeyed, he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house. When the king heard this, he said, that "he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished." But the prophet encouraged him, and said, "He had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt." So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him "to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and what he had said to him; but to pretend to them, that he besought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison." And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them? And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem and burnt the Temple, and removed the People of Jerusalem and Zedekiah to Babylon. As also, who they were that had succeeded in the high priesthood under the Kings.*

Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls: he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the greatness of the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle



between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former part supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions, in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemies' engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

Now the city was taken in the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these, Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desert: and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about; but for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to "call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it; but, said he, God is great, who hated that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Hezekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah,\* and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him,† as Jere-

miah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face; and should see his eyes with his own eyes: and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy; but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretels what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days, after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days, from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam, until this befel the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during these years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the

\* Burder remarks, this was done with the intention of rendering the king incapable of ever re-ascending the throne. Thus it was a law in Persia down to the latest time that no blind person could mount the throne. Hence the barbarous custom of depriving the sons and male relations of a Persian king, who are not to be allowed to attain the government, of their sight. Down to the time of Abbas, in 1642, this was done by only passing a red hot copper-plate before the eyes, by which the power of vision was not entirely destroyed, and the person blinded still retained a glimmering of sight. Abbas, however, having heard that his brother had sight enough to know when a light was introduced into his apartment, immediately ordered his eyes to be put out with the point of a dagger.

† This observation of Josephus, about the seeming disagreement of Jeremiah, chap. xxxii. 4, and xxxiv. 3, and Ezek. xii. 13, but real agreement at last concerning the fate of Zedekiah, is very true

and very remarkable. Nor is it at all unlikely that the courtiers and false prophets might make use of this seeming contradiction to dissuade Zedekiah from believing either of those prophets, as Josephus here intimates he was dissuaded thereby.



armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers, all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadoc; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Asarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Issus; after him was Axioramus: his son was Phideas, and Phideas' son was Sudeas, and Sudeas' son was Juelus, and Juelus' son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias' son was Nerias, and Nerias' son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus' son was Eleias, and his son [was Azarias,\* and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

#### CHAP. IX.

*How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Gedaliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael; and how Johanan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the People, which People, Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and brought them away to Babylon.*

Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor: which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the

ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king: but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell any where else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: so when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country, which was called Mispah; and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neriaiah, one of a very eminent family, and exceedingly skilful in the language of his country.

When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon: but as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jazeniah, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath; and said, that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there, and he admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this only condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan and the rulers that were with him observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of

\* I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Azarias, though he be omitted in all Josephus' copies, out of the Jewish chronicle, Sedar Olam, because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was eighteen, Antiq. b. xx. chap. x., whereas his copies have here but seventeen.



the royal family : and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it, for they told him they were afraid that when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue : but he professed, That "he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him ; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hand : that however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and entrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal."

So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away : but after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city of Mispah, and ten men with him ; and when he had feasted Ishmael and those that were with him in a splendid manner, at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavoured to be very merry with them ; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah and those that were with him at the feast, and when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylonians : but the next day fourscore men came out of the country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him ; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court, and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen ; but of these fourscore men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them ; till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and garments, and corn : but he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children ; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzardan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah ; and when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron : and when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance ; so they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan : then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites ; but

Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to a certain place called Mandra, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence, and go into Egypt, out of fear lest the Babylonians should slay them in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they swore that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said, "That he would inform Johanan and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid, but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, out of his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured." So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country, but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.

And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretel to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon ; which things came to pass accordingly : for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Coelosyria, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites ; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it ; and he slew the king that then reigned, and set up another ; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates ; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea ; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken, were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldaea. Now as to Shalmanezzer, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the









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nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called Samaritans, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes,\* placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years: but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

## CHAP. X.

### *Concerning Daniel, and what befel him at Babylon.*

BUT now Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs, which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another was called Ananias, another Misaël, and the fourth Azarias: and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names; Daniel he called Baltazar; Ananias, Shadrach; Misaël, Meshach; and Azarias, Abednego. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures: so he came to Asphenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed,† and desired him to take and spend what

was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and anything else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased; for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him in danger, and occasion him to be punished: yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards, but if he saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now, when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and all sorts of luxury; Arioch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labour, for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skilled in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

Now, two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep, but when he arose out of his bed he forgot the accomplishment: so he sent for the Chaldeans, and magicians, and the prophets, and told them that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was, and what was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the

\* We see here that Judea was left in a manner desolate after the captivity of the two tribes, and was not re-peopled with foreign colonies, perhaps as an indication of Providence that the Jews were to re-people it without opposition themselves. I also esteem the latter and present desolate condition of the same country, without being re-peopled by foreign colonies, to be a like indication, that the same Jews are hereafter to re-people it again themselves, at their so long expected restoration.

† That Daniel was made one of these eunuchs of which Isaiah prophesied, Isa. xxxix. 7, and the three children his companions also, seems to me plain, both here in Josephus, and in our copies of Daniel, Dan. i. 3, 6, 7, 11, 18, although it must be granted that some married persons, that had children, were sometimes called eunuchs, in a general acceptance for courtiers, on account that so many of the ancient courtiers were real eunuchs. See Gen. xxxix. 1.



king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians, should be slain. So when he learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger; he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired: so the king bade them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsman, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When David had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians, when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for this was not his own skill, or on account of having better cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, "God hath had pity on us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream and the interpretation thereof, for I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiredst of them what was the work only of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream: Thou seemdest to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not per-

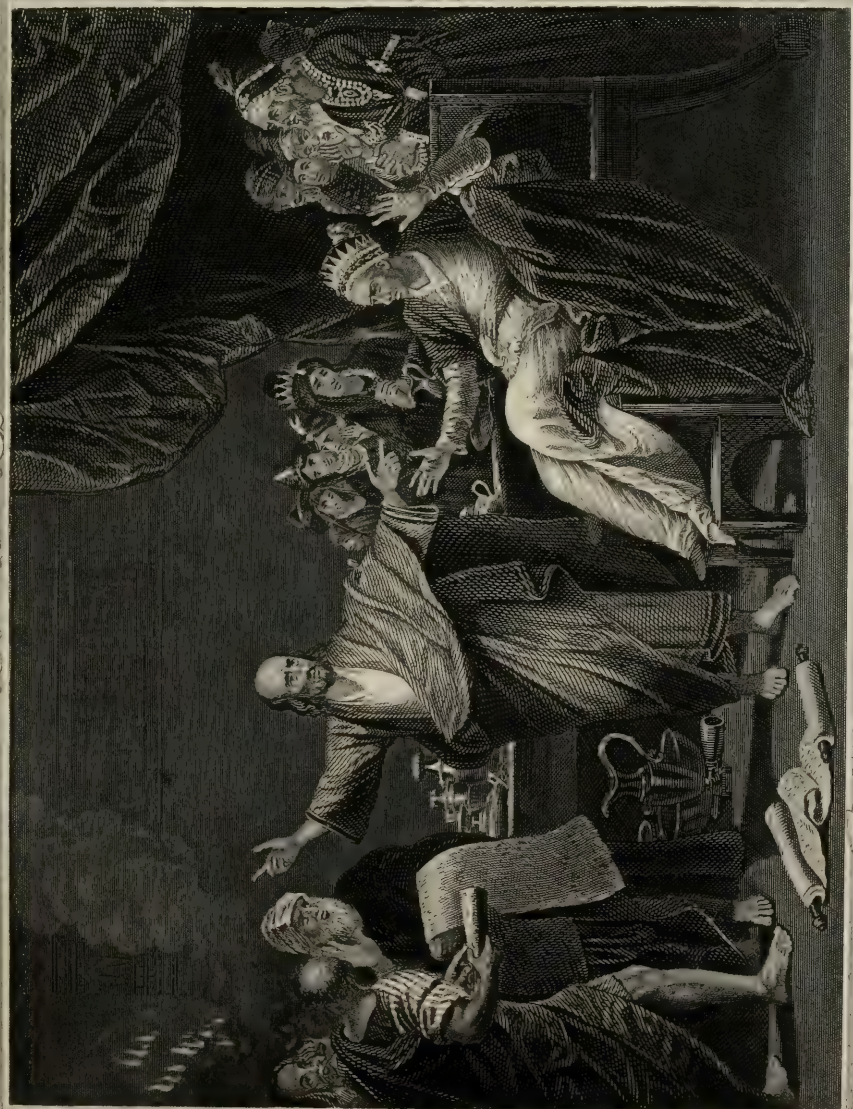
mit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became smaller than meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows:—The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee; but the two hands and arms signify this, that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government that shall be like unto iron shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king,\* but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to waive such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writers.

When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face, and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him, Baltasar, and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice of their enemies; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited all the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they related that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them; and I suppose that it touched them not,

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\* Of this most remarkable passage in Josephus, concerning the 'stone cut out of the mountain, and destroying the image,' which he would not explain, but intimated to be a prophecy of futurity, and probably not safe for him to explain, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the following words of Havercamp: "For is this to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of that city which they called the Eternal City."





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as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire, that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years\* he should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could make out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it: and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding anything to them of my own, or taking anything away from them.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his successors: and how their Government was dissolved by the Persians; and what things befel Daniel in Media, and what Prophecies he delivered there.*

Now when Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three

\* Since Josephus here explains the seven prophetic times which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar to be seven years, we thence learn now he most probably would have understood those other parallel phrases of a time, times and a half, Antiq. b. vii. chap. xxv. of so many prophetic years also, though he withal lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the seventy weeks, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus, that he did not think those years to be bare years, but rather days for years: by which reckoning, and by which alone, could 70 weeks, or 490 days, reach to the age of Josephus. But as to the truth of those seven years' banishment of Nebuchadnezzar from men, and his living so long among the beasts, the very small remains we have anywhere else of this Nebuchadnezzar prevent our expectation of any other full account of it. So far we know by Ptolemy's canon, a contemporary record, as well as by Josephus presently, that he reigned in all 43 years, that is, eight years after we meet with any account of his actions; one of the last of which was the thirteen years' siege of Tyre, Antiq. b. xi. c. xi. where yet the old Latin has but three years and ten months; yet were his actions before so remarkable, both in sacred and profane authors, that such a

vacuity of eight years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's accounts, that, after a seven years' brutal life, he might return to his reason, and to the exercise of his royal authority, for one whole year at least before his death.

† These 43 years for the duration of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are, as I have just now observed, the very same number in Ptolemy's canon. Moses Choronenis also confirms this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, and adds, what is very remarkable, that one of those Jews that were carried by him into captivity got away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the Bagraditæ there.

‡ These 21 years here ascribed to one named Naboulassar in the first book against Apion, or to Nabopolassar, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are also the very same with those given him in Ptolemy's canon. And note here, that what Dr. Prideaux says, at the year 612, that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common name of other kings of Babylon, besides the great Nebuchadnezzar himself, is a groundless mistake of some modern chronologers only, and destitute of all proper original authority or testimony worthy of our belief.



palace, but so that it was joined to it; to describe whose vast height, and immense riches, it would be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days.\* He also erected what was called a pensive paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his account of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions, for he saith, that "he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia." Diocles also, in the second book of his accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostratus, in his accounts both of India and of Phenicia, say, that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre." These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends: he also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar his son took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life: and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead it came to Baltasar,† who, by the Babylonians, was called Naboandelus; against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines, and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use

them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables: at which sight being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all sort of men that are among these Barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised, that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him a third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother saw him cast down at this accident,‡ she began to encourage him, and to say, that "there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar, when he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone; who brought to light and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer, when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature."

When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him; and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant: that if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck,

\* These fifteen days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon would seem too absurd to be supposed the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion. It thence indeed appears that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number, but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us that the walls of so much a smaller city as Jerusalem were two years and four months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could. I should think 115 days, or a year and 15 days, much more proportionate to so great a work.

† It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the same king whom he himself here (Bar. i. 11, Dan. v. 1, 2, 9, 12, 22, 29, 30,) styles 'Beltazar,' or, 'Belshazzar,' from the Babylonian god Bel, 'Naboandelus' also; and in the first book against Apion, from the same citation out of Berosus, 'Nabonnedus,' from the Babylonian god Nabu or Nebo. This last

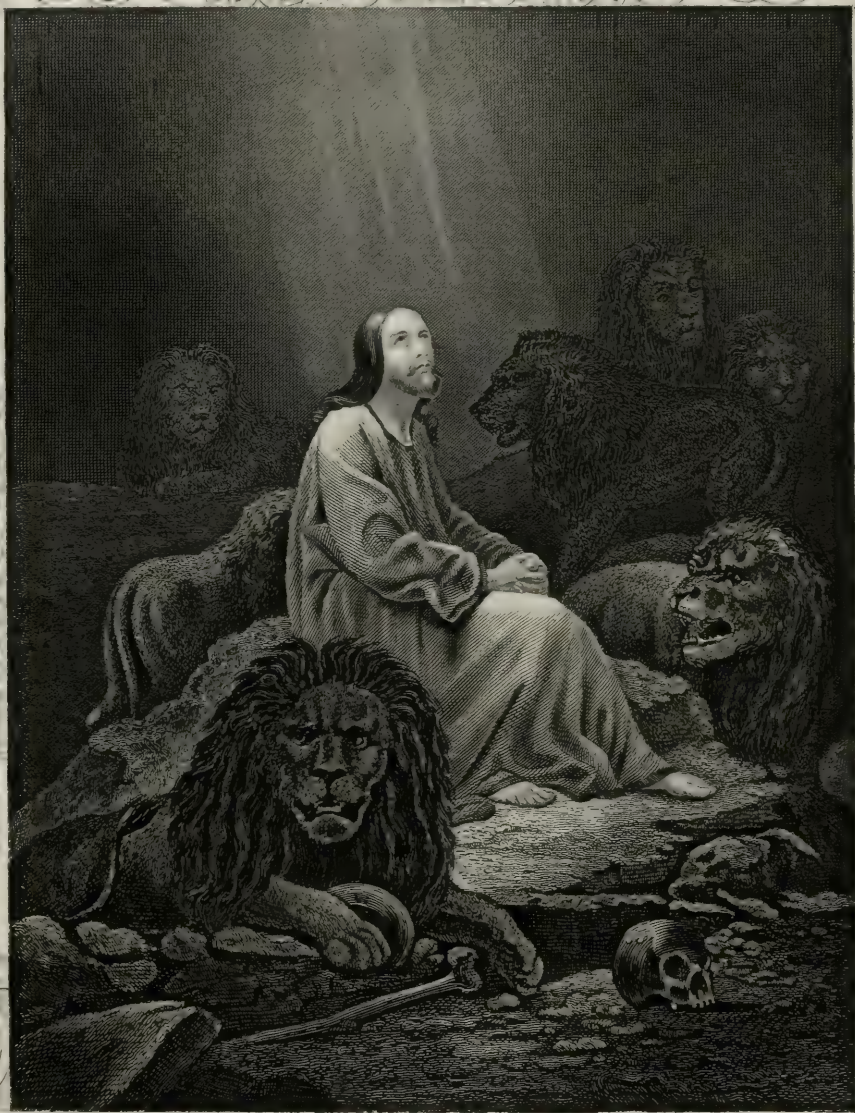
is not remote from the original pronunciation itself in Ptolemy's canon, 'Nabonadius,' for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth noting, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks, though it does not appear he knew what that name was, as having never seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's: but then what Josephus's present copies say presently, that it was only within 'no long time' after the hand-writing on the wall that Baltasar was slain, does not so agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was 'the same night,' Dan. v. 30.

‡ This grandmother or mother of Baltasar, the queen dowager of Babylon, (for she is distinguished from his queen, Dan. v. 10, 23,) seems to have been the famous Nitocris, who fortified Babylon against the Medes and Persians, and in all probability governed under Baltasar who seems to have been a weak and effeminate prince.











and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired, that "he would keep his gifts to himself: for what is the effect of wisdom, and of divine revelation, admits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners freely, but that still he would explain the writing to him: which denoted, that he should soon die, and this because he had not learnt to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone, for the injuries he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts, for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men, and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. He also put him in mind how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels, amongst his concubines: that therefore God saw this, and was angry with him, and declared by this writing beforehand what a sad conclusion of life he should come to." And he explained the writing thus; **MANEH.** This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a *Number*, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. **THEREKEL.** This signifies, a *Weight*, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. **PHARES.** This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a *Fragment*; God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him: as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet; but that it was the part of a good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltasar under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

However, while Daniel was in so great a dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with everything by him, as having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings, envy them: and when those that were grieved at the great favour that Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for as he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king; nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius, and told him, that "the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself, or to the gods, but that he who shall transgress this decree shall be cast into the den of lions, and there perish."

Whereupon, the king, being not acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said, he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress these injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all: but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him a pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become very favourable to him, but desired that he might be cast into the den of lions, according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bade him bear this accident cheerfully: and when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food, and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel. But when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him, If he were alive? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up



out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said, that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king; but the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order, that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions spared none of them,\* but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that provoked them to destroy the princes; for if it so please God, that wickedness might, even by those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

When therefore those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery, were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent letters over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped; and said, that "he was the only true God, and had all power." He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana in Media: it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time,† for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia, in this tower to this day; and he who was intrusted with the care of it, was a Jewish priest; which thing is also observed to this day: but it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear, for he was so happy as to have

strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and the applause both of the kings and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time, and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment: and while prophets used to foretel misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that, by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the good-will of all men, and by the accomplishment of them he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of a sort of divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions; for he saith, that "when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the field with his companions, there was, on the sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends flying away from him; and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and, at the same time, bade him rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great ram, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest; that after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him: that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that God showed to him, that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple-worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and he hath informed us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: "He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory; that the goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire kingdom; that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among

\* It is no way improbable that Daniel's enemies might suggest this reason to the king, why the lions did not meddle with him, and that they might suspect the king's kindness to Daniel had procured these lions to be so filled beforehand, and that thence it was that he encouraged Daniel to submit to this experiment, in hopes of coming off safe; and that this was the true reason of making so terrible an experiment upon those his enemies, and all their families, Dan. vi. 24, though our other copies do not directly take notice of it.

† What Josephus here says, that the stones of the sepulchres of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those perhaps of the same sort that are now commonly called the ruins of Persepolis, continued so entire and unaltered in his days, as if they were lately put there. "I," says Reland, "here can show to be true, as to those stones of the Persian kings' mausoleum which Brunius brake off and gave me." He ascribed this to the hardness of the stone, which scarcely yields to iron tools, and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but oftentimes breaks into pieces.



them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and their laws, and should take away their political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years' time." And indeed so it came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch, that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that

the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator; which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned, so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish, and come to nought. So that, by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine, that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

## BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS.—FROM THE FIRST OF CYRUS, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

### CHAP. I.

*How Cyrus, King of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and to build their temple, for which work he gave them money.*

IN the first year of the reign of Cyrus,\* which was the seventieth from that day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them: for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia, "Thus saith Cyrus the king, Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship,

for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him an house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said, that God hath spoken thus to him in a secret vision; "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land; and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him, to fulfil what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that "he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem,† and the temple of God; for that he would be their assistant, and that

\* This Cyrus is called 'God's shepherd,' by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, Isa. xlv. 28, as also it is said of him by the same prophet, that "I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir," Isa. xlii. 12, which character makes Xenophon's most excellent history of him very credible.

† This leave to build Jerusalem, and the epistle of Cyrus to Sisines and Sathrabuzanes, to the same purpose, are most unfortunately omitted in all our copies but this best and completest copy of Josephus, and by such omission the famous prophecy of Isaiah, Isa. xlv. 28, where we are informed, that God said of or to Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid," could not hitherto be demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled; I mean as to that part of it which concerned his giving leave or commission for rebuilding the city of Jerusalem as distinct from the temple, whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies.



he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices."

When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites, and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

*"King CYRUS to SISINNES and SATHRABUZANES, sendeth greeting.*

"I have given leave, to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please, to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country; and the same order extends to the altar, whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also, that the sacrifices for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates, the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they might have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thericleon cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring, (the drink offerings,) and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmæ; and for wheat

flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabæ; and I give order, that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem: and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

## CHAP. II.

*How, upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in building of the Temple by the Cutheans, and the neighbouring Governors: and how Cambyzes entirely forbade the Jews to do any such thing.*

WHEN the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezzer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captives, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetæ he ended his life.† But when Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governor in Syria and Phenicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyzes, whose contents were as follow: "To our lord Cambyzes: we thy servants, Rathumas the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phenicia, send greeting: It is fit, O king, that thou shouldest know that those Jews who were carried to Babylon, are come into our country, and are

† Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythians and Massagetes, near the Caspian sea, and perished in it; while Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace, in his own country of Persia, is attested to by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cyrus' sepulchre at Pasargadæ, near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon's is also confirmed by the circumstances of Cambyzes, upon his succession to Cyrus, who, instead of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagetes, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there, went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, and conquered that kingdom, nor is there, that I ever heard of the least mention in the reign of this Cambyzes of any war against the Scythians and Massagetes that he was ever engaged in all his life.

\* Of the true number of golden and silver vessels here and elsewhere belonging to the temple of Solomon, see my Description of Temples, chap. xiii.



building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple: know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others, than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them, that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their cities been also, which, for that reason, have been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Celosyria and Phenicia."

When Cambyes had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him; and wrote back to them as follows: "Cambyes the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phenicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful, and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Celosyria and Phenicia: Wherefore I give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city, and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyes reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

### CHAP. III.

*How, after the Death of Cambyes, and the Slaughter of the Magi, but under the reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the solution of problems, and thereby obtained this favour of the King, that the Temple should be built.*

AFTER the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyes, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it

so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem: for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

Now in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces; but when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head-tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; and, says he, he shall be called my cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest? The second, Whether kings were not such? And the third, Whether women were not such? Or, Whether truth was not the strongest of all? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bade each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated it thus: "When (said he) I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: It deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan and he who stands in need of a tutor, and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free, and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them, and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other names as become wealthy men only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them, and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise



without knowing anything they have done in their cups; I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things."

As soon as the first had given the fore-mentioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than anything else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner; and said, "They are men who govern all things; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now, those men who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force; for example, when these kings command their subjects to make war, and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to, and when they send them against their enemies, and their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the labour, and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king. And whatsoever it is which the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he in the meantime is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and such as are as it were fixed down to the place through fear, for no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor dares any one go away and take care of his own affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly addict himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power, for it was a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up: nor indeed is there anything which we do not receive from them: for these women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have gotten a great deal of gold and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it to our-

selves. We also leave father, and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women: nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women, is this that follows: Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat as the fruit of our labours, do we not bring them to the women, as to our mistresses; and bestow them upon them? nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabsases Themastius, his concubine, and his diadem taken from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him."

And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth; and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these women themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the heavens high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we also ought to esteem truth to be strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. Moreover, all things else that have any strength are mortal, and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal, and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke."

So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; and thou shalt sit with me, said the king, and shalt be called my cousin. When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made, in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, "to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God; as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged, and carried to Babylon." And this, said he, is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise and understanding.

So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel, and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phenicia, to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives



who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tribute. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celosyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance: and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and, looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favourable to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favour for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen, of what grants he had procured for them from the king; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the laud of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival for the rebuilding and restoration of their country. After this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narration; but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand; the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten; and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were

also others besides these, who said they were Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two; some there were also, who were expelled out of the number and honour of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: they were about five hundred and twenty-five; the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up out of Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How the Temple was built, while the Cutheans endeavoured in vain to obstruct the Work.*

Now in the seventh month, after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about: and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bore an ill will to them. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it, and after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations



on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Joshua and his sons and brethren, and Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priest and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made, how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state had sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were disconsolate, and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition, and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men, and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicings of the people.

But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult? and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel, and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship your God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of your religious settlement, and this ever since Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that "it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, while they only had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple, and worship God there."

When the Cutheans heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses after-

wards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnus, the governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, "By whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city?" To which Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, replied, "that they were the servants of God Almighty; that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians, and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon: that Cyrus, who after him was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple when it was built; for he had sent to them to have it done speedily, and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations; and although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter."

When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisinnus, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bade them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependence, on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than a temple; and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple; and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnus, and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned



these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem; and the altar in height threescore cubits, and its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country: and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of these things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phenicia, and to his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work; and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls and rams, and lambs and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians, and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnus and his associates, whose contents were these: "King Darius to Sisinnus the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting: having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well." So when Sisinnus, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the sanhedrim, and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time: and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third of the twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former posterity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the clois-

ters of the inner temple, that were round about the temple itself.

And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called Xanthicus, but according to us, Nisan, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered the whole burnt offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called Judges and Monarchs. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years, after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretence that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king's order out of their tributes, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves, or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassy to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers: and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents of which epistle were these: "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Samaritans, to Sadraes and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow-servants that are in Samaria; Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. My will therefore is this, that upon the reading of this epistle you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out



of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priests shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle.

## CHAP. V.

*How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews; as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.*

UPON the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things suitable to his father relating to divine worship, and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude; he was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He was very skilful in the law of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon, and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: "Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting: I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind, go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counsellors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem, to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom given

thee of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phenicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it, that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country, wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident; for Esdras had said beforehand, that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold, twenty talents, vessels of brass, that was more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight, for these presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, and seventy-two lambs, twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistles to the king's officers, and to the governors of Celosyria and Phenicia; and as they were under the necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness. But some



time afterward there came persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves went and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said, that "he was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness: and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them their sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to these the punishment due to them."

After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him, and said, that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should be appropriated to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians, Apelleus. Now, as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up, and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in

marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly they all cried out, that they would do so. That however the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. "Let their rulers, therefore, said they, and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common, to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests, and Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offences, they were displeased at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and agreeable to a day of joy, but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fall no more into the like offences. So upon Esdras's exhortation they began to feast, and when they had done so for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also, that Joachim the high priest died; and his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood.

Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes:



his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue, so he went to them and asked them whence they came? And when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was? and in what condition Jerusalem was? and when they replied, that they were in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration for the calamities of his countrymen: and looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men." And while he stayed at the gate and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer: but as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him, why he was sad? Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire; but do thou grant me the favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him a signal, that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow then, said the king, and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God; and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the epistles to God, he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: "You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually; and for the sake

of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you: indeed he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore, who well know the ill-will our neighbouring nations bear to us; and that when once they are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work; now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's abilities should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Celosyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building: but none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work, he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively and with great forecast take care of his own safety, not that he feared death, but of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders, that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months: for in so long time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when



nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it: but when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites, that they would leave the country, remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy: and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

#### CHAP. VI.

*Concerning Esther, and Mordecai, and Haman: and how, in the reign of Artaxerxes, the whole nation of the Jews was in danger of perishing.*

AFTER the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews,\* with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing: the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time, for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such an one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourscore days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: he caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands

to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and he sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king;† and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he broke up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said, that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order, that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was Memucan, said, that "this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation, so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for a wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had to Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave orders to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great

\* Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard the book of Esther as no true history, we remark, that the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day. And this surprising providential revolution in favour of a captive people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was such a man as king Alexander the Great in the world, of whose reign there is no such abiding monument at this day to be found any where.

† If the Chaldee paraphrast be in the right, that Artaxerxes intended to show Vashti to his guests naked, it is no wonder at all that she would not submit to such an indignity. And that the king had some such design, seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these royal guests could be no strangers to the queen, nor unapprized of her beauty, so far as decency admitte.



number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her: so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her: and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal: and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch: and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent *angari*, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head: and thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

Now the king had made a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne; and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any of those that approached to him without being called: and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

Some time after this two eunuchs Bigthan and Teresh plotted against the king; and Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bade the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bade him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king.

Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be

paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not worship the man. When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came? and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, that "whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so." And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly, he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth that is under thy dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same sort of divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others; at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensoever he pleased; and he said, he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing: Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do anything that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is adverse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs, I give order that these men, of whom Haman our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities,











and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good dinner and wine, but the city was in disorder.

Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that "a nation that had been injurious to no man, was to be destroyed." And he went on saying thus as far as the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased; she called the eunuch Acraheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless, when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai to desire him to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and to let him know that she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were

against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, "not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven, when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because, said he, I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord, for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meet and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train (which swept along the ground,) with the extremities of her fingers: and thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over-against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect



anything that was said on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure: and as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant to her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bade Esther to "let him know what she desired: for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom." But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.

Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; yet, said he, "I am not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court." Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king, that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew what the event would be, was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the

king, which Mordecai had discovered, and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired, "Whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him?" and when he said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off, and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was? and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death; and when the servants said, that Haman was before the court, he bade them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king: so he gave that advice which he thought of all others the best; for he said, "If thou wouldest truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoureth, obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou, therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse, and proclaim accordingly; for thou art (said he) my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised me to do. This shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on: but Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him, when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and



this with tears: who said, that "he would never be able to be revenged of Mordecai, for that God was with him."

Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants, for what purpose they had prepared it? So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished, but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said, that "she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition: that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction." And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them? she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch, said he, thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said, "He found a gallows at his house prepared for Mordecai, for that the servant told him so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper." He said farther, "that the gallows was fifty cubits high." Which when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been advised by him against Mordecai: so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon that gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also, because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him,) and gave that ring to Mordecai, which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from

the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedatha: for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her, that he would not do anything that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired, but he bade her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are faithful subjects, sendeth greeting: many men there are, who on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men, to so great a degree as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity, with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: but since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this per-



icious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly expose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before-mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews, who were at Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also; and joy and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, inasmuch, that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies: and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her, whether she would have anything farther done against them? for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired

that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had. Now there was slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner, the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day and that which followed it; whence it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to those Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion, for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishments on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; for which cause the Jews still keep the fore-mentioned days, and call them days of Phurim or Purim. And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen: so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.

## CHAP. VII.

*How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple; and how Bagoses offered many injuries to the Jews; and what Sanballat did.*

WHEN Eliashab the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood: and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime, and so much the more horrible, that there never was so



cruel and impious a thing done neither by the Greeks nor barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am I not purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the last king of Persia, into Samaria. He was a Cuthean by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Celosyria; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good will to him.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizzim; as also how Alexander made his entry into the city Jerusalem; and what benefits he bestowed on the Jews.*

ABOUT this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egea by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Orestæ, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom, who passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarrelled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of strange wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest him-

self joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that "although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family." And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him further, that he would build him a temple like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizzim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and staid with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded the money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle of Granicum, and was proceeding farther; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain, and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, "To send some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high priest answered the messengers, that "he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living." Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken,



yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city, and him who was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him, that "he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation, now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity; but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them; whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that "he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he arose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Greek, signifies a *prospect*, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple; and when the Phenicians and the Chaldeans

that followed him, thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompassed him about: whereupon the king of Syria, and the rest, were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with this high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall thereby conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction; and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was shown him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended: and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would list themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities: and when all the inhabitants, to whom he came, received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis, (a city situate at mount



Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews, for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying, that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commanded them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition, and

when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again, whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews, said he, that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem, of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua the high priest died; and Onias his son took the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

## BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

### CHAP. I.

*How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea by deceit and treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.*

Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, inso-much that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery: for as he came into the city on a Sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifices, he without any trouble gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose

him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus; "There is a nation, called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizzim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassy to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those



who committed these places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizzim.

## CHAP. II.

*How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek tongue; and set many Captives free; and dedicated many gifts to God.*

WHEN Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the laws to be interpreted; and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were an hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library-keeper to the king, was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was anywhere valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination, (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his, Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him, How many ten thousands of books he had collected? he replied, That he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians; and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound seems to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceedingly proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest, that he should act accordingly.

Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved

frequently, and that before now, to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Farentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned, and went to the king, and made the following speech to him. "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open; for since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature; free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learnt by particular inquiry, for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of *Zena*, or *Life*, or *Jupiter*, because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country, and this do to the honour of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, that he "ought to offer such a thank-offering, as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down a hundred and twenty drachmæ for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said, he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phenicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into



our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of an hundred and twenty drachmæ for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will, that they give in their names, within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs: and let every one that will, inform against those that do not obey this decree: and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned, so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days' time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this because their masters required the hundred and twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having in effect commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books, for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts to Jerusalem, and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose; "Demetrius to the great king: When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish

legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldest have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: for which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeable sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and viols, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chest that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple, for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: when Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest sendeth greeting: There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary: to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues: and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have



put them in such a post, as thinking this kindness done to them to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them: and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldest have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: "Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy sendeth greeting: If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intention: and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty viols of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us: and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then, that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before, for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children, and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated; and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy-two elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels; and came often to the workmen, and

viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, that "he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations, by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations." According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegance of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there were no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated, should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation.

When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits and a half, in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of a handbreadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with the most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest, were acute; and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned were precious stones inserted in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close; and



encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegance of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold of four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it; but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle, like stars of various colours: the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net-work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were no wise different from real tendrils, for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was at less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendour

of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stone incased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the bason, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the bason were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines, in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were, after an extraordinary manner, brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristeus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they had brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem, for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body, who came on other occasions, should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein



they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another;) and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy, that they do under sorrow. And when he had bidden them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bade him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living. Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care, that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at anything done to them, from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his right hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bade Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to: for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say grace; who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that "all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects." Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating

their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question, and such an one as might give light in those inquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated: and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus, which he wrote on this very occasion.

And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said, "that all things were governed by Providence: and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these men's words," they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them, and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs. It was a bank in the sea, to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty: besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court, and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the most ancient of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they



enjoined, that if any one observed either anything superfluous, or anything omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

So the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design of this nature was brought to perfection to so great advantage: and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the laws read to him, and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that "no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God by prayer, as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God by prayer, he was freed from that affliction.

And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them, and gave order that care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them: for he said, "it was now but just to send them away, although, if of their own accord they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them." So he sent them away; and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high priest, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly

valued a conversation with men of such learning; and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

### CHAP. III.

*How the Kings of Asia honoured the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of those cities which they built.*

THE Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia, when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia; and in the Lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: an argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet they did not take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to those people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: for when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, (who by the Greeks was called 'the god,') had bestowed on them; and desired that if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when these



obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and matters were brought to trial, the Jews prevailed, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third, and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not to be so much admired, for at this time our country had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and conquests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

Now it happened, that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celosyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed: for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out, that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea: and when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celosyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which, when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet it was not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celosyria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews of their own accord went over to him, and received him into the city of Jerusalem, and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service: so he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimonies of Polybius of Megalopolis, for thus does he speak in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews. He also saith, in the same book, that when Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea and Samaria, and Abila and Gadara: and that a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called Jerusalem, concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet

do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus:

*"King ANTIOCHUS to PTOLEMY sendeth greeting:*

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city Jerusalem, received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which has been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver and six sacred artabæ of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be anything else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, tax free: and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants; and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperberetæus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom; and give order that their substance should be restored to them."

And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows; "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares, and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which



they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus bore testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this :

*" King ANTIOCHUS to ZEUXIS his Father sendeth greeting.*

" If you are in health it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care : and upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient ; for I am persuaded that they will be well disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews ; under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places forementioned, thou shalt give every one of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines ; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years : and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread-corn out of the earth : also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity they may show themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced, are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great had to the Jews.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Antiochus made a League with Ptolemy ; and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Evergetes to anger ; and how Joseph brought all things right again, and entered into Friendship with him ; and what other things were done by Joseph and his son Hyrcanus.*

AFTER this Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy ; and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celosyria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the

division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries, and, collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the two kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest ; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and, after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called the Just, which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money ; and for that reason, because he did not pay the tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these kings out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Evergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Evergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded : but so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence and justice. His father's name was Tobias ; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador : for he was then sojourning at a village named Phicol, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city Jerusalem, and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest : but that in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole, or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this, that he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood ; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him, if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation ? He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple ; and called the multitude together to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed or affrighted because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it ; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts ; and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him ; for he was now more willing to



go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt; and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph; and that he was coming to him, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them; and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmæ, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, Forgive him, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, everything thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humour and pleasantry of the young man the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

And when the day came, on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together of Celosyria and Phenicia, and Judea, with Samaria, as they were bidden for, came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised, that he would himself give twice as much for them: but for those who did not pay, he would send the king their whole substance; for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it

augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties, that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very pleasantly, I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust. And when he bade him name them, who they were, he replied, I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than thyself and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties. So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay anything; and affronted him also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king, and informed him of what he had done. Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in the men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes: and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years, and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus by his brother Solymius' daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress, that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an



opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this he did many times, and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life if he must part with her, and yet probably the king would not give him leave to take her with him. But his brother bade him be in no concern about that matter, and told him, he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to public disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love; and married his daughter, and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue, and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bade him go two days' journey in the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send home to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age elder than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birthday, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not courtiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice; and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether

he would go to the king; and whether it was agreeable to him or not? And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he would not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what would be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked how many talents he would have? (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more,) he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by painstaking, and resisted his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her,) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him, that "he wondered when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison." And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report, that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this: that "there was a law of his that forbade a child that was born, to taste of the sacrifice, before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come to him in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor: and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not whether a master was little or great; so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayest also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

When Arion was apprized that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus come



and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent apiece: as also he bought a hundred maidens each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones of the several parts on a heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,) till the table where he sat was filled full with them, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table to expose him to laughter. So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this similitude thou mayest conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, "How he came to have so many bones before him?" he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord: for they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, (looking in the meantime at those guests,) for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the bones, as I, who am also a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and bade them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was a truly facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birth-day? and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters, and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys, and hundred maidens that he had bought, a talent apiece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra: every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity; and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father

and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders, and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at him for the large sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the Barbarians to pay their taxes.

At this time Seleucus, who was called Soter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And now Hyrcanus' father, Joseph, died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phenicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died about this time, and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassy, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows:

*"AREUS King of the Lacedemonians to ONIAS sendeth greeting:*

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham. It is but just, therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is foursquare; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws."

And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons; for whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high priest, by reason of his kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him: and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vas



quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of C'eshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of whom was called Philometor, and the youngest Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, by slaying himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

#### CHAP. V.

*How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews one against another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus made an Expedition against Jerusalem, took the City and pillaged the Temple, and distressed the Jews: as also how many of the Jews forsook the Laws of their Country: and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and named their Temple at the Mount Gerizzim, the Temple of Jupiter Hellenus.*

ABOUT this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant: and, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befel this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason; but Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest Jesus raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason: and by that means Menelaus, and the sons of Tobias, were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him, that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they

desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked, they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declarations of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone: according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with greater accuracy.

King Antiochus returning out of Egypt, for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which is by us called Caslen, and by the Macedonians Apelleus, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and, pretending peace, got possession of the city by treachery: at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, (for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,) and in order to plunder its wealth he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare; and took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar of incense, and table of shew-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering; and did not abstain from even the vails, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by these means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He



also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers; and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the Jewish multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also commanded them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunctions. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries, and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed: they also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred books of the law found, they were destroyed, and those with whom they were found, miserably perished also.

When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said, that they were a colony of Medes and Persians: and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle; whose contents are these: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerizzim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for,

since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named, The temple of Jupiter Hellenius. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent upon our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us that they are no way concerned with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the custom of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeably to their petition, their temple be named, The temple of Jupiter Hellenius." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombeon.

#### CHAP. VI.

*How, upon Antiochus' Prohibition to the Jews to make use of the Laws of their Country, Mattathias the Son of Asmoneus alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus' army; as also concerning the Death of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas.*

Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons, John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon who was called Matthes, and Judas who was called Maccabeus, and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded; and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said, "he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship



of their country." But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar; and cried out, "If (said he) any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind; they fought against them on the Sabbath-day, and they burnt them, as they were in the caves, without resistance; and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath, in such distresses, for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered, and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them, that "unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law so rigorously, while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting." This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars; and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded, that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons; and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws; as sen-

sible of this by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate, but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory; and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree with one another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year; and thus, by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed the Generals of their Armies themselves; and how, when a little while afterward, Lysias, and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem, and purified the Temple.*

WHEN Apollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas; who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword being that which he happened to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemy's camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Cēlosyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got toge-



that an army as large as he was able, and joined to it the runaway and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He then came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp: upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small; and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that "victory and conquest of enemies is not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who by their righteousness, and exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, for innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to condemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations, he having been so magnanimous and so liberal that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the Lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia: and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went to the superior provinces.

Upon this, Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runaway Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives, (having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners,) with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how

numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage: and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant them victory over their enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers; and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow-soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage, and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. Since therefore you are in such circumstances at present, that you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws and the customs of our country, or submit to the most opprobrious sufferings; nor will any seed of your nation remain if you be beaten in this battle. Fight, therefore, manfully: and suppose that you must die, though you do not fight. But believe, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall then obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves therefore, and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture, that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day-to-morrow morning."

And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runaway Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus; so that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill-armed, by reason of their poverty, and when he saw the enemy very well and skilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them, "that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more in number, and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage." So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle: and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their



minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamina; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him: but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it shewed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill-country of Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

When therefore the generals of Antiochus' armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that "after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices." But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of incense, which were made of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar of burnt-

offering, and built a new one of stones that he had gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apelleus, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar of incense, and laid the loaves upon the table of shew-bread, and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar of burnt-offering. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred fifty and third olympiad: but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this declaration came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship for some time.

Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days; and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon; but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it 'Lights.' I suppose the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city; and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies; and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethshura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Judas subdued the Nations round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to fly away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten.*

WHEN these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavoured to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he



fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acra-battene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews, and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men that were in them. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army; of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathema; and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

Accordingly, Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, whilst he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage; and then returned home.

Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days' journey, they lit upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Galilee stood; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army; and Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines to batter them, he bade the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred: he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus' men perceived that it

was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom, and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

But, not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city of Raphon. And he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook: for he said to them beforehand, that "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly; and some of them escaped, but some fled to what was called the temple at Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children, and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea: but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,) he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city of Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals of the rest of the forces at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, did these





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men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jannia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jannia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befel them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, "Not to fight with any one before his return." For besides the rest of Judas' sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortunes that befel the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city of Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

#### CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.*

ABOUT this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him; insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and, by the anxiety he was in, fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived that he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them, that his distemper was severe upon him; and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost

Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith, that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think, that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred and forty and ninth year: but it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, (of whom at present he had the care,) and called him Eupator.

At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews: for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel: but there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him, that "he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation, and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow; that there was danger lest the citadel, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas, and those that were with him, unless he would send them succours." When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends, and gave order, that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city of Bethsura, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty; he set about this city,



and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called Bethzachariah, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants had also high towers upon their backs, and archers in them. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour was sent from them; and when they shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of the elephants armed with royal breast-plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it, for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land being not ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we were obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessities, that but a few only were left in the temple.

And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia; and was endeavouring to get the manage-

ment of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go again to Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers nor to the officers: but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them, that the siege would be very long; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to the whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so depart home. When Lysias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

Accordingly, the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of and live according to the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals; and when they had gained security upon oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground, and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch; he also carried with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: so the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but as induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jerusalem: of which therefore we shall hereafter give an account in a place more proper for it.



## CHAP. X.

*How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius' army, made an Expedition against Judea, and returned without Success; and how Nicanor was sent a little afterward against Judas, and perished, together with his army: as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas.*

ABOUT the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Antiochus, the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both of whom were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said, that "they had slain all his friends, and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country; and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas' party had done."

At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army, and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and peace; for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them; but Bacchides troubled himself not about the oaths he had taken, and slew threescore of them, although by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetha, he sent out and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he

might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding, that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and a pleasant manner, by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas' party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great many miseries, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

So Demetrius being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius' intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation." When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and, suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of their purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king: upon which he



blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem: but the priests fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethhoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethhoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many there were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting, gloriously fell. Upon whose fall the army did not stay, but when they had lost their general they were put to flight and threw down their arms; Judas also pursued them, and slew them; and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, who were in number nine thousand. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month, which by the Jews is called Adar, and the Macedonians Dystus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophet, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground: and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas; who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also, he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the

capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able: and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take anything from, this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

#### CHAP. XI.

*That Bacchides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell as he was courageously fighting.*

BUT when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee, and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, (for many of the people fled into such places,) he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Bacchides' men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides' army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing that I should show my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than, by now running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.



But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, Judas saw that Bacchides and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza; but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas; and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought, and when

he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard as their commander, but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas' brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent while he was alive, he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

## BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF  
JUDAS MACCABEUS, TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRIA.

### CHAP. I.

*How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas, and how he, together with his brother Simon, waged War against Bacchides.*

BY what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles and how many great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprung up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessities, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatised from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them, who also caught the friends of Judas, and those

of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he by that means at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was about to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be general of the Jewish army.

When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery: but this invention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon: but when these two were apprised of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake called Asphar, they abode



there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hastened to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army: but when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon them, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them: they also slew John and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him, as supposing that he would not fight because of the law for resting on that day: but he exhorted his companions to fight; and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him, but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river: but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished, Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethoron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pharatho, and Tekoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendour, and much riches: so Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all; and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them,

and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king: and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him, and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with them, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers on it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Bacchides led his own army along with him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides used in the siege, but courageously opposed him: and while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides' camp in the night-time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him, so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they swore that they would not any more make war one



against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king of Antioch; and after this his departure he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

## CHAP. II.

*How Alexander (Bala) in his War with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Advantages, and appointed him to be High Priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Advantages on the other side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.*

Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais, the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him: and this he did out of the fear he had, lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter, in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, those wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages: so he delivered every one of them to their own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city of Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greatest

part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends, that "he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time." It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan sendeth greeting: We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have send to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire, that now thou art by us honoured, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people; the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: Since you have preserved your friendship for us; and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them; I both commend you for this fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us: for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me; and instead of the third part of the fruits of the field, and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: and as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable; and free from the tithe, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds: and I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan



your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and goodwill to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service. And let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done to them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath: and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about my own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will, that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest, to take care that not one Jew shall have any other temple for worship, but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp, but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away: but Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy, but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened that, upon his horse falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

### CHAP. III.

*The Friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor; and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem.*

BUT then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction; and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celosyria and Phenicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill-will one against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals: I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions; that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages, for the prophet Isaiah foretold, that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God. And many other such things did he prophecy relating to that place."

And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias sendeth greeting: We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliapolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals: but since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet











foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying, that, according to the law of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying, that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly, the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: but as for that at Gerizzim, he made no account of it, nor regarded it, as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befel the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary manner, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and made a League of Friendship with Jonathan.*

DEMETRIUS being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria;

and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said, it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote to him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his cousin Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him on his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes, the Cretan, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Celosyria, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, that "it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; and this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee: but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place



of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

With this, Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against them, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle: but Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might not be seen by their enemies as behind them: which when Jonathan perceived he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies, but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields, that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the forces of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight, and when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had

overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon: and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askeion came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies; but when Alexander heard that Apollonius the general of his army was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a golden button, which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen; and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy, for his own inheritance.

About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassy, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was, to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Deme-



trius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius' account, as we have showed already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who, thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt; but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and, besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them, that he would not be mindful of what they did to his father, in case he should now be obliged by them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that, for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened, in the time of the battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him; and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time he was not able either to understand, or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were, the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now, Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years; as we have elsewhere related.

But when Demetrius, who was styled Nicator, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its

strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais; upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants, whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, who hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherima, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances: as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple." And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others but such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their good will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.



## CHAP. V.

*How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, delivered the Kingdom to Antiochus, the Son of Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his Assistant: and concerning the actions and embassies of Jonathan.*

Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apamian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Trypho, took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus, the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him, but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he overpersuaded him to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties, And this was the state Trypho was now in.

But Jonathan, the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons of the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also, and he desired he would send him some assistance; and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father, Demetrius, who had greatly abused them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace, in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers, which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them from the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city,

and burnt all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood; so the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great number of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition; and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem, to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterwards, and broke the promises he had made; and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings of Syria. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan to a concern for his own preservation; for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head; and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city of Antioch.

Demetrius, upon his defeat, retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends, and appointed him to be the general over the forces, from the ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so well pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him, and to Trypho, and pressed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had requited him with further injuries.

So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phenicia, and to make war against Demetrius' generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them



and every one of the cities of Celosyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and in assisting him, to endeavour to punish Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they shut their gates against him, and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country, for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance; for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds; and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country as far as Damascus.

But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius' forces were come to the city Kadesh with a numerous army (the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee), for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius' kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters of Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without

knowing that the enemy was there. When, therefore, Demetrius' men knew, a day beforehand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain; which army when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle, as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius' generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish; so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him; and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence, and this they did as far as Kadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said they were commanded by Jonathan, the high priest, to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan, the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the ephori and senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting: If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your minds, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet did not we think fit, first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you



hath been renewed and enjoyed; and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did we not determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essens. Now for the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

But now the generals of Demetrius, being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamath, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs distant from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprised beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged to do so, lest their enemies' designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius' commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find that the enemy had discovered those their intentions,

nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly: and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took many captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was, that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius' generals.

When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible, than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the buildings that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over Euphrates, and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there, frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself alone alive, as we have elsewhere related.



CHAP. VI.

*How Jonathan was slain by treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High Priest: what courageous actions he also performed, especially against Trypho.*

Now when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtilty to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus; but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him, that he came with those very designs.

Yet did not Jonathan suspect anything at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army; and retained no more than three thousand with him, and left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais: but when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them: but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and a just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on

account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befel them, for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now destitute of a governor; and Trypho himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them, "O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things; I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you."

By this speech Simon he inspired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon should be their leader; and that, instead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them: and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him orders to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho, but he himself stayed to secure Jerusalem.

But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to



him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery; and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king, for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and withal, should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made, and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons, than be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterwards to Jerusalem, by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over-against his.

But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night, but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celosyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years, and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians,

and permitted them to pay tribute to then no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in the public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews:" for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the city of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And, indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison, and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made War against Trypho; and a little afterward against Cendebeus, the General of Antiochus's army: as also how Simon was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, and that by treachery.*

Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus the son of Alexander, who was also called 'the god,' and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers; and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the



kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any farther dissimulation, and was the true Trypho, which behaviour made his enemies superior to him, for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was called Soter, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made these invitations were these: that her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid of herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money, and provisions, for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends: but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow valleys between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy; who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John, the third son, whose name was Hyrcanus; but the young man perceiving them coming, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city of Jerusalem, as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits received from his father, and because of the hatred the

same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus and dies.*

So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon: but Hyrcanus having taken the priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only, for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought, that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he show to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get the enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now, when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews used to rest came on, for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother: and when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called Cotylas, who was then the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia.

But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments, but did nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valour of the besieged; although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of



the Pleiades. However, about the north of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them, and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out, and if the enemy were not anywhere upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief, and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only who were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the walls, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival, he gave way to his piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly: and besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus in the meanwhile feasting his army; which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him: but for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Pious, for the great zeal he had about religion.

Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassy to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsuitable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they said was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, That if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus

accepted. One of these hostages was Hyrcanus's brother; but still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city: and upon those conditions Antiochus broke up the siege and departed.

But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them: upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath; nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath-day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain: and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

## CHAP. IX.

*Hyrcanus makes an Expedition against Syria, and a League with the Romans. Death of Demetrius and Alexander.*

BUT when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the great distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans: and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways



of living;\* at which time therefore this befel them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly, he sent an embassy to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: "Fanius, the son of Marcus the prætor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the senate house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the springs of Jordan, and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them. And that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war, and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings, and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to those points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them; and that their prætor Fanius

should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and take care that they should return home in safety.

And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family of Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemais, but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

## CHAP. X.

*Quarrel between Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus Cyzicenus. Hyrcanus takes Samaria, and utterly demolishes it; Hyrcanus joins himself to the Sect of the Sadducees.*

WHEN Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother, by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum; so he stayed in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus, for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two, who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; for after the death of Antiochus, he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian

\* This account of the Idumeans admitting circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire history afterward. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice, or entire Jews. However, Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod were derived from such a proselyte of justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than a 'half Jew.' But still take out of Dean Prideaux, the words of Ammonius a grammarian, which fully confirm this account of the Idumeans in Josephus. "The Jews, (says he,) are such by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumeans were not Jews from the beginning, but Phenicians and Syrians; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and be subject to the same laws, they were called Jews." But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to 'compel' those Idumeans either to become Jews or to leave the country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had not long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and had seized on and possessed the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern part of the tribe of Judah, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshippers of the true God without idolatry.



auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had with one another, he despised them both.

So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time: but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains, for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which was fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, which brought the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first over-run and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but he was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken the city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him: for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that "his sons had just then overcome Antiochus." And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true: and in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathy-

rus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias, and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus, "Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias' party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus, but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that "they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him." On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous, with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest, if he would but ask them the question, what punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved." So the Pharisees made answer, that "he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him



so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude; but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essens, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died; leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy, for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and to foretell this in particular, that as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

## CHAP. XI.

*Cruelty of Aristobulus to his Mother and his Brethren; and his sudden death, after he had slain Antigonus.*

Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in prison with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew, yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were

derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they made tabernacles to the honour of God, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour, to the temple, to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affection of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this, that it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was underground, and dark, (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia,) and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come, "That it was good for him to die now, since he had now spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold that he should die at the place called Strato's Tower, that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came



that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother, on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood; at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by divine providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus' blood there slain, still remaining; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad; so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, "I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most imprudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once; And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop, to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In saying which last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians, and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: "This man was a person of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals."

## CHAP. XII.

### *Alexander takes the Government, and makes an Expedition against Ptolemais.*

WHEN Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who by the Greeks was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison, for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already, and made Alexander Janneus king, who was superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he

was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired, which of his sons should be his successor? Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee. However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus, for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom, and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew, and the other, who chose to live a private and a quiet life, he had in esteem.

When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower, and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometor, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them: both these kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother: so the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria he would have the people of Gaza on the other side of those of Ptolemais; as they also said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them: so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

But in this interval, Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions: and said to them, that "it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master: and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt, for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was labouring to eject her son



out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his in the whole, horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp: but when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire to make a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he afterwards heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league of friendship with him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay waste Judea; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, as some writers have said, eighty thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Assochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the sabbath-day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

He then tried to take Sephoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth not far from the river Jordan, and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had, however, eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled Hecatomtachi, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass: but Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards: but Philostephanus, the camp master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps: nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle; in the beginning of which, the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely

brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and ate men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus of Damascus affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

#### CHAP. XIII.

*Alexander makes an Expedition against Celosyria, and utterly overthrows the City of Gaza.*

WHEN Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him, with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chelsias and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grand-children, and her testament, to the people of Cos. Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phenicia: and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celosyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned



out of Egypt again, and abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias' counsel was contrary to theirs, who said, that "she would do an unjust action, if she deprived a man that was her ally, of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; for, (said he,) I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou dost to him, will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias, Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Celosyria.

So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Celosyria. He also took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage: yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander, but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, (the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,) and took even that by force: but when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign, and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them: but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand; but as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of anything, nor for the great multitude that were slain, for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies, Aretus, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance: but it happened, that before he came Apollodotus was slain, for his brother Lysimachus, envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, and afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza;

yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them with their own hands slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple, (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,) whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in his kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while, Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus the brother of Seleucus made war upon him, and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him and pelted him with citrons, which they then had in their hands, because the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree: which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition wall of wood round the altar and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidia and Cilicia, for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites, and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus durst not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and



fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out, that "he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.*

So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius, trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together from Demetrius to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them: for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been ever so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard,

both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were now satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian among the Jews; whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However, Strato the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia, but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

#### CHAP. XV.

*How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions into Judea; as also, how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and, after a Sickness of Three Years, died; and what counsel he gave to Alexandra.*

AFTER this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascenes themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for



Milesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus Eucerus, who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight thousand horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus, but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king Aretas at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

After him Aretas reigned over Celosyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida, yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phenicians; at the sea side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia, and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Celices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities in Syria, which had been destroyed.

After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Regaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any

hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed herself, and her sons, on the desolate condition they should be left in: and said to him, "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice, "That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children: that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her; for he told her, they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed, for that then they are believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, said he, when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour the dead body, by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me; and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety." So when he had given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom Nine Years, and then, having done many glorious actions, died.*

So Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus



and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them; and the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she should kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes; and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done, and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch, that they had received the greatest marks of favour from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their open enemies, they were to be cut off at home, by their private enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismission from her service, for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace-gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame both for themselves, and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband's enemies: for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible: but if they could not obtain this their second request, and if she had determined to prefer the

Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses; for if some fatal demon had a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there."

As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders brake out into tears: but Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother saying, "Nay, indeed, the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus, who was such a bad neighbour to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five hundred thousand soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents; as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses wherein his friends that were such from the days of his father, were settled: for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government: nor was any one conscious of what he was doing, but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make an innovation; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as



soon as one had begun, they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them: so they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, in so much that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs: for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired, "that she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, whilst she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time." But she "bade them do what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their

favour still remaining; a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries, for that she had small concern for public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her."

Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing, and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men: and indeed her management during her administration, while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandra.

## BOOK XIV

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF  
QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

### CHAP. I.

*The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom; and how they made an agreement that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private Life: as also, how Hyrcanus, a little afterward, was persuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.*

WE have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book, and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this; that we may omit no facts, either through ignorance or laziness, for we are upon the history and explication of such things as are the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of

style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that we may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of the soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel,



where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed; the one, Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good-will to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also: of whom they relate this, that king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and said, that "it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth." And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got clear of Aristobulus; for he said that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his, not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerate and unmanly; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him, and so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him,

and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him, and go with him. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. Awhile afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king's, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea, and his persuasion he continued every day without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa and Oruba.

## CHAP. II.

*How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; and how Scaurus, the Roman General, raised the Siege. Concerning the Death of Onias.*

AFTER these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus, with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country and fled into Egypt. Now there was one whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus, and those of his faction. And when,



upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death, without remorse.

But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: while the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God, that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmæ.

In the mean time Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: but when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired that he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred thousand talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious; and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city, that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and beat them in the battle,

and slew about six thousand of the enemy; with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

### CHAP. III.

*How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the Kingdom; and how upon the Flight of Aristobulus to the Fortress Alexandrium, Pompey led his army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortresses whereof he was possessed.*

A LITTLE afterwards Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celosyria, at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassy out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold, and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: they called the thing TERPOLE, the Delight. However, we ourselves saw that present reposed at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, *The gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews*. It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it."

In a little time afterwards came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinus, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man; and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysias, of which Silas, a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celosyria, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, and they complained, that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change



the government of then nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus' own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title of king, it was no other than what his father had taken before him. He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested by the court, and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

When Ptolemy had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city of Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

At this behaviour Ptolemy was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called Alexandrium, whither Aristobulus had fled, and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down; and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he

feared, that Pompey should transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors under his own hand, for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so, but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharnaces.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City, and took it by Force; as also what other things he did in Judea.*

Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho, (where the palm-tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distils out thence like a juice,) he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, and promised to give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him; and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city: yet was no part of this performed, but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus' soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus' party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within, but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions, but Pompey pitched



his camp within the wall, on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable: but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about: and when this bank was sufficiently raised and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our laws give us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do anything else.

Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness that they might do execution the following days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifice be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit anything that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus; and besides these, to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing.

But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications; so the enemy poured in apace, and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one

another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money; yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity: and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans; and took away those cities of Celosyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and continued the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed man, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens, and temples, and changed its name to Cesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celosyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and



as many sons: the one of whom ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters

#### CHAP. V.

*How Scaurus made a League of mutual assistance with Aretas. And what Gabinus did in Judea, after he had conquered Alexander the Son of Aristobulus.*

SCAURUS made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country; and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer: which was done as much at Scaurus' desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinus came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many considerable actions: and particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to build the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans, who were there, restricted him from this his design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Coræ and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinus therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders, before. These armed such Romans as followed them, and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus, and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met with Alexander, while Gabinus himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

At which time Gabinus came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offences should be forgiven: but as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honour. So Gabinus left part of the army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went

into other parts of Judea, and gave orders to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinus' command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

When Gabinus had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassy to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania and Macherus; and at last Alexandrium itself, which fortress Gabinus demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him: and when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the same nation into the same number of parts: so these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.

#### CHAP. VI.

*How Gabinus caught Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again; and how the same Gabinus, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabateans in battle.*

Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished: hereupon Gabinus sent soldiers against him, and for their commanders, Sesenna and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed, for they could not be useful to him in what actions they were going about, but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on: and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborne by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place, and



though he had had ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs: but when he had struggled against the siege for two days' time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinus, with his son Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months; and was indeed an eminent person, and one indeed of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinus' writing to them, that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortress to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

Now when Gabinus was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium, his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder, with seditious and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

But when Gabinus found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind, and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do; but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinus, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about Mount Tabor.

So Gabinus settled the affairs which belonged to the city of Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away, in a friendly manner, Mithridates and Orsanus, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinus had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappocia, both describe the expedition of Pompey and Gabinus against the Jews, while neither of them say any thing new which is not in the other.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the Temple; and marched against the Parthians, and perished with his army. Also how Cassius obtained Syria, and put a stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.*

Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ; each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and righteous man, but being entrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, being worth many thousand shekels. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow; but was known to no others, but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

Let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height: but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: "Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos, nor is it likely that the Jews, who are inhabitants of Alexandria, should do so neither, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears testimony to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: "There were four



classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it: and it hath come to pass, that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who, by reason of their victory over Crassus, made incursions upon it: and as he came back from Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Tarichææ, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also: out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypros, by whom he had four sons, Phasaël, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter named Salome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

But some time afterwards, Cæsar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate had fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country; but Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæsar, for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony after-

wards sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offences he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler at Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon, to Aristobulus' wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus and her daughters: one of which, whose name was Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with and married her, though afterwards his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*The Jews became confederates with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious actions of Antipater, and his friendship with Cæsar. The honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.*

Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cæsar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Cæsar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: for when Mithridates of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews, armed men: he had also taken care the principal men of Arabia should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behindhand in their alacrity for Cæsar, viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalled himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken: but it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Cæsar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by showing them the epistles of Hyrcanus, the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cæsar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted: and accordingly, when he saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Cæsar, they also invited Mithridates to come



to them; so he came, and received them into his army.

And when Mithridates had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left, and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians, who had been too hard for him, to flight. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cæsar, and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Cæsar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings; he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

However, when Cæsar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where: and it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius; "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hysicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone, but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers, to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cæsar, and "lamented his father's fate: and complained that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him, who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him." He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to him. Antipater was present, and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated, that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Cæsar in mind what difficult services he had undergone, when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved

from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies, and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it.

When Antipater had made this speech, Cæsar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest: and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself; so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: "Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the prætor, referred this to the senate, upon the ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Pepirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dosithens, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased the senate to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him they sent him this decree, as it here follows: "Under the Prutaneia, and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Escupalus, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the high priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence: Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies, it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in



the temple of Demus, and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

#### CHAP. IX.

*How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, upon the Jews' envy at Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.*

Now when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; and as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet: for that "if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master, instead of a gentle governor; and Hyrcanus a tyrant, instead of a king; and the Romans, together with Cæsar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern." And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself had settled the affairs of this country.

And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen years of age: but that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them: so they sung songs in his commen-

dation, in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions, and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsars, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it: so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will, while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of, if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good-will the nation bore to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill disposed to him: for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors: and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it: nay, he rather was very glad of it: but the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to escape danger, by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom, for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion, they are evidently absolute lords, for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekiah and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim; yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

Upon Hyrcanus hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised this indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could



for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded to his enemies. However, Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand, if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrim with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Semeas, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black mourning garment: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and, by overbearing justice, may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself: he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a licence so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did Semeas mistake in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Semeas, for he had a great honour for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterwards besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, "That for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands." Which things will be related by us in their proper places.

But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king: and when he had been with Sextus Cæsar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus, that in case he were again summoned before the sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the sanhedrim

had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him. Which state of matters he was not ignorant of, but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Celosyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrim; but his father Antipater, and his brother Phasaëlus, met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had; they desired him not only not to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same, and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing of itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than anything really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it: and in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

#### . CHAP. X.

*The Honours that were paid the Jews; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans, and other Nations with them.*

Now when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for, whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are



not everywhere to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews of Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say, and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate, and by Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation:—

“ Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting: If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek, and in Latin: it is as follows: I Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army: for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates, and that besides this, every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain, that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them.

“ The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed: and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon and Tyre, and Askalon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communicated to the questors and pretors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors

may have presents made them, and that those decrees be sent everywhere.”

“ Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honour and virtue, and kindness of the man; and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood.”

“ Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it, in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let in the sabbatic period a corus of that tribute, and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute.”

“ Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city of Jerusalem, excepting the seventh; which they call the sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year of that sabbatical period, the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they may be free from all sorts of injuries: and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand, six hundred, and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh year, which they call the sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges which they formerly had them also, and that the same original ordinances remain still in force, which concern the Jews, with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate, and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the



ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows, and that when they desire an audience, they should be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

"Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the right and privileges of Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

"Julius Caius, consul of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me, that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Cæsar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us."

Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus' ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed, to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work, may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say; the decree was this:

"The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the questors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were questors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the ides of April, in the temple of

Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinias Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilus of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinius, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Sereus. Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Cæsar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, Lysimachus the son of Pausanias, Alexander the son of Theodorus, Patroclus the son of Cheras, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus' letter, without any further deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews, a copy of which epistle here follows:

"When Artemon was prytanis, on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella imperator, to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to show that his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sabbath-days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers; I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices: and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him. But Lucius the counsels decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls, in the



presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe; of Titus Tongius, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Caius Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Terentine tribe; of Bracchus the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; of Titus Attilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-pretor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my intercession for them. And when I had made the same petition sometime afterward to Phanius the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice-questor, I obtained that privilege of them also: and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the pretors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; you are therefore obliged to submit to the pretor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

"Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting: I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

"Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-questor, and vice-pretor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Those Jews that are our fellow-citizens of Rome, came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers, and this from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another: upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order that these their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and ed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatra

of Alexandria desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were under. Accordingly, he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

"In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe. Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Tarentine tribe, Publius Clausius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Emilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menas. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

"The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius, the consul, sendeth greeting: Sopater the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the high priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know, that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation, wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

"Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting: Prytanus the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land according to their ancient custom, and that he had himself been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require: I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sen-



hence that the Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own customs."

The decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the pretors was this: "Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them, Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntus, and Sosipater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Petlius, one of the senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the senate; and as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus' virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do everything we could for the Jews, according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our pretors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors\* were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews,

\* We have here a most remarkable and authentic attestation of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their ancestors were, in the oldest time, the friends of those Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, then extant, confirmed the same; which evidence is too strong to be evaded by our present ignorance of the particular occasion of such ancient friendship and alliance between those people. It is also well worthy of observation, that Moses Choronensis informs us that Arsaces, who raised the Parthian empire, was of the seed of Abraham by Chetura, and that thereby was accomplished that prediction which said, "Kings of nations shall proceed from thee."

as we have also found it set down in our public records."

The decree of those of Halicarnassus. When Memnon, the son of Oristidas by descent, but by adoption, of Eunonymus, was priest, on the \*\*\* day of the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: "Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness, and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices, and accustomed festivals and assemblies, may be observed by them, we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to the Jewish laws; and may make their proseuchæ at the seaside, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

The decree of the Sardians. This decree was made by the senate and the people, upon the representation of the pretors: "Whereas those Jews, who are our fellow-citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people that upon the restitution of their law and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together, according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may hold their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God; now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the pretors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose. And that those that take care of the provisions for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating, may be imported into the city."

The decree of the Ephesians. When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: "Nicanor, the son of Euphemius, pronounced it, upon the representation of the pretors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the pretor hath granted this petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

Now there are many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, and those different from



these before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the city, and rescripts of the pretors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges: and certainly such as are not ill disposed to what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that are still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have showed the same in those we have produced. And thus we have sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we had at those times with the Romans.

#### CHAP. XI.

*How Marcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus' treachery; and how, after the Death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judea; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.*

Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen: to these Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus' government upon him: but Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the army that lay in the camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder,

divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it, and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydda and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, (for he assaulted him,) had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus' government; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said, that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought for any such thing. So Antipater perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him; this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him, but still at the intercession of Antipater he saved him.

However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus, he had saved his own murderer: for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it to Herod, and made him general of the forces of Celosyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised him, that after the war was over they would make him king of Judea, for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar; but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and, by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus' defence



for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria, and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretence of excluding him, alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted, when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and affrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his, with a loud voice: but Herod and his friends thought it proper, not openly to contradict Malichus' hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately, to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money; and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt, and because his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus? and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea: for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desired to run to his brother's assistance, but

was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus' brother made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Massada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the meantime Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

## CHAP. XII.

*Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much Money: on which account he would not admit of those that would have accused Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews.*

Now Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea, Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of the fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from them: but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents, out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

Now Antonius and Cæsar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Cæsar went into Gaul (Italy,) and Antony marched for Asia, who, when he was arrived at Bythinia, had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and they said, that Hyrcanus had indeed



the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power; but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defence against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high-priest, and our nation, sent an embassy to him, who carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

" Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting: If you be in health, it is well; I also am in health, with the army. Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, and Josephus the son of Menneus, and Alexander the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassy which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassy, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them, and have fully declared the good-will thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well disposed to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious: so I reckon upon you as our own: but when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cæsar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts: and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained because the gods had condemned these men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now, these have received their punishment, we suppose, that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also, insomuch, that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it

was under by the means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them; I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me."

" Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high-priest and ethnarch of the Jews appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our provinces; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own, but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes, of our confederates."

" Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all." Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to



our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released, the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience: and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender shall suffer condign punishment."

The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Arabians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's flight; and what afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.*

WHEN, after this, Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? he replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father Antipater, at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city,) and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and

wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation: and when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysanius his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had a great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemais, received him. However Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus: and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi; and some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called: and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came, guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his



horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassy; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called 'The Freemen,' and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea-side: but when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came secretly, and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them: but he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: and when he knew that the enemy had seized upon him, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said, "That he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those who

were bringing him his letters, for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had." Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also: and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also (not to credit them,) which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians, for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind; and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, Mariamne the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privy pursued his way to Idumea: nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case, be so hardhearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and, as he passed along, he bade every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit; but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were too hard for him; and told him that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her



the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Massada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

Now indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by the time he had gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews, it was that he some time afterward built a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called Thressa, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Massada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bade them go some one way, and some another, and to save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions on their journey: but he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives, and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessities, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea beforehand: nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city of Marissa.

And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonourable thing, and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, for the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a large stone, and thereby took away his own life, which

he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and, by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in haste also to Rome: and how, by promising a great deal of money to Antony, he obtained of the Senate and of Caesar, to be made king of the Jews.*

As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hands of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money; but there came messengers from Malchus to meet them, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretence which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him: and this he was further induced to by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from his father Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what had befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod, but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there



hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of, and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city of Alexandria, and was retained there by Cleopatra, yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous and in great disorder.

So he set sail from thence to Pamphylia, and, falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinus and Ptoleus, met with him: and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundisium; and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them; and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock, and that he had carried off the women by night, and that by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and condemned all these terrible dangers, in order to come as soon as possible to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Cæsar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convoked; and Messala, first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good-will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated:

and Antony informed them further, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom (for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother,) but that he procured it for him so suddenly that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man (the grandson) Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio the first time.

All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Massada, who had plenty of all other necessities, but were only in want of water, insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependants, to the Arabians; for he heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod: but God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of, seemed a mark of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus' soldiers, with some openly, with some privately, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time, Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretence indeed to succour Joseph, but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.



## CHAP. XV.

*How Herod sailed out of Italy to Judea, and fought with Antigonus; and what other things happened in Judea about that time*

By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now, for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along, his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were at Massada, for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations, Joppa was a hinderance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him, when he should go to Jerusalem: and when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits he, had received from both of them, but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them, but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy: so Herod received those of his family out of Massada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power; and as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, that "he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries had done him." But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be pro-

claimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said, "That they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, i. e. a half Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for, that in case they at present bare an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans, and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by." Now, while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who, using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes: for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus' soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away: but Herod pressed Silo not to depart; and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Cæsar and Antony, and the senate, had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the meantime, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things: so the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter-quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.



But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Massada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus' garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country: so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen, against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army; and as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way, but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters: at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine: but Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place, to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates, for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains, that were exceedingly abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountains, it being not possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing: but the letting the chest down proved

to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves: but when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain, by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping: however, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by a herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy; but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery: but before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life: by which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds: and when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

In the mean time Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated. When Ventidius sent Macherus to the assistance of Herod, with two legions and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macherus, at the instigation



of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs: but Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant. But when Macherus was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city of Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus; but Macherus followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony, or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macherus, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

But for his own part, he made haste to Antony, (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates,) with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him: and when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together, that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go out of fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony; and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as their first ranks were gone by, (for Herod brought on the rear,) those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, inasmuch that those who ran away before, now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage; among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their saviour and protector.

And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him,

in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him, for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him in Judea. He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road: so he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly, Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: he forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macherus had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging: and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditious; but Macherus fortified the place Gitta in Samaria.

At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning, but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders, and after this colation was over, and he



had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here one may see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: he sat down to oppose Macherus; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away: and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap: so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly broke the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come, for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary: and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to

have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pheroras, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey: so he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the assistance of Sosius, by force; and how the Government of the Asamonians was put an end to.*

AFTER the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand: and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy to Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.

Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal, (for the whole nation was gathered together;) they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts; and by private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent



legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon them; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen: so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought there; and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last: and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine, and the want of necessities, for this happened to be a sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions, for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city, were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city: but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices; which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield, but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive, so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him Antigone (i. e. a woman and not a man;) yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bound, and kept him in close custody.

And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself, to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens; and when he said, that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers, for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money, and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

This destruction befel the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned, since that which befel the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison only by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons however to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asmoneans cease, a hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation: but these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another, and it came to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings: and this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.



## BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus' friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.*

How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and, besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies: but Pollio, the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest, for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when by these means he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus' party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent who was still in want of more, and in part by the sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow the land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the

Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and to be beheaded; and this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead, for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bare to Herod."

## CHAP. II.

*How Hyrcanus was set at liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made High Priest.*

Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother Phasaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus, indeed, could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him an habitation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king; as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when



he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he should stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings: and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities in Judea, because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way, that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country, without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he compassed afterward.

Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father; and endeavoured by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander two children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son

exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried) to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius came into Judea upon some affairs, and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children: and when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said, That "these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other." His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account, but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal, "Unless he thought it hard upon him so to do." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures, as his power allowed him, without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that "if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them."

When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonourably: but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called all his friends together, and told them, that "Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavoured by the means of Cleopatra so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: that yet while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood: and that he











formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child." Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to receive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a-weeping, and made the following apology for herself; and said, that "as to the high priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her for her son, she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose, from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family; that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honour showed by him to her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient: and she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter." So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

### CHAP. III.

*How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, took care that he should be murdered in a little time: and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus: as also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.*

So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time of old was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first broke that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother Hyrcanus; and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away from Ananelus, and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeming to be reconciled

to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs: her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo anything that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away: she got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabion knew this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to his father Antipater,) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra; whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact, but still he passed by her offence: and though he had a great mind to it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him, but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might in all probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to do it: for when this youth Aristobulus, now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, to offer the sacrifices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, who could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced,



and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family, than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho, with Alexandra, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place; and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves by bathing because it was a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him, as he was swimming, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport, till he was entirely suffocated; and thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only: which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

When this accident was told the women, their joy was changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body. The city also upon the spreading of this news, was in great grief, every family looking on this calamity, as if it belonged to themselves; but Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been purposely destroyed. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by knowing how the murder was committed, but she was under a necessity of bearing up under it, fearing a greater mischief might otherwise follow: and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, that she might be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul: and perhaps his affections were overcome, when he saw the child's countenance so young, and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security; and as for his funeral, he took care it should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this miserable case made

her sorrow both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous and murderous scene to Cleopatra; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony persuaded by these arguments, when he came to Laodicea, sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, but he determined to obey his summons, and left his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for he had a tender affection for his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she should be engaged to some other man; but his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her when he had formerly heard of her beauty: so when Herod had given Joseph this charge, he went away to Antony.

But as Joseph, in administering the public affairs of the kingdom, was very frequently with Mariamne, he let himself into discourses about Herod's great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine railery, Joseph was so over desirous to demonstrate the king's inclinations, that he mentioned the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. The women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, even when he was dead himself: and this saying of Joseph was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

At this time a report went about among Herod's enemies, that Antony had put Herod to death. This report disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that, by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

But in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod stating that, when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, and he soon induced him to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's



persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship, for Antony said, that, "it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it." He also said to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things, and "enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony; and that he had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favour to him; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Celosyria, by which means he had pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her."

When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans; and when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added the calumny, that Joseph had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was, that she for a long time bore her ill-will, for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy make him ask Mariamne about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon oath, and said all that an innocent woman could say in her own defence, so that the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and his anger at her; and, overcome with his passion for his wife, made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me?" When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife, for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them." And while he was in this passion he had liked to have killed his wife, but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, but gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound

her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *How Cleopatra came into Judea, and Herod conducted her on her way back to Egypt.*

Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion, by Cleopatra's persuasions to Antony, to take their dominions away from the several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister, Arsinoe, to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple, at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any hely place, that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature; yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts; but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it. And as she went over to Syria with Antony, she contrived to get it into her possession, so he slew Lysanius, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia, and to take those countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and excellent. When she was



there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king: nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him, or rather she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, knowing that she was a woman irksome to all, and if her attempt proceeded out of lust, he thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a counsel of his friends to consult whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she had already become irksome; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any necessity should come upon him, as that he should stand in need of her fidelity. But this advice his friends would not let him follow; and told him that "it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger; and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more in a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence; his attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it. Which considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischiefs, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and come off honourably at the same time." So they restrained Herod from it, and he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who escaped, took the kingdom of Armenia, but was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæsar, who restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom; but this happened a good while afterwards.

As to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, but the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, was very niggardly and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay them without some deductions.

## CHAP. V.

*How Herod made war with the king of Arabia, and conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be governor of that nation: as also concerning a great earthquake.*

HEREUPON Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude and injustice, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own, for the battle of Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad, where Cæsar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony; but Antony said, he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was: for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage, that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to meet them, and, after a great battle, the Jews had the victory. But afterwards there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which is a place of Celosyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy, but as he was giving those orders the multitude of the Jews cried out, that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order, and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemy so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behind-hand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them in all his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks; whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for, when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenion fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be: he had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he



would lie still ; but in case they were beaten, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him : so he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them ; for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after the victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh, and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight, so that a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance, yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army : whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided coming to a pitched battle, yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Cæsar, and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod : and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, which brought great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the falling of houses ; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, they raised their spirits, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army ; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair, for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battle, nor obtain any assistance while their affairs at home were in such great distress. When matters were in this condition, the king tried to raise their spirits, and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort, and then ventured to make the following speech to the multitude :

“ You are not unacquainted, my fellow-soldiers, that we have had many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about ; and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage, can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances ; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing

that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information, both which parts of my design will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you ; after which I will farther demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us, have arisen from covetousness and envy ; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure ? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear ? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake anything which might be suspected by us of unkindness : but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute : and this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable ; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved ; nor is it fit that they, who have professed that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it ; is it therefore a question with you, Whether the unjust are to be punished or not ? When God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded us that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just but necessary in wars between several nations ; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard



to our ambassadors, whom they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels, or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can live securely in common life, or be successful in war? in my opinion this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but the Arabians are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war against us without declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we, therefore, of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at these, who when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness? and if any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valour is not shown by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then, if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, have affrighted any one, let him consider in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against us, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle, for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine, for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened, for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who

were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass, that you had not undergone anything that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

When the Jews heard this speech, they were more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste and led them against the Arabians; and passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle, and that, if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified: and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it: at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews; and when Herod observed that the enemies' army was disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly: so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude ran within the bulwark, but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessities, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them; but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any from running out.

When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, to propose terms of accommodation, and offered him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatever he pleased; if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by



their thirst, to come out and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives: and in five days the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so on the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke, they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so, for the future, they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

#### CHAP. VI.

*How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and obtained his Kingdom from Cæsar, whom he entertained in a most honourable manner.*

HEROD's other affairs were now very prosperous; and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Cæsar (Octavian;) for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself, and in case he should be slain by Cæsar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra his daughter was a lover of strife, and was exceedingly desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and

to secure them from Herod, for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be, as it was likely they would be, by reason of Cæsar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government, and this both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she showed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous design, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he was a careful attendant on him and on Alexandra, and had no small occasion to bear ill-will to Herod: but Dositheus preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bade him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle, and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party: that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey, and that he should be in no want of anything he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and when he denied it, showed his letter to the sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured manifold turns of fortune, for he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough



to govern a kingdom: and both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

Now Herod, as soon as he put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of everything to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister Salome, and the whole family at Massada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government: but as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and preserve the kingdom for his sons and for his brother Pheroras.

When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Cæsar; and he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: and when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but, after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Cæsar, That "he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government: that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; for, if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow-soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advices would he attend too, but preferred his own rash resolutions before them, which have happened unprofi-

tably for him, but profitably for thee. Now therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him: but if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behaved myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

By this speech, and by his behaviour, which showed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Cæsar's good-will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Cæsar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Cæsar on his way to Egypt, and made presents both to him and his friends. He also desired that Cæsar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's; but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition: and returning to Judea he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Cæsar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Cæsar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, and he presented Cæsar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good-will of them all, because he was assisting to them in a much greater degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford, by which means he more and more demonstrated to Cæsar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also: and when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.



## CHAP. VII.

*How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterward Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the Sons of Baba also.*

HOWEVER, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; they supposed that they were not put into that fortress Alexandrium for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and as they had no power over anything, or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavoured to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprized how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words, and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before, so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government, nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompence, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a further ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished he might obtain no favours from Cæsar, and esteemed it almost an insupportable task, to live with him any longer: and this she afterward openly declared without concealing her resentment.

And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all to his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success. This much troubled him, to see that his hatred of his wife to him

was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her; but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do anything to her, as if he believed them, but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Cæsar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt, whereupon he made haste to go to meet Cæsar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom, and received very great favours from him; for he had made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards, and restored that country to him again, which by her means had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom, Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and besides these, the maritime cities, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a



monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose her mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch, that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king, one day about noon, was laid down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him; and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister, Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent into the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bade him tell the king, how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appear to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was? to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him: but that in case he did not appear to be greatly concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop, and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in, after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said, that "Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion." And when this moved the king, he said, that "this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king." When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent, and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far as he knew that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said, that "Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne." So he gave orders that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial, and got toge-

ther those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her; but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom: but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death, and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner; for out of her desire to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter, in the hearing of all the people, and cried out, that "she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her, for such her insolent behaviour, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor." And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her, yet did she, out of a greatness of soul, discover her concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

And thus died Mariamne; a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature, yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for, while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself did the same, on whom alone



she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands, for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation, and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize upon him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him for the taking away of her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, that carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself; he had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on while he was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

Now Alexandra abode at this time in Jerusalem, and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of those strongholds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government;

and that upon his recovery, none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful to Herod, they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadius, who was also called Antipater; as also Dositheus, and that upon the following occasion:

Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had formerly esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon his slaughter of his uncle Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him, and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small pretences, both by his birth and by these riches, which he had gotten by constant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus, yet upon the entreaties of his sister and mother he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely, though he still had a suspicion of him afterwards for this his attempt.

But some time afterwards, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife, if she



departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose not to follow the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good-will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him; as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years, which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time since he had ordered them to be slain. Now the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Antigonius was king, Herod with his army besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonius, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his own hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterwards, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms; and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it, but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also: but when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, inasmuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How ten men of the citizens of Jerusalem made a conspiracy against Herod, for the foreign practices he had introduced, which was a transgression of the laws of their country. Concerning the building of Sebaste and Cesarea, and other edifices of Herod.*

ON this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterwards, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected: for in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish notions; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called Thy-melici; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards for those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though ever so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself: nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it be precious garments or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight one with another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here seen; but to natural Jews this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better



than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the affording delight to the spectators, and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave more distaste to the Jews, for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images.

Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under, and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spoke to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and showed them the trophies, and asked them what sort of things they took these trophies to be? and when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves to be put to death, than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before; as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens of Jerusalem conspired together against him, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments, for the purpose of killing Herod. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators, who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

When they had taken this resolution, and that by

common consent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod's, that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as, upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behaviour; for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it, but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed, that "the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and a pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them." This is what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this their rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they showed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in open rebellion.

Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple, which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a stronghold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jeru-



salem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cæsarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed in the great plain: and built for them a place in Galilee, called Gaba, with Hesebonitis in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he was always inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did occasionally upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebasto. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit it. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now, within and about the middle of it he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half in circuit, and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also: and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

#### CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Famine that happened in Judea and Syria; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt Cesarea, and other Grecian Cities.*

Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger

of God, or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain periods of time; for in the first place there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned, produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another: and the circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and this not only in that year, while they had nothing for themselves left at the end of it, but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year. This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects, for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to sell them, and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Cæsar; and, as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them in the first place to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same, so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove from him the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to them, and care of them; for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner,



out for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them, that the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went farther, in order to provide necessities for their neighbours, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities, for there was nobody who had been in want, that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him; nay, farther, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch, that it appeared upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten Attic medimni apiece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation; and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity, was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners: and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage, for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Cæsar, whom Æmilius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When, therefore, his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and furnishing them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats and beds, and these were so large, that they could contain very many companies

of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them, for one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: there was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time, and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him by marrying his daughter.

When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews, when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a straight ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, as also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices; not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses; but still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness, and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so as his



kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour and liberality which he exercised towards Cæsar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples; not in Judea, indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country properly out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this, that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Cæsar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyreum at Athens, and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship, and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expense. This city is situate in Phenicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station, but the merchants are there generally forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of about fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep, and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole, which he built by the sea-side, was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves, but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence,

and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt. There were also before them a quay, or landing-place, which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance, or mouth of the port, was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place; and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves, while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which was over against them: these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, and the other of Cæsar. The city itself was called Cæsarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea, but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

#### CHAP. X.

*How Herod sent his sons to Rome; how also he was accused by Zenodorus, and the Gadarens, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the good-will of Cæsar. Concerning the Pharisees, the Essens, and Manahem.*

WHEN Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste, in Samaria, he resolved to send his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, to Rome, to enjoy the company of Cæsar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Cæsar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and, besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: one Zenodorus had hired what was



called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachones, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now, as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president of Syria, and entreated him to write to Cæsar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Cæsar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor any lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make a great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks were hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom is to prey upon one another, inasmuch, that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, and was come into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was, about this time, sent to succeed Cæsar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian sea, upon whom Herod lit when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back, bound, to the king, without giving them the hearing: but still the Arabians, who of old bore ill-will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and as they thought upon a more justifiable occasion: for Zenobarchus, despairing already of success, as to his own affairs, prevented his enemies, by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Cæsar, they contested the point with

Herod, as most unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of the constant hope that they should seduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life, are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprised of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Cæsar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversion of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæsar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Cæsar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night-time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of: whereupon Cæsar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a further advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus' belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Cæsar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite; Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa



made no one his greater friend than Herod, besides Cæsar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Cæsar a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Cæsar to the sea, and was returning home, he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus' country, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of a still water; over it hangs a vast mountain, and under the cavern arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar.

At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had: but the main reason was, to recover their good-will, which he now wanted, for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure: against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work, nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk, or to eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught they were severely punished, and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city, and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night-time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government; and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways, but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them, but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio, the Pharisee, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do

those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essens.

Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he, thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his back with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice towards men, and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterwards, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, how long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him further, whether he should reign ten years or not? He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate all these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what happened among us, because many of the Essens have by their excellent virtue been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning that tower which he called Antonia.*

AND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very



great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and made it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, that we have lately acquired, which we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measures for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them, and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient altitude: but since I am now, by God's will, your governor, and

have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches, and large revenues, and, what is the principal thing of all, I am at amity with, and regarded by, the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return, after the most pious manner, to God, for what blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

And this was the speech which Herod made to them: but still this speech affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them; and, because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this

danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them, he would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones to the building and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and brought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the art of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build, but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which twenty, upon the sinking of their foundations, fell down: and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered vails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immoveable for all future times. When this work for the foundation was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself, to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and



a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, the distance of each angle containing in length a furlong : but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length as the wall ; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple ; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times. And round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations ; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

Now on the north side of the temple was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were deposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place, and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberias Cæsar ; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, and had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shown him ; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberias Cæsar, who granted his request ; and this their power over their sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa ; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to deposit those vestments in the Tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him for them, upon whose coming, king Agrippa, jun. being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple ; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments ; and again, when the festival was over, they brought them to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and repositied them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards about them are sufficient evidence : but for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates ; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley ; two more led to the suburbs of the city ; and

the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent, for the city lay over against the temple, in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter ; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloister, with three walks which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther : and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun ; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over-against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the walls, which also was built of stone ; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis ; and the number of all the pillars in that court was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement to the spectators, by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking, in the middle of this cloister ; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner ; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet ; but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side ; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures : the middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone ; insomuch, that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure, in the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps ; this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now, this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates, equally distant one from another ; but on the east quarter, towards the sun-rising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives, but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women ; but still more inward was there a third court of the temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this ; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offering to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not



a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters, and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months; upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place to God, and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had shown. They feasted, and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest, every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to be set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it; for, at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple, fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided

with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

There was also an occult passage built for the king: it led from Antonio to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the night, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

## BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.—FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

### CHAP. I.

*A law of Herod about thieves. Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides wives.*

As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice, which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose housebreakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain that the thief shall restore fourfold, and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed; but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence in Herod, when he did not act as a king, but as

a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

Now at this time it was said that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Cæsar, and to see his sons, who lived at Rome: and Cæsar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne; for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother: so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now by carrying these stories, that had indeed a true foundation in the fact, but were only built on probabilities; as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away



that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them, for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced at last to hate them, and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under; so he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the laws of the Jews to them.*

WHEN Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Cæsarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expense, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents, but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there, but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chios, and there he kindly

treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that, as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building, and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mytilene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipmen most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, inasmuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; in troubles, because of his kindness, and in prosperity, because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then travelled thence over Great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and they then sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for, as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chios owed Cæsar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.

But now when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their lawsuits by the ill-usage of the judges, upon their



holidays, and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money: from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the king's rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up and pleaded for the Jews as follows: "It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are complainants, they approach you with great assurance; for as they have formerly obtained your favour, so far as even they wished to have it, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are; and certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to our commendation, who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us; and for those that are the hindrance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony, and the donors, while they desire those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honour of those they suppose to be gods? I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever, rather than a dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters: and indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live in peace; and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety, profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own towards their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices: is there any people or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly so mad: for there are no men but such as have

been partakers of their favours, both public and private; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance; but every one of their own grants made them by you, may be taken from them also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they consider the old governments, under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them, in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, but this is only in common with others; and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the divinity delights in being honoured, he must delight in those that permit him to be honoured: and there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal these injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men: and the seventh day we set apart from labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any good thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one, therefore, examine into our observances, he will find that they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, insomuch that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them, and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away, in the way of injustice: they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holidays, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, or for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and to them involuntary hatred; for your government over all is one, tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs; nor be despoiled of our goods; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do; for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, and which ought to be valued though no such fidelity had



been; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the benefits you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of the king who now governs us, and is now one of thy assessors; and, indeed, in what instance of good-will, as to your house, hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honour hath he not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first? What hindereth, therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been. It may also, perhaps, be fit here not to pass over in silence the valour of his father, Antipater, who, when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar? And truly I ought before now to mention the epistles which Cæsar wrote to the senate; and how Antipater had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him; for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favours by our deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there, with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honoured him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and accepted of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things, in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves, you will not see taken away by others from us."

When Nicolaus had made his speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession made to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited their country, they were entirely unjust to them, in not joining in their worship, but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that

though they worshipped according to their own institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: "That on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing farther, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided it was no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one's offering them the least injury." And when he had said this, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms, after which he went away from Lesbos; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed in Cæsarea in a few days' time, as having favourable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

### CHAP. III.

*How great disturbances arose in Herod's family on his preferring Antipater, his eldest son, before the rest, till Alexander took that injury very heinously.*

BUT now the affairs in Herod's family were in more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men, Alexander and Aristobulus, which descended as it were by inheritance from their mother Mariamne: and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge



was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now, as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different; for as for the young men, they were rash, reproachful, and affronting the others openly, and were inexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner: but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father; for, inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that it might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by dispatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied, but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct; for they were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the forementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fall words immediately, as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able, by his means, to come to Cæsar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those past, he was in great confusion of mind; for divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for such great misfortunes at home; or

whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the a mired grandeur of a kingdom.

As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man; his name was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of repressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them; for this bold behaviour of theirs, he thought, would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a proper disposition: but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he himself avoided the suspicion of those discoveries proceeding from him, for he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth, by reason of the good-will they bare to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him: and while these joint accusations, from various foundations, supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also; for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths, and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting very justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater, against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater; and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Cæsar in favour of him, and



more earnestly recommended him to his particular care. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Cæsar's friend, insomuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How, during Antipater's abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Cæsar, and accused them. Alexander's defence of himself before Cæsar, and reconciliation with his father.*

AND now, what happened during Antipater's absence, augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren, for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there, only he was grieved he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretence, indeed, of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself; and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men; but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Cæsar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety; but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the city Aquilei: so when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time of hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: that "they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able, did their endeavours to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner; that he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own lives; if so be they may but deprive

their father of his life; so wild and polluted is their mind by time become, out of their hatred to him; that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Cæsar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him? or what hardship he hath ever laid upon them, to make them complain of him? and how they could think it just, that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time, and with great danger, had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best? and this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is; and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand, for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government; that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king: what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one, Aristobulus, to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; and what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Cæsar, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment; that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that were ever known among mankind."

These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Cæsar. Now, the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now, as to themselves, they knew in their own consciences they were innocent; but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely, as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet it was not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak, and tears, and at length a deep groan followed, while they were afraid that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Cæsar unapprised, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that



their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earnest, till he had much ado to conceal them.

But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, "O father, the benevolence thou hast shewed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure; for, hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common saviour of all, for it was in thy power, both as a king, and as a father, to punish the guilty, but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Cæsar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us, for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars: yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt: and if our open defence may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in; but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him: but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible used to be made credible. Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though, indeed, there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing: and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried: nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? yes; but not because she is

dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those who had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we be so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet, are not we in hopes of them? Or, supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished, while Cæsar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious, or so thoughtless, as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidences hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead, indeed; but then, what befel her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of discourse: nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Cæsar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us: If thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for, to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct, our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

When Alexander had thus spoken, Cæsar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded; the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration of the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance; and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them a hope of the best; and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Cæsar, after some delay, said, that "although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them." He also exhorted Herod to lay all



such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Cæsar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When, therefore, they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

Then did they return thanks to Cæsar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with a hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Cæsar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome; and Cæsar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Cæsar said, "He would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons."

After this, Herod returned to Judea again, but during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to the island Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From thence Herod came to Judea, and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in this his journey: "He also discoursed to them about Cæsar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done, as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord: and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him: Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne; but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of

management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He farther told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy." And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

## CHAP. V.

*How Herod celebrated the games that were to return every fifth year, upon the building of Cæsarea; and how he built and adorned many other places after a magnificent manner; and did many other actions gloriously.*

ABOUT this time it was that Cæsarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication, for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose: horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Cæsar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent: nay, Julia, Cæsar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture from Rome, inasmuch, that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now, when a great multitude was come to that city, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received from Herod, he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts, this solemnity having in the day-time the diversions of the fights, and in the night-time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul, for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, that "the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also."

After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water, and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encom-



passed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees magnitude was round about it; this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called Phasaelus.

But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but, what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis, at Actium: and for the Antiochians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides; and laid the open road with polished stone, which was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the Olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments: and by reason of this vast liberality he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him, to deny, or not openly to confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity, insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself: but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sort of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion,

he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared to be any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that it was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove, on the other side, to make their ill-will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Cæsar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honours he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances. And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod's crimes, as to his own courtiers and counselors, and of his benefactions, as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

## CHAP. VI.

*An Embassy of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Cæsar, concerning the complaints they had to make against the Greeks: with copies of the Epistles which Cæsar and Agrippa wrote to the cities for them.*

Now the cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When, therefore, they were thus afflicted, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar on those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.



"Cæsar Augustus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God: and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath-day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour: but if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue, or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me, by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

"Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting: Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the pretor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath-day."

"Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then pretor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored, without any diminution or disturbance given to them: and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

"Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians sendeth greeting: Cæsar hath

written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem: I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise, "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

I have been obliged to set down these decrees, because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God: and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men: on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but join with us in the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

## CHAP. VII.

*How, upon Herod's going down into David's Sepulchre, the Sedition in his Family greatly increased.*

As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and



taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by night, and went into it, and endeavoured that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at a great expense also. And even Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Assamonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seem to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him in those cases, wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly: while abroad, he loaded them with accusations, but still

took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them, by which means he, after various methods, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought might be to their own advantage: but still the sons of Mariamne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet by birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother, Pheroras, keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had raised him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras' unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son: but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage, and swore he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but



occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good-will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he had said any thing to her in private; and when any misunderstandings happened, as was common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said, that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his former wives country school-masters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters: but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said, that he heard from Salome that Herod was enamoured of Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it; and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are; it is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, that would bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather put a sword into his

hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words. Begone, thou that art such a plague to thy benefactor, and thy brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villany, said, that "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good-will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed; but the perverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings: but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome: so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill-natured woman, and sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy at different seasons: so they perpetually said one thing or another against her, and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although he was but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and, understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now, because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great, indications of their



agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it farther of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behaviour was one toward another; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus the Arabian being suspected, went away, but came again in two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife; for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly, when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her whether she were disposed to this match? she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he could not bear that proposal, and went his way; for he said that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel, whom the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured of his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her: so he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly, the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him; whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled to his Father Herod again.*

BUT still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them, of bringing him his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who almost managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son, with great sums of money: and when they were asked whether Alexander had had criminal

conversation with them? they confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father, but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father: and that he told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch, that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now over-run with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless; nor did he set any bounds to himself, but, supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them to make them suspected, and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed: and at last his domestics were come to that pass, that, being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another, was most likely to save himself; yet, when any had overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies, yet, when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet, what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace: and he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that when they were there he had less freedom of



acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account; for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gamellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gamellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but, that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who, when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he hurried them on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When, therefore, Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the first place, examined, by torture, all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous after discoveries, when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity to Alexander, and thereupon provoked Herod to discover, by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said, that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skilful marksman, and that in his commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall, and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him: and when they had done so, to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose yearly revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to de-

pend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons: so he took up Alexander and bound him; yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome to beg the kingdom, so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cæsar, and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in a friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelon.

To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition: but as for the poisonous potion, which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a great crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies; he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to him, that "he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras, and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or no; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him." Among these were accused Ptolemy and Sappinius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in the expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in: Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery, for he often fancied, in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood



by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind, night and day, intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man, her husband, and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came to Jerusalem on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly, for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated. He went, therefore, another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said, that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said, he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion, from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for, when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly, he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends, and said it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted, and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother; so, when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this, Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved, at this juncture of time, the most ac-

ceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respect to him, and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Cæsar about these affairs, so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonites: how Sylleus accused Herod before Cæsar: and how Herod, when Cæsar was angry at him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.*

WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: the inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Cæsar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first, the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care: but when he was sailing to Rome, (it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæsar's protection,) the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celosyria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them, and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means, so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity: then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more



confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

When the day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Sylleus' performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia; and in three days' time, by forced marches, arriving at the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raeptha, but did no harm to any others: but as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Nacebus, their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Nacebus, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers, fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So, when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him of what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Cæsar, and was then about the palace: and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Cæsar, that "Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Raeptha were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him

unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present." When Sylleus said so, and added, invidiously, that "he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Cæsar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage;" Cæsar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army thither?" And when they were forced to confess so much, Cæsar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject." Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians, who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Cæsar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Cæsar's favour used to inspire him; for Cæsar would not admit so much as an embassy from him to make an apology for him; and when they came again, he sent them away without success: so he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus' circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Cæsar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead; and Eneas, whose name was afterwards changed to Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavoured, by calumnies, to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Cæsar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom, yet did Eneas send an epistle and presents to Cæsar, and a golden crown, of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that, while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself; yet did not Cæsar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents; but in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them, for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers; and as for



Herod, Cæsar was immediately angry at him, for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Cæsar, and to address themselves to Cæsar himself: and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

## CHAP. X.

*How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's Sons; and how their Father bound them, and wrote to Cæsar about them. Of Sylleus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.*

THE disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian, (a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them,) came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendship with them all, but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with assurance, and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander, about the things that troubled him: and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater, and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that, being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it: and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with

vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So, when he related to the king Alexander's ill-temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him, and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him, and made him implacable, which he shewed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief, and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander, which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men, while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed upon them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of these men, had them tortured, who endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts. That it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also shewed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground, and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's dependants, at Alexander's command.

After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king



which was laid up in that fortress, yet did he not acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus the scribe had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices, and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men; which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander, and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art not thou in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Sylleus, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried those words to her brother: upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melas; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to show Archelaus' ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whither and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his friends among the multitude for that purpose."

When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra,

Archelaus' daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in a great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say, whether his wife were conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out, that "she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all." Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those (who ought the least of all so to do) suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus' ill-will to him was fully proved, he sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius, and bade them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him that he had a hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Cæsar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made his defence for himself, that "he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some severe procedure should be gone upon, in that anger and disorder they were in, on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Cæsar: and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show ill-will."

When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Cæsar, because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstance of Nicolaus' embassy had been as follows: as soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another, and some of them left Sylleus' party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodos' friends, by Sylleus; for when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterwards, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Cæsar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should



desires to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas' ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said, that "he imputed to him the destruction of the king, Obodas, and of many others of the Arabians; that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabians, but Roman women also." And he added, that "above all the rest, he had alienated Cæsar from Herod; and that all he had said about the actions of Herod were falsehoods." When Nicolaus had come to this topic, Cæsar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's: and to show that "he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country." To which Nicolaus made this answer, "I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little, of these imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed, for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion Cæsar was very attentive; and Nicolaus said, that there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be elapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for the pretended army, he said, it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money: that this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; and upon their permission to make a seizure for his money, he, with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe: and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy presidents permitted it; the covenants allowed it; and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis; at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supplied them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himself received the gains they made by robbery; yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths and same time that he swore and fixed for payment of his debt: nor can he by any means show that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia. besides these, and indeed not all these neither,

but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie, made on purpose to provoke thy indignation; for I venture to affirm, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general, and, in all, about twenty-five others, and no more; when Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

This provoked Cæsar more than ever; so he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain? Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Cæsar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, insomuch that he told Sylleus, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished with death: but still Cæsar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing, for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Cæsar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Cæsar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas' ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Herod, by permission of Cæsar, accused his sons before an assembly of judges at Berytas; and what Tero suffered for using a boundless and military liberty of speech. Concerning also the death of the young men, and their burial at Alexandrium*

So Cæsar was now reconciled to Herod; and wrote thus to him, that "he was grieved for him on account of his sons: and that in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an ad-



monition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious, for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation." These were the directions that Cæsar gave him. Accordingly, Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Cæsar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shewed himself severe, yet, had he not been very rash, nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them, after an unheard-of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus, for as for him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called Platana, but near to this city, that if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed, in such a way, as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity; nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said, that "he had sufficient authority, both by nature, and by Cæsar's grant to him, to do what he thought fit. He also added an allegation of a law of their country which enjoined this: that if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers-by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him, which, though he was ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination: that yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by

his sons' means, but as persons who had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs without punishment."

When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said, "That he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one's son to death is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means." After him Saturninus' sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father: on the contrary, Volumnus' sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch, that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this, Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter? His answer was, "That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any thing farther necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable: and this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bade Nicolaus sail along with him.

Now as they came to Cæsarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings: nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it; but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter: and was forced to cry out often among the multitude and said, in the most unguarded manner, "That truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischief that can befall men." And as he was so



bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him, as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and though they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine, that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost thou not perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him; and to relations whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiusness of his domestics, he was moved at it: but Tero went on farther and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time: so Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned hereby, that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave orders that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero would often have persuaded him, that when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero and his son, and the barber, should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his sufferings, said, that "if the

king would free him and his father from these torments, for what he should say, he would tell the truth." And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that "there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour of Alexander." This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander and also Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle by their mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much on both sides as to proceed farther, and overcome nature: but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable; or, indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all human reasonings: whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her: wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men unaccountable for the different conduct of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly, of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on



both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for such an attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden,

in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety; he also was guilty of so great a crime in his older age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil: and this temper he showed in what he did afterwards, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also; but of these persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

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## BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

### CHAP. I.

*How Antipater was hated by all the nation of the Jews for the slaughter of his brethren; and how, for that reason, he got into peculiar favour with his friends at Rome, by giving them many presents; as he did also with Saturninus, the president of Syria, and the governors who were under him; and concerning Herod's wives and children.*

WHEN Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for, although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great; and, besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and

all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren, out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and before them, to his father himself; and this was the accursed state he was in. Now all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy, insomuch, that the very plots he had laid against his brethren were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the government now would be firmly secured to him; but, if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger, upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy, and on that account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great



sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good-will; and above all to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also he used the same art to Salome, the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded; especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater's uncle, by the mother's side, was married to her daughter, and this by his own contrivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Cæsar's wife; and, besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time, also, it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus' daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome's daughter, and two daughters; and, as his friends were one with him, he presented the children before them, and deploring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill-fortune would befall these who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage: the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras' daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers' children which he had borne to his brothers themselves;

and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them, upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him, for making them fatherless, that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty: and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras' daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another, the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name: he had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter, which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip, which last was also brought up at Rome; Pallas also was one of his wives, who bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters, by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning Zamaris, the Babylonian Jew. Concerning the Plots laid by Antipater against his Father; and somewhat about the Pharisees.*

AND now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man, that was a Jew, come out of Babylon with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback, and, with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now



abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called Valatha, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded by Trachonitis, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax free.

The Babylonian was induced, by these offers, to come hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra: whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was tetrarch after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still give them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.

At length, Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died, having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him; one of whom was Jacimus, who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacimus was dead in his old age, he left a son, whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained as great as that of a king, which he exercised and led, wheresoever he had occasion to march.

When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him: and this till he ventured to use his powers still farther, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand: but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and

to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bore them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch, that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his mother; for these four women said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister, Salome, was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another, when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was firmer than ever when they were in private. And this was the course they took; but they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, "As well their secret assemblies and computations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not taken in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But, to appearance, they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs." And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Cæsar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras' wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her



and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself: so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas, the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Concerning the Enmity between Herod and Pheroras; how Herod sent Antipater to Cæsar: and of the Death of Pheroras.*

WHEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras' wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them; that "she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill-temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her; for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would, of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now, Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras (although he were pressed hard by the former words), that "as he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him." Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and bade them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women; which they promised to do; but still got together when occasion served, and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went, also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras' wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

But Antipater had now a suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase: so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bade them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Cæsar; which, when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither, and sent most noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die first, his son, Herod Philip, by the high priest's daughter, should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome, Sylleus the Arabian, though he had done nothing of all that Cæsar had enjoined. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Sohemus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men; and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Cæsar. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: there was one Corinthus, belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money, to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who were both by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrachy; which he did very willingly, and swore many oaths that he would not come again till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed when, upon a sickness of the king's, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might entrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred of Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose not to see him, which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned; but as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for: and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This death of Pheroras became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he had already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.



## CHAP. VI.

*Pheroras' wife is accused by his freed men as guilty of poisoning him ; and how Herod, upon examining the matter by torture, found the poison ; but so that it had been prepared for himself, by his son Antipater ; and, upon an inquiry by torture, he discovered the dangerous designs of Antipater.*

As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras' freedmen, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said, that Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat, but that when he had eaten he died of it ; that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras ; for that the Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons : and the woman to whom they ascribed this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses, and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras' wife had been at the place where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that of his supper." Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them : and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it, at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said no more but this, that " she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them." This prayer induced Herod to increase the woman's tortures, till thereby all was discovered : " their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras' women." (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any conversation with Pheroras.) " And what hatred he bore to his father ; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived ; and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch, that if the kingdom should once come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure ; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brothers' children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain : for that even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons ; and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy."

These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras' women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things said, that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating : that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt, and that it was sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of Antipater the king's son, and by that means came to Pheroras' wife, her husband having given it to her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it ; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top, yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet ; by which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful, and concealed any thing ; so she promised and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done ; and said, what many took to be entirely true, that " the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus ; and that his brother, who was a physician, had procured it ; and that when Theudion brought it us, she kept it upon Pheroras' committing it to her ; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camest to him and tookest care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me, ' O woman ! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto ; do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother,) and burn it before my face : that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her ; and that she burned the greatest part of the potion, but that a little of it was left ; that if the king, after Pheroras' death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, who, by the extreme pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box to be that which had been brought out on Egypt. The high priest's daughter also, who was the



king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

While this was doing, Bathyllus, also Antipater's freed man, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father, on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths; and as if, because they were sent for home, (for their father had already recalled them) they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards, by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said, they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, he had been very busy himself in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had brought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea, during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself, to gain him any advantages.

## CHAP. V.

*Antipater's navigation from Rome to his father; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then president of Syria; and how he was bound till Cæsar should be informed of his cause.*

Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bade him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall him in his absence. At the same time he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. Hewithal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspi-

cion of him, and defer his journey to him, and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but he had received an account of Pheroras' death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis, in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now, some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while somewhere, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at a vast expense, in honour of Cæsar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

Now, Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters, indeed, received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in, while, upon his going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge, the very next day; so he found, that what misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion, upon which his mother and his wife met him (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod), from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this, that "he should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Cæsar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands." Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him "not to prejudge his cause, but that he



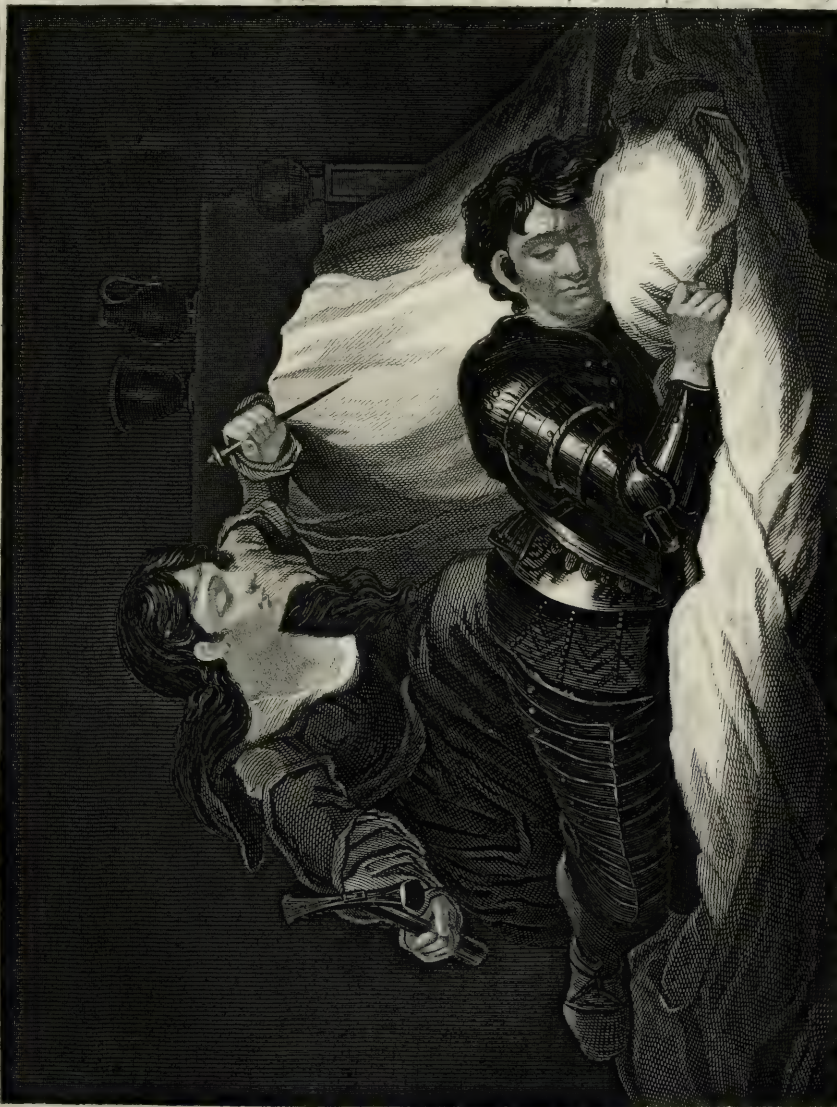
might be first heard by his father, and that his father would keep him still unprejudiced." So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance and what education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires, none of which favours had hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice, required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass as to be hardy enough to attempt such things; that he had, by his testament in writing, declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive, he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received, for his journey to Rome, no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their parricide."

When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a-weeping, and was not able to say any more; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himself to his father, and "enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and instanced in the honours that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and whenever there was occasion for the labour of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it, and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father also at present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one-half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his

brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Cæsar was a witness thereto, who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself; of whose opinions his letters sent hither are sufficient evidence, and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances before those letters; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there." Moreover, he shewed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false, because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, made them commiserate the same; insomuch, that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies: "He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons, while he never could gain any advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprized with that thoughtless behaviour of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who were the occasion of their wiping out of their minds all the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hindrance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. Yet wast thou, O Antipater! (as thou hast thyself confessed), the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour; and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but





JAEI AND SISEKA

*Judges 4:4-17*







for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety, thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs; but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners; and thereby didst make it evident to all men that thou madest covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly shewed against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behaviour unworthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise, thou art worse than they; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldest kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldest suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, did not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament. But for certain thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and was desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendest to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raisedst disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man; as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou barest to him. And here thou appearest, after the tortures of freemen, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow-conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways not only to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; nay, such is that impudence of thine

on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest, that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of them all? For thou art sensible that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life, and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its perpetration: and he who does not punish it, is injurious to nature itself."

Nicolaus added further what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras' women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds: some prepared beforehand, and others were sudden answers, which further declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but just so far as served his own turn. Now, there was a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstration also of these wicked facts could no way be disproved: because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep back what they had to say out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spoke what they knew; because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons, who were no way obliged to say them; insomuch, that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had



left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bade Antipater to betake himself to the making his defence, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God, and to all men, for testimonials of his innocency, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that, when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to overthrow all the evidence against them, by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did; for whereas he had done every thing as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from legal proofs by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power, that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bade them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus' command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus' discourses to Herod was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was also generally supposed, that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son, was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome, to Cæsar, about him, and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Cæsar of Antipater's wickedness. Now, at this very time there was seized a letter of Antipater, written to Antipater out of Egypt, (for he lived there); and, when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter: but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear, and Antipater's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But, while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth, (for he had two

coats on), he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling, which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these: "Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desirest me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my lady Livia; which, when thou readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him." Now, this pretended letter of Salome's to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this: "Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee, with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him, that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant to Julia, Cæsar's wife, and did this out of her friendship for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted Cæsar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter, and bade him contradict it if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself; and, when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way caught in his villany, that he would make no farther delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antipater; but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome, to Cæsar, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in; so he kept him bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters to Rome, to accuse his son, and an account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles before mentioned.



## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the disease that Herod fell into, and the sedition which the Jews raised thereupon, and the punishment of the seditious.*

Now Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome; but sent, as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to Antipas, his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar, five hundred to Julia, Cæsar's wife, to Cæsar's children, and friends, and freed men. He also distributed among his sons and their sons, his money, his revenues, and his lands. He also made Salome, his sister, very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm: and as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows:

There was one Judas, the son of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those who were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety, for that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had caused such things to be made, which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now, the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded their scholars to pull down the golden eagle; alleging that "although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and com-

mendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such a behaviour as may carry them out of the world with praise and honour; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time, to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward."

And with such discourses as this, did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God: so he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude, and while they were in disorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage; so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes, (said they,) what was contrived, we contrived, and what hath been performed, we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which are dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. Accordingly, we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteousness actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours



that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him, while the Asmoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God, as that was; that he had also adorned it with very valuable donations, on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, these men that had not abstained from affronting him, even in his lifetime, but that, in the very day-time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one considers the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein."

But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, "What was done, was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done." But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others of the assembly; but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part on occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias' wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: this Matthias the high priest, on the night before that day, when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed in a dream to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.

But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins; for a fire glowed in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails also were exulcerated, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon: an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, farther, his privy member was putrid, and produced worms; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an unsufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety; yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any

one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his assistance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called Asphaltitis. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ; and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs: he commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocents as well as those that had afforded ground for accusation; and when they were come, he ordered them all to be shut up in the hippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexis, and spoke thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death. For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them; because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to God; that it was therefore their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that, if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any king had before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very souls, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore that as soon as they see he hath given up the ghost, they shall place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead; and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to have those that are in custody shot with their darts; and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account; that as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do; and that he shall have the honor of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition with tears in his eyes, and obtested them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honourable mourning at his funeral." So they promised not to transgress his commands.



Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which savoured of no humanity, since he took care when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kind, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue, to lay aside their hatred at such time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

#### CHAP. VII.

*Herod has thoughts of killing himself with his own hand; and a little afterwards he orders Antipater to be slain.*

As he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Cæsar, which, when they were read, their purport was this: that "Acme was slain by Cæsar, out of his indignation at what hand she had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that as to Antipater himself, Cæsar had left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him or take away his life, which he pleased." When Herod heard this, he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but, as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of something to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first cousin, Achiabus, prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king was dead. Upon which, Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailor about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailor did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him of that nature. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailor said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his

guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any further delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Herod's death, and testament, and burial.*

AND now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas, to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus, by the name of a tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand drachmæ of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cæsar ten millions of drachmæ of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned since he procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right: yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for, from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life to a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son, Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good-will. After which, Ptolemy, who had the king's seal entrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Cæsar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king, and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them and promised the same good-will



to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself: he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he also had a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons, and his numerous relations; next to these were the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: first of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians; every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army, in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs to Herodium; for there, by his own command, he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat, on a throne made of gold, and spoke kindly to the multitude, and declared "with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good-will they bore to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavour not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him; and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father." Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus spoke the more gently and civilly to

them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put in prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he should take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good-will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good-will to be a great step towards the preservation of his government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

## CHAP. IX.

### *How the people raised a sedition against Archelaus, and how he sailed to Rome.*

AT this time also it was, that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. The people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in the way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod: and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cæsar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law; and to represent to them, that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Cæsar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions; but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous



to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent them going on in their present courses; because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed, than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were the most dear to them, and that, when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner; and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies, overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition, also, was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was evident that they were proceeding farther in seditious practices, by the multitude's running so fast upon them.

Now, upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the passover, and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, (when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity; and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival, and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God); the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious, before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamours they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government, but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple, from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen, when they thought themselves out of danger, which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the rest went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did

Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip, his brother, as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Cæsar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea, to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Cæsarea; but Varus, president of Syria, came at that time and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archelaus, by means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Cæsar should declare his resolution about them; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly, that he should require them to give an account of what they had: and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretence was, that they kept them all for Cæsar.

At the same time also, did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he should take the government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority; since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas: but it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whose means it was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him; not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though, indeed, they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought



Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Cæsar.

Now, when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Cæsar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Cæsar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the account of the money, and what were the annual revenues of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spoke first to this purpose: that "it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had in reality taken already the power over it to himself, before Cæsar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival, and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Cæsar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Cæsar, but, if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Cæsar, by taking it to himself. He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of lawsuits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Cæsar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature, as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with the neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult; and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the daytime, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Cæsar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an

enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Cæsar to obtain the government by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Cæsar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading, was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies; and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic testament he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas was called upon when he was ripe in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs; and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now shewed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath, in effect, deprived Cæsar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow-citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person."

So when Antipater had made his speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus; for that those who were the authors of such things are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident, that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretence, indeed, against Archelaus, but in reality against Cæsar himself, for they, after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronize, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their will. So that Antipater, in effect, ascribes the rest of what was done to all those who were of counsel to the accusers, for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so



represented only, in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such are these men's inclinations to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that, as to this testament, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament; and that for this reason, because Cæsar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Cæsar he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavour to injure his determination; while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsman which Archelaus had. Cæsar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust, to ratify: nor will Cæsar's virtuous and upright disposition, which is known and uncontroverted through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Cæsar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he shewed so much prudence as to submit all to Cæsar's determination."

Now, when Nicolaus had laid these things before Cæsar, he ended his plea; whereupon Cæsar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said, that "he well deserved the kingdom;" and he soon let him know that he was so far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed, and that was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and, when the assembly was broken up, he considered, by himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity; and this because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

#### CHAP. X.

##### *A Sedition of the Jews against Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to punishment.*

BUT, before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus' mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Cæsar of the revolt of the Jews; for, after Archelaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them, for the most part, from this sedition, which was a great one,

he took his journey to Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition; for, after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Cæsar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there, that they would, by their multitude, protect him; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain, and his extraordinary covetousness.

But on the approach of Pentecost, which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him; so they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following: some of them seized upon the hippodrome; and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides. Now, Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance; because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon, and cut to pieces; while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honour of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expect that the others should expose themselves first to die, on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them, but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands and partly with slings, as being much used to those exercises.



All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief; because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, inasmuch, that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those who were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for, as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords, and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armour; inasmuch, that, of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was repositied; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised, that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side not to be their hindrance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great pretended lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them: and so, because

he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

Now, at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults, because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops; although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts, by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

There was also Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sephoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace there, and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there: and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and a long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skilful manner, were destroyed; and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also, at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs



At this time also Athronges, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own: for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders, but, when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men, nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; but the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now, these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans; but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterwards subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner, while the last of them was so dejected at the others' misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away by sickness and continual labours, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God to preserve his life. But these things came to pass a good while afterwards.

And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as the several companies of the seditious lit upon any one to need them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure, indeed, and in small matters hurtful to the

Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus' writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left; so he took the two other legions (for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria), and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order, that all that were sent out for this expedition, should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him 1500 auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance, besides their footmen and horsemen; and, when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursued his march for Samaria with his whole army: yet did he not meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was Arus, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and a strong place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and of slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus' order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jerusalem; whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, now hearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect; but as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation, and alleged that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but the rashness of the strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged: but Sabinus did not come into Varus' presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

Upon this, Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: now the number that were crucified on this account were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found no way useful to him in the



affairs he came about; for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achiabus, they came together, and delivered themselves up to him: hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Cæsar; many of them Cæsar dismissed: but for the several relations of Herod, who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished, who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own-kindred.

## CHAP. XI.

### *An embassy of the Jews to Cæsar, and how Cæsar confirmed Herod's testament.*

So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch: but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassy of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws. Now, the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Cæsar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors against him, as supposing it would be a disgrace to them, in Cæsar's opinion, to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention, to assist his brother Archelaus; for Varus was his great friend: but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government, which Varus suspected there would, and if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

Now upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared "that he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that

authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many, indeed, as no other history relates, they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning those cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed: that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason, that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Cæsar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How, then, could they avoid the just hatred of him who, to the rest of his barbarity, had added this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and



contradicted him in the exercise of his authority?" Now, the main thing they desired was this, "that they might be delivered from kingly, and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them."

Now, when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, "That, as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he was dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things." This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

When Cæsar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of one-half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand drachmas of coined silver, Cæsar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelon; in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was

within Archelaus' government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Cæsar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas of silver, and married them to Pheroras' sons; he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memorials of the king to him.

## CHAP. XII.

### *Concerning a spurious Alexander.*

WHEN these affairs had been thus settled by Cæsar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city of Sidon, engrafted himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavour to obtain the government; so he took to him as an assistant, a man of his own country, one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but on other accounts an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other, and declared himself to be Alexander, the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him to be Alexander. And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hope that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors: so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch, that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascrib-



ing it to divine providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him were such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expense of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which might be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

When this thing was told Cæsar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not so easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence: so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Cæsar; for although there were a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough by the labours he had been put to, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Cæsar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him, who, it seems, was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his birth also? And when he said that "he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them." And when he had persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Cæsar took the young man by himself, and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this: for this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age." Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Cæsar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom, it was laid together. So Cæsar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners; but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *How Archelaus, upon a second accusation, was banished to Vienna.*

WHEN Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Joazer, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar, his brother, in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelaus. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews, to marry the brother's wife; nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood; Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

But in the tenth year of Archelaus' government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Cæsar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus' steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come to Rome, Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another (for all their interpretations did not agree), Simon, a man of the sect of Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said, that "the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted further, a change of affairs; because that land which is ploughed by



oxen cannot remain in its former state: and that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year, and that the time of Archelaus' government was over. And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Cæsar to call him away, came hither also.

The like accident befel Glaphyra, his wife, who was the daughter of King Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married while she was a virgin, to Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lydia, and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife, Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyra; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream. She thought "she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained of her, and said, 'O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures that women are not to be trusted. Didst thou not pledge thy faith to me? and wast thou not married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet thou hast

forgotten the affection I bore to thee, out of the desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and imprudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast.'" When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days' time she departed this life.

Now, I do not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings; and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another, that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus' country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Cæsar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

## BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

### CHAP. I.

*How Cyrenius was sent by Cæsar to make a taxation of Syria and Judea; and how Coponius was sent to be procurator of Judea: concerning Judas of Galilee, and concerning the sects that were among the Jews.*

Now, Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province

of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus' money: but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any further opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazer, who was the son of Boethus, and high priest; so they, being over persuaded by Joazer's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas, a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Gamala, who taking with him Saddouk, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said, that this taxation was no better than an introduction into slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty, as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and ensure enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said, that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such counsels as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and



this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same: so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree: one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done in pretence indeed for the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people, by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left, and sometimes on their enemies: a famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made as added a mighty weight towards bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together, for Judas and Saddouk, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundation of our future miseries by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal, concerning which we will discourse a little, and this the rather, because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.

The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves, the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinion was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish war, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrines, they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about divine wor-

ship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also.

But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of any thing beyond what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

The doctrine of the Essens is this, that all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men: and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness: and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no not for a little time, so hath it endured for a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests; who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble Dacæ, who are called Polistæ, or dwellers in cities.

But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisæic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say, that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immoveable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that anything I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain.



And it was in Gessius Florus' time that the nation began to grow mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod and Philip built several Cities in Honour of Cæsar. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; as also what befel Phraates and the Parthians.*

WHEN Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh of Cæsar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazer of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sepphoris, (which is the security of all Galilee,) and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Cæsar's daughter.

As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the passover, it was customary for the priests to open the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about the dead men's bodies in the cloisters; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident, Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia (Cæsar's wife,) Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais, where is a great plantation of palm-trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annus Rufus, under whom died Cæsar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days, (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was seventy-

seven years;) upon whose death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annus Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ishmael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held it for a year, Gratus deprived him of, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus, and when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done those things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberias, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came, and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen, and these he was benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the ancient Jewish laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias; whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Cæsar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine, but, he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now, she was able to persuade him to do anything that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates' legitimate sons out of the kingdom; so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now, while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation (as his successor;) he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had



criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this wicked love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the country before he grew too great, and died. But, as the best sort of Parthians agreed together, that it was impossible they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of the Arsaces, (nor did their law allow of any others: and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,) they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes to take the crown; for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he were accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him, and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices; (for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them;) but as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges, to be their king. Accordingly, Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them; (for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own, and a foreign one.) However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, for so they called those that had been hostages, nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little while after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia, upon Tigris. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory, by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia: and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom, for the people of authority among the Arme-

nians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus, he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artebanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to Rome; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a Roman province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the east, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the east, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere.

### CHAP. III.

#### *A Sedition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, and what befel Paulina and the Jews at Rome.*

BUT now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cæsarea, and interceded with Pilate many days that he would remove the images: and when he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Cæsar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which place was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and



presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bade the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them with much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least: and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus was an end put to this sedition.

Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again on the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About the same time also, another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation; she was also very rich, and although she were of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturnius, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love towards her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmas for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours,

he thought it the best way to famish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others, and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse; and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmas for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis' priests, and upon the strongest assurances of concealment, she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of 25,000 drachmas in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect, and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina, and, upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her, that "he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him." Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and lie with Anubis; so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out (for he was hidden therein), and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends also, she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmas, which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast cast upon Mundus, I value not



the business of names ; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor ; whereupon Tiberias inquired into the matter thoroughly by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber ; while he only banished Mundus, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same : but in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the law of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem, and, when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves, on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, and ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome ; at which time the consuls listed 4000 men out of them, and sent them to the island of Sardinia ; but punished a great number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers, on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

#### CHAP. IV

*How the Samaritans made a tumult, and Pilate destroyed many of them : how Pilate was accused, and what things were done by Vitellius relating to the Jews and the Parthians.*

BUT the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it, was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased : so he bade them get together upon

Mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would show them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable ; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together : but Pilate prevented their going up, by seizing upon the roads with a great band of horsemen and footmen, who fell upon those that were gotten together on the village ; and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of whom, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of those that were killed, for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict ; but before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem : it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, gave them leave to have the care of the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that on the occasion following : There was one of the high priests, named Hyrcanus, and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them ; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him ; because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there reposit when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments ; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner : and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him ; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest,



and had them repositèd in a stone chamber, under seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day ; and seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high priest having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day ; but Vitellius put these garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used ; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the former high priest, to succeed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch.

Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia ; for, while he was his enemy, he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed farther, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius' writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia, and the king of Albania, to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus ; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them : the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus' father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect ; when he had estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus ; and when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent in the midst of the passage,

and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterwards, sent his son Darius, as a hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon ; but Herod the tetrarch being desirous to give Cæsar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius' letters were sent, and Cæsar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it ; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which was after Caius had taken the government.

About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government ; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him ; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends ; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress ; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint : he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julius ; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberias took, for he left no sons behind him, and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

## CHAP. V.

*Herod the tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him ; as also concerning the Death of John the Baptist ; how Vitellius went up to Jerusalem ; together with some account of Agrippa, and of the Posterity of Herod the Great.*

ABOUT this time, Aretas, the king of Arabia Petrea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the account following :—Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while, but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother ; for this Herod was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's



wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great; this man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them, which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas' daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly, Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived anything. Now, she had sent a good while before to Macherus, who was subject to her father, and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas' army; and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively, and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gamalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves, and, when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Aretas' army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberias, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

Now, some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing with water would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away, or the remission of some sins only, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when many others came in crowds about him; for they were greatly moved or pleased by hearing his words; Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise rebellions (for they seemed to do anything he should advise,) thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before men-

tioned, and was there put to death. Now, the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure against him.

So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men: he also took with him all those of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land: for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his, which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there, since upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom the army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch: but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberias, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God: for it happened, that, within the revolution of a hundred years, the posterity of Herod, who were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were; it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he, from a private man, beyond all the expectations of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly,



but I shall now also speak more accurately concerning them.

Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaëlus, her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasaëlus, Herod's brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros, who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaëlus had five children by Salampsio, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; which last, Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married, and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons, and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of whom, Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of Herod the Great, by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants, when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod the brother of Agrippa married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape: and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod Philip, the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simeon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod Antipas, her husband's brother, by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee: but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis, and, as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaëlus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexis Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Tigranes, who was king of Armenius, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But

these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befel Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the navigation of king Agrippa to Rome to Tiberius Caesar; and how, upon his being accused by his own freed man, he was bound: how also he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius's death, and was made king of the tetrarchy of Philip.*

A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freedmen, in order to gain their assistance, inasmuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife, Cypros, perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and



allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for, as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus: the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: the Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence on him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favour promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now, Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freed man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freed man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond for 20,000 Attic drachmas, to accept of 2,500 drachmas less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthenon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmas of silver which were by him owing to Cæsar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bade him: but when night came on, he cut his cables and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander, the alabarch, to lend him 200,000 drachmas; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband and,

at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of that sum at Dicearchia (Puetoli); and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberias Cæsar, who then lived at Capreæ, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Capreæ; so Tiberias made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects, and withal told him, he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreæ; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Cæsar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed 300,000 drachmas, and not paid it at the time appointed; but when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Cæsar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave orders that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Cæsar's anger, but entreated Antonio, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterwards Cæsar himself, to lend him those 300,000 drachmas, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother (for these two women were very familiar with one another), and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But, upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation, by reason of the good-will they bore his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freed man of Cæsar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmas, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by spending the overplus in paying his court to Caius became a person of great authority with him.

Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying to God, (for they two sat by themselves), that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them: but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his (which was certainly true), he ran away from him; but when he was caught and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked why he ran away? he replied, that



he had somewhat to say to Cæsar, that tended to his security and preservation: so Piso bound him, and sent him to Capræ. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were despatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces, that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead: whence it was, that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; insomuch, that when he was asked by his friends, what was the reason of his delay in such cases? he said, that "he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismissal, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and dismissal: that he permitted those governors who had been sent once from their government to stay there a great while, out of regard to the subjects that was under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can, and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that an uncertainty, when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people; but that if their government be long continued to them, they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that, if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them, wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grow more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time for their oppressions." He gave them an example to show his meaning: "A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the standers by pitied the man's misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: the other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding, in preventing relief from his present misery; to which he answered, If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse; for, as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are sometimes more remiss, while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is, that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as many, like these flies, further distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And, as a further attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself; for, although he were emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and

in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He further informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, "because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die, would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favour; but I do it, that, by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery."

On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capræ to Tusculum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia, that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now, Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, for the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus's wife, and from her eminent chastity; for though she were still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freed men joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus' malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallus, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capræ to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing a freed man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia had told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg his favour, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Cajus, her grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him



what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty? Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, O that the day would once come, when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinderance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now, Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bade him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said? But, when Cæsar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: "For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man that I meant to have bound?" he said, "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius his grandson whom he had educated: but all to no purpose, for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinously; as he therefore saw one of Caius' slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom from Caius, who has not been wanting to minister to me, now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate; and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others, who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned, (the Romans call this bird *bubo*,) an owl, one of those that were bound, a German by nation saw him, and asked a soldier what that man in purple was? and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound, to let him come nearer to him, to speak

with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty when he had obtained, and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter, that "this sudden change in thy condition, O young man! is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know, therefore, (and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us,) that all I am going to say about thy concerns, shall neither be said for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavour to make thee cheerful without cause, for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldest long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But, do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest not regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me." So, when the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart; however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freed men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came into him, and two of his freed men, Marsyas and Stechus, brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretence of selling them, and, when the night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time, and in this case were his affairs.

But for Tiberius, upon his return to Capreæ, he fell sick. At first his distemper was but gentle; but as that distemper increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bade Enodus, who was that freed man whom he most of all respected, to



bring the children to him ; for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive ; for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead ; but Drusus' son Tiberius was still living, whose additional name was Gemellus : there was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother Drusus. He was now grown up, and had a liberal education, as well improved by it, and was in esteem and favour with the people, on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honour among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behaviour, by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude, and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals ; by which behaviour he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans ; some of whom were affected, when they came to him, with the gratefulness of the irreception by him, and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him : and upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men ; not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real ; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all ; and, among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal, which of those children should come to the government ; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God should foreshow concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination : so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation ; for, while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bade Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast ; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended ; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would, was entirely taken from him ; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also, because

his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinsman should live with them ; and so his relation would not be able to protect him : but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology, and the calculation of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that "there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by his knowledge of futurity ; whereas, he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortunes of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now, although he were disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spoke thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination : "O child ! though Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire, and I desire thee never to be unmindful, when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation ; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes ; for, to be alone, under the weight of such vast affairs, is very dangerous ; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do ; but, when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius ; as he was also himself, in no long time afterward, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he lived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years, five months, and three days : now Caius was the



fourth emperor. But, when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid that if they had showed their joy, when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences; insomuch, that when the Romans heard the rumour of his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now, Marsyas, Agrippa's freed man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius' death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead:" who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine: only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But, as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, that "Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days." At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Cæsar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again (for he had loosed him before), and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius, one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, who told him the same thing. He also gave orders that Agrippa should be

removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for, although he was still in custody, yet it was now with ease as to his own affairs. Now, as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius' dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day, but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosened one whom he had bound immediately. However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment, after which he put his diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

Now in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government, and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

## CHAP. VII.

### *How Herod, the tetrarch, was banished.*

BUT Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he ran away, he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, it was because he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs, and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honours equal to his: for she said, that "she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessities of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors



by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bore to royal authority, called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a private life. But then Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou wast derived, had been; yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to; and do thou not bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honour than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one, who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But, let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use, than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

But, for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king: and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed-men, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Baïæ, which is of itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and, besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus against Tiberius' government, and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod, whether what was said about the armour was true? and when he confessed that there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious,

Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own; and told her, that "it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband." But she made this reply; "Thou, indeed, O emperor! actest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband, hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity, during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature, in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the embassy of the Jews to Caius, and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make war against the Jews, unless they would receive his statue.*

THERE was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria, was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Cæsar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire, built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be; but Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassy, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but



Caius prohibited him, and bade him be gone; he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted, went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that "they should be of good courage, since Caius' words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself."

Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea with a great body of troops; and, if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but, if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Cæsar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that "he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; but if (said they) thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for, while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination, that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Cæsar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disobey Caius' epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and, if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing, that those who expose themselves to dangers, have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But, if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberius, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberius. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Cæsar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and in the meantime left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that "since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage of their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, upon the lands continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes: and that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation; that if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself." And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplications, partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it an horrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment: Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have against him for not



serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him : and that if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them ; nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly, he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

He then called the Jews together to Tiberius, who came, many ten thousands in number ; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them ; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them, that " his wrath would, without delay, be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately ; and that it was fit for him, who had obtained so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in anything ; yet," said he, " I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number, and endeavour to preserve the regard that is due to your law, which as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it ; nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able ; that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves ; and may God be your assistant, for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men, and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either upon my body or my soul, than to see so many of you to perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground ; I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have a good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design ; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation, for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain ; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds ; insomuch, that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and

without any expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted, whom, if he should slay, (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius ; and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure ; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it, (such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Cæsar :) hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind with Agrippa in that generosity which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drunk wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him : " I knew before now how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shown me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius on that account ; nor hast thou omitted anything to show thy good-will towards us, even beyond thy ability ; and whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient, for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Every thing that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But, although he had prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately, that, " it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him : that the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man ; for, although they may be beneath thy power, who art the donor, yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver." And as



Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord! declarest such is thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the Divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honour to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak; for, had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonourable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with so much alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with large revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself, he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. "If, therefore," said he, "thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but, if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself farther about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And this is what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government, as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and against whomsoever he resolved to show his anger, and that for any case whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the

present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

That was the epistle which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, for that ship which carried it sailed so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honour. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius, that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death, came first, and a little afterwards came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped the danger of death, which he could not foresee.

## CHAP. IX.

*What befel the Jews that were in Babylon, on occasion of Asineus and Anileus, two brothers.*

A VERY sad calamity now befel the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence those miseries came upon them. There was a city in Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the walls that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason, the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to him, for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of











the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now, there were two men, Asineas and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being a disgrace for men to be weavers of cloth. Now, he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes: but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for, as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent for such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they would kill all the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals (for they could do nothing else); and sent them as many sheep as were required of them, whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, inasmuch, that every body who had to do with them, chose to pay them respect, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischief should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them, and destroy them before any one should carry the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but, on the next day, (it was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work,) he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners without fighting. He then proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he said this, some of them went to spy out what was the matter; and they came again immediately and said to him, that "neither hast thou

been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest on this day." But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them, "That king Artabanus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand, and security, and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road, and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and stayed by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave them his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest, when he was engaged in a war, in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either



make war upon him when they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing farther mischief to him.

When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother to come to the king, when he had related to him the king's good will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly, they made haste to go to Artabanus, who received them, when they were come, with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon a comparison, he showed his soul to be, in all respects, superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou beest a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privacy." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man! to return home, and not provoke the indignation of the generals of my army in this place any farther, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldest be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there; nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended on him, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments,

and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty; Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her; as soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also, but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of these gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: now it is the custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land, agreeable to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately, but when she became Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their mostesteemed friends blamed him at first that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But, when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer, Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in defence of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a great number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Anileus, and told him, that "it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them, but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their own laws; and that the worship which this woman paid to their gods was a reproach to the God whom they wor-



shipped." Now, Asineus was sensible of his brother's offence, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same, from the good-will he had to so near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spoke to Anileus about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs; for, as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus' food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

So Anileus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus' daughter; he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now, when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him; and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him beforehand; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass, which, among the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said, that "it was not right to kill a man who was one of the principal families among the Parthians; and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him, but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; to whose safety we ought to have a

regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because, if any misfortune befall us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly, so Mithridates was let go. But, when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them, and she bade him either go back like a man of courage, or else she swore by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve her marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as great an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

But as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly, he led out his army, and a great many more joined themselves to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry and sandy places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of the day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh and in good plight; so great slaughter was made, and many ten thousand men fell. Now, Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away as fast as they were able, into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came unto Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But, although they did not agree to their demands, (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do,) yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other



replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk, and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himself also.

The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus' heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews, for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws; and which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other; and at this time in particular it was, that upon the ruin of Anileus' party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city: and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account, which I am going to relate immediately.

Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, who were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discords, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews were come thither and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition,

and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now, when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation, and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly, they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them, in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king of Parthia lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are repositied, but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians, and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that lived in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews: so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda, and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which, their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews, at this time in Babylonia.

## BOOK XIX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF.—FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON, TO FADUS, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

### CHAP. I.

#### *How Caius was slain by Cherea.*

Now this Caius did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten

thousand mischiefs, so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators,



because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered; because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they also style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city of Dicaearchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city by the seaside, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done, because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal, that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave orders that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him saying, that the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place. He also adorned his own house and gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called because he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

Nay, Caius' madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knee of the statue, and said, that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers was the greatest, he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore with him in such his pranks! He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudius' slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself, and Caius was

not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world, which he governed, with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who, indeed, in a great measure ruled them, there were a great many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him, and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter, particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

Now there were three several conspiracies made, in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba, in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune of the Petronian band; Minucianus Annius was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others, who seemed to him persons of activity and vigour; Minucius entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus, his particular friend, and one of the best characters of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain; as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius' wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike: and for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius' slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, that they might themselves escape being killed by the removal of Caius: that perhaps they should gain their point, and that it would be a happy thing if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design, for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the



hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius' presence, with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

Now at this time came on the horse-races (Circensian games), the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the hippodrome (circus) at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stood in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly they most importunately desired that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and, when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave orders that they should lay hold on those that made the clamour, and, without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius' commands, and those who were commanded executed the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off clamouring, because they saw, with their own eyes, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then, at several times, thought to fall upon Caius even as he was feasting: yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had sent him to require the tribute, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Cæsar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition, than performed Caius' command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And, indeed, he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him the watch-word of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a very reproachful nature; and these watch-words he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now, although he had sometimes put on woman's clothes, and had been wrapped in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object to the like womanish behaviour in Cherea. But when Cherea received the watch-

word from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow-tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his useful watch-words when he was about to take the watch-word from Cæsar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius, a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia, for a witness to them; a woman she was, much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea, in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures; for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner: unwillingly, indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered; and for her glorious patience under such unsufferable torments.

This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause, as far as he could, or the instrument of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius, (of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune,) "To be sure, Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies!" Clement held his peace, but showed the shame he was under in obeying Caius' orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express



words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spoke to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement! and this Papi-nius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear the weapons not for our liberty, nor for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius' instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because when abundance more have been killed, (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,) we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions; but "bade him hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment: but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which then arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance: that, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. However, although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived, and said, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea was also under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs, he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them, and besides looking upon delays and puttings off to be the next to desisting from the enterprise.

But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself, equally with Cherea, the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely com-

municate that design, so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly, they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general; and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averse to mutual kindness one towards another.

When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another, (as they had been used on former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches to them,) Minucianus began first, and asked Cherea, what was the watch-word he had received that day from Caius for the affront which was offered Cherea, in giving the watch words, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay, so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watch-word of Liberty. And I return thee my thanks, that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee; or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. For is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men, by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayest esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good



wishes; and some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for, as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bade him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that providence afforded: and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether somebody, that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether it were God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armour; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it, for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius, and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freed-man of Caius, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him; such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes most plentifully, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other; he also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them: on which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend, that he had been persuaded to make away Claudius, by poisoning him, but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me, that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius, for if Caius had been in earnest, resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses, nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off, nor, if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment: while Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence, and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

However, the execution of Cherea's design was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many therein concerned; for as to Cherea himself, he would not wil-

lingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it; for frequent opportunities offered themselves; as when Caius went up to the capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the top of the palace, that looks towards the market-place, was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time; for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all suspicion that he should be then assaulted by any body; and although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to despatch Caius, even without a sword: thus was Cherea angry at his fellow-conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by; and they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage, yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy, and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success, while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them; that it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honour of that Cæsar who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives, and Cæsar himself was to be also a spectator; and they reckoned, among those many ten thousands, who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in; because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

Cherea consented to this delay, and when the shows were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a farther delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolutions, and, as three days of the regular times for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: "So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in; but more fatal will this delay prove, if we be discovered and the design be frustrated; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do not we see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future, and by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now, while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were



doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said farther, "O my brave comrades! why do we make such delays? Do you not see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go after a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to freemen, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer: for, to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable than that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action."

When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without any farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watch-word with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was, by custom, to receive the watch-word; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Cæsar, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theatre were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: it had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of the cloisters, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there was an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians, to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea with the other tribunes were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Cæsar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the pre-

torian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, "Whether he had heard any thing of the news or not?" but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that "he had heard no news." "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied, "O brave comrade! hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achæians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them; and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cyuiras, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cyniras. It is also confessed, that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedonia, slew him as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he would tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw that Cherea was already gone out, and made way, and said to him, "O brave man! whither art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Cæsar, as it seemed, he sat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; but they had indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth hour of the day, and Cherea, upon Caius' tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and, although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them, but in rea-



as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius' slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinitius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius of Asia; whom, though they had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius; and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in these mysteries, which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watch-word; upon Caius' giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say, it was so contrived on purpose by Cherea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds, yet does this story appear to me incredible; because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in; because there might many things still happen for helping Caius' escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius' defenders, and not to leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him; but every body may guess as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that the blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle, between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any further. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he, nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords, and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea, for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spoke of it to the rest; and upon their

admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; he prepared everything after a prudent manner, and by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea.

Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius' slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under: for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages were also narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius' attendants, and such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day: whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed, which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts bore the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts. So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is, so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first that perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius' guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as not being used to consider much about what they do; they are of robust bodies, fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved by them, because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him: so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had attained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Cæsar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifice stained,



as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors, but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the others did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight, for Caius had banished Anteius' father, who was of the same name with himself, and, being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him: so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these three persons slain.

But when the rumour that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it: even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of his citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves; but for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things in pretence were designed for the pleasing of the multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had unjustly affronted them; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely; and, if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the

relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false, they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous; and, if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive still, and under the physician's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill-will to him. Nay, it was said by some (and this, indeed, it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad,) that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care in healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market-place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectured reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of their accusers, and of the judges.

But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre, with their swords drawn; all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one's coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theatre rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers; pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances; and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. This broke the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators



were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was, that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him, nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterwards. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else, his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friend in the world; this man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to this state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was, plainly, which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans, for, while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, when he that should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries, that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius' death.

But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spoke to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said, that "tyrants do indeed please themselves, and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all his unhappiness, was become a conspira-

tor against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so; and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, had taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy; inso-much, that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his own self."

Now by this time the people in the theatre were arisen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance; the cause of which was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Alcyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and, under that pretence, he sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed form, and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that murdered the emperor: he was then earnestly asked by them all, "who it was that had done it?" He replied, "I wish I had been the man." The consuls also published an edict wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home, and gave the people hopes of an abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

## CHAP. II.

*How the senators determined to restore the democracy but the soldiers were for preserving the monarchy. Concerning the slaughter of Caius' wife and daughter. A character of Caius' morals.*

WHEN the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house: for the soldiers had a meeting together, and when they debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage: and in case any



one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in his advancement; that it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired by his education, and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneus Sentius Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spoke thus:

"Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans! because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now possessed of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those that were born and bred up in that our former liberty, happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves, who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish, that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration; it may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relation of others, but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known it by experience, and I learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For, since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy,

and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles; because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain to-day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them, gain their friendship; for, as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since, then, we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, (which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,) you ought, every one of you in particular, to make provision for his own, and, in general, for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them; because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declare their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an overgreat inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined to the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius; for this one man,



with the assistance of the gods, hath by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties, but ought to decree him proper honours, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent, and what becomes freemen, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius Cæsar; for these men laid the foundations of sedition and civil war in our city, but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

And this was the purpose of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But, as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watch-word, who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watch-word returned to the consuls; for, before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But, when Cherea had received that watch-word, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cherea was in very great esteem with them.

And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow-citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill-nature, than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in such a desperate condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of

giving her consent to these things: nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also: and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted, that she advised him to leave off his mad behaviour, and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that, as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do; but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But, when she saw Lupus approach, she showed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer with lamentation and tears: and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one utterly despairing of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

Thus was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a



very murderous disposition, where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those that least deserved it with unreasonable insolence, and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was, that he had criminal conversation with his own sister; from which occasion chiefly it was also, that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work, without dispute, very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one-half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able, off hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skillful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and painstaking: for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he

became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

### CHAP. III.

*How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his house, and brought to the camp, and how the senate sent an embassy to him.*

Now Claudius, as I said above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and, as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for, while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from any thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public: all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus; come on, let us choose him for an emperor." But when Claudius saw that they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand and said, "Leave off, Sir, these



low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and joy at what was told him.

Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life-long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters; and, as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of their lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,) and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius' face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of, when the senate had the government formerly: they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favour they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompence for the same.

These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came unto them. Now, those that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made to them to join with the rest: so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were

very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But, when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him, "that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government: that he who was a single person, one either already, or hereafter to be, a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number: that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself wilfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow, and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius' death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of: that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune, and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country."

Now the ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius, and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that he would not throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that "if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good-will of those that would bestow it upon him."

#### CHAP. IV.

*What things King Agrippa did for Claudius, and how Claudius, when he had taken the Government, commanded the Murderers of Caius to be slain.*

Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; but not so far that he could not reco-



ver himself out of his fright: so he was encouraged to claim the government, partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now, this king Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius' body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And, upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately companied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them: he also asked of the senators what Claudius did; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them in words, that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government, will stand in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that "they would bring him weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty;" Agrippa made answer, "O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation: take notice, then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exercised in warlike affairs: but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable; we must then fight against those that are skilful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government, and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in, and gave instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly, Claudius said to the ambassadors, that "he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to

them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him." So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him; upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand drachmæ apiece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons, and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than, by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, "desiring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers." So they fully declared themselves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, insomuch, that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly were very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it: that Minucianus also, who was one of Caius' murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran into the camp; insomuch, that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring and



longer delays; but the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watch-word from Eutychus. Now Eutychus was charioteer of the green-band faction, styled Prasine, and a friend of Caius, who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language; and told them, "he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing, that after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool." Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius' murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his wife too well, while he, who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intention of Claudius before he did it.

These were the debates about the senate; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius, and the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius' murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius a little

before had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said, that the work he had done was a glorious one, but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment of death upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus, and many other Romans with him: now it is reported, that Cherea bore his calamity courageously, and this, not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus had laid his garment aside, and complained of the cold, he said, that cold was never hurtful to lupus [i. e. a wolf.] And as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to? or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly, as he ought to have done.

Now a few days after this, as the parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire, in honour of Cherea, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow-confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the hilt of the sword.

## CHAP. V.

*How Claudius restored to Agrippa his grandfather's kingdoms, and augmented his dominions: and how he published an edict in favour of the Jews.*

Now when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed the kingdom to Agrippa, which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it, of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lysanias, and all that lav at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with Agrippa,



confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena: he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son, Marcus, married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chaleis.

Now, about this time, there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria: for, when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt, to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus. Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all men should be so subject to the Romans, as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not to be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that were sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus. Upon the petition of king Agrippa, and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant

the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs, without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraved on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy, and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place, whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

#### CHAP. VI.

*What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he was returned back into Judea: and what it was that Petronius wrote to the inhabitants of Doris in behalf of the Jews.*

Now Claudius Cæsar, by those decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces, that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly, he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater prosperity than he had done before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down: for this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.



And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras, whose daughter king Herod married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the high priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shewed him; for he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of whom paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affections of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, who was a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while, the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Cæsar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in angry strain: "Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Cæsar's statue, and setting it up herein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Cæsar: to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. I therefore ordain, that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus' edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they might give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty

of it, and take care that no handle be thence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them; which those seem to me to hunt after, who encourage such doings; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together under the pretence of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus had granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs.'

Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the high priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king! I rejoice in the honour that thou hast for me, and take it kindly that thou wouldst give me such a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner, that I should now receive them again. But, if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against thyself; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius as president of Syria.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning Silas, and on what account it was that King Agrippa was angry at him. How Agrippa began to encompass Jerusalem with a Wall; and what benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of Berytus.*

Now Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most



hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had shewn to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions; till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and oft putting the king in mind of the severity he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate what zeal he had shewed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, inasmuch that he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man, who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man, and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birthday, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But, as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? for the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think, that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I have delivered him from; how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and respect; as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds and a dark prison. I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." From this Agrippa perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

As for the walls of Jerusalem that were adjoining to the new city Bezetha, he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Cæsar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed; as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

Now, this king was by nature very beneficent, and

liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticos in others; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberty. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly, he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

However, there was a certain man of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was Simon. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Cesarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily, and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him, that Simon had made such a speech to the people. So the king sent for him; and, as he was sitting in the theatre, he bade him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

Now, as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus; for he erected a theatre for them, superior to many others of that sort, both in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheatre, built at vast expenses; and besides these, he built them baths and porticos, and spared for no cost in any of his edifices to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also shewed his magnificence upon the theatre, in his great number of gladiators; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men, and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.



## CHAP. VIII.

*What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death; and after what manner he died.*

WHEN Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberius, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus, king of Commagena, Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa, and Cotys, who was king of the Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings stayed with him, Marcus the president of Syria came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without further delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who, after that, became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

Now when Agrippa had reigned three years all over Judea, he came to the city of Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through the province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, though not for his good, that "he was a god," and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterwards looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A

severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends and said, "I whom ye call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he had said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly, he was carried into the palace, and the rumour went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar, three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it, and he reigned, beside those, three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar. In which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachmæ. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his income, and his generosity was boundless.

But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristo, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

## CHAP. IX.

*What things were done after the death of Agrippa; and how Claudius, on account of the youth and unskilfulness of Agrippa junior, sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom.*

And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of whom, Bernice, was married to Herod his father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were espoused by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias, and Drusilla to the king of Com-



magenæ. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cesarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindnesses he had bestowed on them and acted the part of the bitterest enemies: for they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as were not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statues of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel houses, and, when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in public places and celebrated general feasting, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when Cæsar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa junior away presently to succeed his father, in the kingdom, and was willing to confine him in it by his oath. But those freed men and friends of his, who had the greater authority with him, dissuaded

him from it, and said, that "it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man." So Cæsar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly, he sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom; and paid that respect to the deceased, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed: for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus; whence it was, that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we shall relate hereafter.

## BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM FADUS THE PROCURATOR, TO FLORUS.

### CHAP. I.

*A sedition of the Philadelphians against the Jews; and also concerning the vestments of the high priest.*

UPON the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Cæsar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews

that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal, and he banished the other two, Amram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch



robber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at that time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor, and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he had said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the rigid injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel, that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power, and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges for their peaceable behaviour. And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, for he dwelt with Claudius Cæsar, as we said before, he besought Cæsar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that "he granted their request;" and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour which had been bestowed on them upon this entreaty. And, besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and emperor the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest goodwill to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your

letter are Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theudio, Dorotheus the son of Nathaniel, and John the son of John. This was dated before the fourth of the kalends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus were consuls.

Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly, Herod removed the last high priest, called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

## CHAP. II.

*How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her Son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the poor with Corn, when there was a great Famine at Jerusalem.*

ABOUT this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which by God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awakened immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his eldest brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy, while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before all them. Now although their father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates with many presents to Abennerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha: he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he



had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called Carræ; it was a soil that bare ammonium in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandes, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for, happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said, that, "they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates' father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because, if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied to this, that "she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself, and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates' brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it." So, since these men had not prevailed with her when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she should put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Sampser, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

Now, during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasin, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene; it also happened that Helena, about the same time, was in-

structed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bondage, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Cæsar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intention.

And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and, as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But, when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavoured to hinder him from doing it, and said to him, that "this thing would bring him into danger, and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew." This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said, and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said, that "he was afraid lest such an action being once made public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said, that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects." So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king! that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, by omitting to be circumcised; for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practise what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But, if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing, upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest



the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preserved both Izates himself, and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates' kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither: upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparations for her dismissal, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city of Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem, for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left an excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this king and queen conferred upon our city of Jerusalem, shall be further related hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

*How Artabanus, the king of Parthia, out of fear of the secret contrivances of his subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his government; as also how Bardanes, his son, denounced war against Izates.*

BUT now Artabanus, king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them, but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and if possible, for his return to his own domi-

nions. So he came to Izates, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and, in the first place, worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him, "O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee: for, as I am reduced to a low estate by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus' name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden, for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself; which, when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and swore by his present fortune and honour, that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse: and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed all sorts of respect, when they sat together, and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do, because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinna-mus, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinna-mus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him, and returned home; when Cinna-mus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as a king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

And thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon



him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of the greatest esteem among them: for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygdonia. And these were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son, Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans, but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, he was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behaviour, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes' intention, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also in no long time perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Izates was betrayed by his own subjects, and fought against by the Arabians; and how Izates, by the providence of God, was delivered out of their hands.*

Now when the king's brother, Monobasus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by Izates' subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them: but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of

money, if he would make an expedition against their king: and they farther promised him that on the first onset they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought an army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this: but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arsamus, and, following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And, when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene, yet did not he take Abia alive; because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family; for they said, that "they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and, as he had just pretence for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him, out of cowardice; yet, because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life: and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he intrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, for he marched in great haste, and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media; Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by



the king of Parthia, who told him, "how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects: he also threatened him that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands." When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied, That "he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men." And when he had returned this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. Then he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately, that very night, Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahæ and Sacæ, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he was forced to retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobasus should succeed in the government, thereby requiting him, because, while he was himself absent after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother, heard of her son's death she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her, that the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste, and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobasus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobasus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Theudas, and the sons of Judas, the Galilean; as also what calamity fell upon the Jews on the day of the Passover.*

Now it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and to follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it: and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befel the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus' government.

Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth; he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain,—I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hircanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

Now, while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast which is called the passover was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt at innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts at innovation,



if perchance any such should begin: and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, that his impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in these narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So, instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the impudent obscenity of a single soldier bring upon them.

Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befel them also: for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were travelling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Cæsar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him. Which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now, as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly, Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

## CHAP. VI.

*How there happened a Quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.*

Now there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews, on the occasion following: it was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journey through the country of the Samaritans; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called Ginea, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed: but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter: upon which the Galileans were much displeased, and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, saying, that "slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but that when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable." And when their principal men endeavoured to pacify them, and promised to endeavour to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a great number of them alive; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard to the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what a height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children, which would be the consequences, of what they were doing, and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was overrun with robbers.

But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that "they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby shewn to the Romans; while, if they had received any injury,



they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain the vengeance they wanted." This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed, that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence. Which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But, when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he came to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans, whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death; but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananias the commander of the temple, in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cæsar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations: but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. But now Cæsar's freed men, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus, and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government. Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order, that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave order, that Celer the tribune should be

drawn through the city in the sight of all the people and then to be slain.

## CHAP. VII.

*Felix is made Procurator of Judea; as also concerning Agrippa junior and his Sisters.*

So Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallans, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Cæsar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised; for Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had formerly been betrothed by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved upon the following occasion. While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon, one of his friends; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry him; and promised, that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy, for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix; and, when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the conflagration of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cæsar, shall be related hereafter.

But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a good while after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, who was both her husband and her uncle; but when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her brother, Agrippa junior, she persuaded Polemo, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her, as supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false; and Polemo was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Polemo, and, as was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony, and the Jewish religion: and, at the same time, Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal



man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But of all those particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*After what manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded in the Government; as also what barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors that arose while Felix and Festus were Procurators of Judea.*

Now Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cæsar. Her husband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife: she brought along with her a son, Domitius, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Cæsar gave him afterward, upon adopting him for his son.

But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son Nero; upon which the report went, that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but by bringing it so about by her contrivances that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under the pretence that they plotted against him.

But I omit any further discourse about these affairs, for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of whom have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bore him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned: nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived

a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Soemus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was entrusted by Nero with the government of Lesser Armenia. Cæsar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias, and Taricheæ, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

Now, as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually; for the country was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill will to Jonathan, the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Cæsar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and, by thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan, and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time, and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reasons why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city, and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought



the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it, and brought upon us, our wives and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said further, that he would show them from hence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them, that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said, they ought not to obey them at all; and when any person would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens, for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now, the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said, that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there, were either of Cesarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist, and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and

took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

About this time Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ishmael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priest and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem, each of whom got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations, about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence and boldness that had seized on the high priests, that they had the hardness to send their servants into the threshing floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests; insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice!

Now when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Burrhus, who was Nero's tutor and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befel our nation; for, when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

Upon Festus' coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian acinacæ, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicæ, or sickles, as they were called: and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination, and with those weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen



and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple; which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or laws, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again; but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassy about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live, if any part of the temple should be demolished; and when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ishmael the high priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them, in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ishmael, as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

#### CHAP. IX.

*Concerning Albinus, under whose procuratorship James was slain; as also what edifices were built by Agrippa.*

AND now Cæsar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report

goes, that this elder Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed: when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity to exercise his authority. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, or, some of his companions. And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king, Agrippa, desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified; nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened, that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done: on which king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus the son of Damneus high priest.

Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest Ananias, he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner, for he was a great hoarder up of money; he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest Jesus, by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one being able to prohibit them; so that some of the priests that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

But now the Sicarii went into the city by night just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus (Ananias) the high priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was



plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias' servants, and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

About this time it was that king Agrippa built Cesarea Philippi larger than it was before, and, in honour of Nero, named it *Neronias*. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus, with vast expence, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand drachmæ; he also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects; because he took those things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus the son of Gamaliel became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people, and frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus, also, and Saulus, did themselves get together a multitude of wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favour among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa; but still they used violence with the people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be the most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

Now, as many of the Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear men garments, as well as the priests; for they said, that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they may lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired: and as a part of this tribe ministered in

the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

And now it was that the temple was finished. So, when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and while they were unwilling to keep them by the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of their being carried away by the Romans: and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen, they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits in length, and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

## CHAP. X.

### *An enumeration of the High Priests.*

AND now I think it proper and agreeable to this history, to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as a high priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanias, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen officiated as high priests in the wilderness, from the



days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God : for at the first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another ; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now, the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josedek, the high priest, captive ; the times of these high priests were four hundred sixty-six years, six months, and ten days, which the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple ; at which time, Jesus, the son of Josedek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years ; and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Berea, and driving away the son of Onias the third, put Jacimus into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account, Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to make him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the præfecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem ; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now, when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest ; but then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related somewhere, Simon his brother took the high priesthood ; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the

succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir ; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority, (for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem,) for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest for twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high priest ; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration, and no longer, did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood ; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality ; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king ; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sosius and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asamoneus : but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus ; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind of remembrance of Hyrcanus his grandfather. Yet did he afterwards, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter ; but after this man he never intrusted the high priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterwards. Accordingly the numbers of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight ; the time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod ; and under the reign of Archelaus his son, although, after his death, the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high priests.



## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Florus the Procurator, who necessitated the Jews to take up Arms against the Romans. The Conclusion.*

Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Clazomenæ, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government, who was no way different from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been comparatively their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to shew his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners, than in their own country. And what need I say any more upon this head? since it was Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions were we forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account of the war; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the

reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years; I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without considerable errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books: for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods: because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret the meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life, while there is still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books and sixty thousand verses. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what befel us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Cæsar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.



# THE WARS OF THE JEWS:

OR,

## THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

### BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS,—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

#### CHAP. I.

*How the City of Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple pillaged by Antiochus Epiphanes. As also concerning the actions of the Maccabees, Matthias, and Judas; and concerning the death of Judas.*

AT the same time that Antiochus, who is called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government, while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of

expiation for three years and six months. But Onias the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple, concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened the city every day with open destruction; till at length he provoked the poor sufferers, by the extremity of his wicked doings, to avenge themselves.

Accordingly, Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed him-



self, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons of the enemy, he fled to the mountains, and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus' generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

Now Judas supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the Upper City, and drove the soldiers into the Lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and fifty thousand horsemen, and fourscore elephants, and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharias, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas' brother Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemies' troops he got up to the elephant; yet could not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and shewed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man, and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother Judas, how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a

garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus' generals at a village called Adasa; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus' party, and was slain by them.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.*

WHEN Jonathan, who was Judas' brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus' son, laid a plot against him; and, besides that, endeavoured to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put them in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in the neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he were now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter: he also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them, and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after a hundred and seventy years of the empire of Seleucus.

This Simon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to



kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made much haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were about Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now, when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection he had for his relations; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus' commiseration and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she had suffered to spare the wretch, since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this; when he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.

And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents, in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that they would find them empty of good troops. So he took Medeba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizzim; and besides these he subdued the nation of the Chutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumea, with Adoreon and Marissa.

He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and sent the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And, as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

But then, these successes of John and of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country, and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they broke out in open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and offered no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward; insomuch, that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government; and it will highly deserve our narration, to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

### CHAP. III.

*How Aristobulus was the first that put a Diadem about his Head, and after he had put his Mother and Brother to death, died himself, when he had reigned no more than a Year.*

FOR after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brethren, he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal; but for the rest, he bound them and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governess of public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.



But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of their relaters; however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened, in those days, that Aristobulus was sick, and that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to it, with his armed men about him; and this, when he was adorned in the finest manner possible, and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now, at this very time it was, that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations; and accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents: so he placed the guards of his body in a dark subterranean passage; for he lay sick in a place called formerly the Citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia; and he gave orders, that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand, that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded those that were sent, to conceal the king's message; but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very fine suit of armour made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armour; "because," said he, "in a little time thou art going away from me."

As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armour on, to show it to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now, this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars, "O strange! said he, it is good for me

to die now, since truth is dead before me, and some what that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are over already, which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled." And, when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But, in a little time, news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that of Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side, and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And, as one of the servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down, in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so, at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told; whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain? How long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? Let them take it all at once; and let their hosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.

#### CHAP. IV.

*What actions were done by Alexander Janneus, who reigned twenty-seven years.*

AND now the king's wife loosed the king's brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both elder in age, and more moderate in his temper than the rest who, when he came to the government, slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself; but had the



otner of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan, and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodorus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon also, which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun, and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians, assisted him; for, as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia, and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadites and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus; and, as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

However, when he fought with Obodus, king of the Arabians, who laid an ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And, when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, who hated him before, to make an insurrection against him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them, and in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew no fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews, in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own kingdom; till at length he fell off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him; and what he should do in order to appease them? they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their request in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favoured him to the number of ten thousand; while the adverse party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavoured to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt: while Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But, since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him, though he was conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs, but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would at length run to him, he left the country and went his way.

However, the rest of the Jewish multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the foreign auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemeselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety; for, when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death: so at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured a quiet kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of the Seleucidæ. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; he also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavouring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and



then on the sudden made his horse turn back, which were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus' army while they were in disorder, and a terrible battle ensued. Antiochus' troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out, although a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the fore-front, in the utmost danger in rallying his troops, they all gave ground, and the greatest part of his army were destroyed, either in the action or the flight; and for the rest, who fled to the village of Cana, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessities, a few only excepted.

About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, invited Aretas to take the government, and made him king of Celosyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus' possessions; and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called The Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into Judea, after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So, when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a quartan ague, and supposed that by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of this distemper; but, by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

#### CHAP. V.

*Alexandra reigns nine years, during which time the Pharisees were the real rulers of the nation.*

Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra, his wife, and depended upon it that the Jews would now very readily submit to her, because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his violation of their laws, and had thereby got the good-will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his expectations; for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And, as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus, the elder, high priest, on account of his age, as also on account of his inactive temper, which no way disposed him to

disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her, as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now Alexandra seemed to hearken to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed men at their pleasure, and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased the army the one-half, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

Accordingly they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander: and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men before mentioned. They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now, she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly they slew whom they pleased themselves; but the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretence that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged Cleopatra, by agreements and presents, to go away. Accordingly, Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus' expedition into Armenia.

In the meantime, Alexandra fell sick, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends, on account of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them, to get together a number of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king; and besides this, upon Hyrcanus' complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus' wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called the citadel; but afterwards got the name of Antonia, when Antony was lord of the East, just as the other cities, Sebaste and Agrippa, had their names changed, and these given them, from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra



died before she could punish Aristobulus for his disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

#### CHAP. VI.

*When Hyrcanus, who was Alexander's heir, receded from his claim of the crown, Aristobulus is made king, and afterwards the same Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, is brought back by Aretas. At last Pompey is made the arbitrator of the dispute between the brothers.*

Now Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest party deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus; but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who stayed with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation, which were Aristobulus' wife, with her children; but they came to an agreement, before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them: they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

Now those other people who were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumean, and one of the principal of that nation on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging; he also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and to lay claim to the kingdom; as also he persuaded Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to his kingdom: he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city, and continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into Aretas' hand; and by discoursing much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which

Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in the first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem: he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, when he fought against Tigranes: so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

As soon, therefore, as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause; which sum, when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans, and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia, as did Scaurus return to Damascus again; nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping out of his brother's hands, but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and slew about six thousand of them, and, together with them, Antipater's brother, Phalion.

When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries: and because Pompey had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and without any bribes, they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behaviour of Aristobulus, and to bestow the kingdom upon him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his good character, and on account of his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received; he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

At this his behaviour Pompey had great indignation; Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercession to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea, where you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandria, which is a stronghold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain, and he sent to him and commanded him to come down. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with



their advice, and came down to Pompey ; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again to plead his cause, he came down and spoke about the justice of it, and then went away without any hindrance from Pompey ; so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely ; and when he went up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up ; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own handwriting. Accordingly he did what he was ordered to do ; but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations for a siege, but followed him at his heel ; he was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a great number of palm-trees, besides the balsam tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hasted away the next morning to Jerusalem ; but Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication. He also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to ; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

## CHAP. VII.

### *How Pompey had the City of Jerusalem delivered up to him.*

AT this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might make his attack for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them, and that the valley before the walls were terrible ; and that the temple, which was within that valley was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, inasmuch that if the city were taken, the temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

Now, as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city ; Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey ; and the dread people were in occasioned these last to be a very numerous

party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost ; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple, to come to terms of accommodation ; he then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favour their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior station ; nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavours, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days ; for the Jews only acted defensively on sabbath-days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Tyre, near to the wall, and tried to batter it down ; and the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away ; but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

Now here it was, that upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides ; for, as if the city were in full peace, their daily sacrifices and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship, was still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their divine worship that were appointed by their law ; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla ; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius ; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defence.

And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their



drank-offerings, and burning their incense, as preferring the duties about their worship to God, before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices; nay, some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers; for Pompey, and those that were about him, went into the temple itself, whither it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and saw what was reposed therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers, all made entirely of gold, as also, a great quantity of spices heaped together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there reposed; but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one that not only in other respects had shewed great alacrity on his side during the siege, but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now, among the captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle; so those that were the most guilty he punished with decollation; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country and upon Jerusalem itself.

He also took away from the nation all those cities they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Celosyria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there; and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, restored them to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him, as his captives.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Alexander, the Son of Arisiobulus, makes an Expedition against Hyrcanus.*

IN the mean time, Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but the king of Arabia gave him three hundred talents; upon which Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia.

But as for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius interrupted him. He also built walls about proper places, Alexandrium, and Hyrcanium, and Macherus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

But Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of Gabinius' forces, and he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle; three thousand of whom fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.

Now, when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there encamped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offences, to induce them to come over to him; but when they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up a great number of them in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle, who, as he always shewed great courage, so did he never shew it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunction, the following cities were restored: Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Adoreus, Gamala, Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Macherus, as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards; all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in the second war. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So



the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an affection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexandrium in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Macherus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men: so the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus' party for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were everborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell down dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus broke through the Roman army and marched together to Macherus; and, when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but cease a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong hold, though it were done after a poor manner. But, the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome, and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised Aristobulus' mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

But now, as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater, to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius' absence, the other part of Syria was in motion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought them to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid (for he was come back already out of Egypt, and obliged to come back quickly by these tumults), and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolvers to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also; accordingly Gabinius went out to fight, when the Jews met him, and, as the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the govern-

ment as Antipater would have it; thence he marched and fought and beat the Nabateans; as for Mithridates and Orsanus, who fled out of Parthia, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had run away.

In the mean time Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple at Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expeditions against the Parthians. He took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched; but when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; concerning which affairs this is not a proper time to speak more largely.

But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had entered that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Taricheæ, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus, and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cypros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now, as he made himself friends among the men in power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch, that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and entrusted his children with him. So, when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere.

## CHAP. IX.

*Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's friends, as is his son Alexander by Scipio.*

Now, upon the flight of Pompey, and of the senate, beyond the Ionian Sea, Cæsar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus' alacrity, and the hopes of Cæsar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party, and for a long while he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay above ground, preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

His son Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio at



Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis under Libanus, took his brethren to him by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon, who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus' wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father, on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Alexandra; on account of which marriage, he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Cæsar. And, since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabians, among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him, at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium; and, when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city; in the attack of which place, Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

Thus was Pelusium taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Onias, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but, of their own accord, joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' camp: nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him; for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an unrepachable witness to Cæsar, of the great actions of Antipater.

Whereupon Cæsar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations, and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds, almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valour. And, when Cæsar had

settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

## CHAP. X.

### *Cæsar makes Antipater procurator of Judea.*

ABOUT this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Cæsar, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's farther advancement; for, whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy; besides those things, he came before Cæsar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted in a great many instances unjustly and extravagantly with regard to their nation, and that as to his assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to his enemy, Pompey.

Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that "as to his good-will to Cæsar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself: that he wondered at Antigonus' boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain some advantage to himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; for that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs, was not so much because he was in want of it, but because if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what they should gain from the Romans, to the disservice of those that gave it him."

When Cæsar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to Cæsar; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown down. These honorary grants, Cæsar sent orders to have engraved in the capitol, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

But as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out



of Syria, he returned to Judea, and the first thing he did, was to rebuild that wall of his own country, Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein; where he partly threatened, and partly advised every one, and told them, that, "in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness; but that, in case they harkened to such as had some frigid hopes, by raising new troubles, to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king; and both the Romans and Cæsar to be their enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor." And, at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod, who was very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As therefore he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and as having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of the great Cæsar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yielded him were equal to the honours due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity; for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to anybody: but what he was principally grieved at was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflamed his envy at him: those I mean who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority; and they asked him, how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings

against his own interest? for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority: that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who, therefore, in case he be not a king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed, till he hath been condemned in judgment.

Now Hyrcanus was, by degrees, inflamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up to Jerusalem, when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee; however, he came with a sufficient body of soldiers, so many indeed that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those that envied him. However, Sextus Cæsar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment; so he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus, that he should acquit Herod of the capital charge against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment, without the consent of the king retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready in order to obey him, if he should summon him again; where upon those that were evil disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him, that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw that his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Celosyria and Samaria by Sextus Cæsar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he had himself; insomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made, for Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bore him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom; and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together, and broken the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of suc-



cess in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil councillors, and this no farther than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shown his power to the nation.

In the mean time, there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Cæsar, by Cicilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces; but as the rest of Cæsar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army in order to punish him for the murder of Cæsar, Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Cæsar who was still alive, both of whom were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came from Italy as successor to Sextus.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Herod is made Procurator of all Syria.*

THERE was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Cæsar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of advancing themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents: whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately, and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him, and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note; nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented

the rum of this man, and of other cities, and got into Cassius' favour by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs; but when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to their father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus, on account of his attempts for innovation.

Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Cæsar Augustus and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea; but it so happened that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition: for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cupbearers with money, to give a poisoned potion to Antipater; so he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude was angry with him for it, he denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a great figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death, but upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of the suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace: after which, at the Pentecost festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him; hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave that command, and came in by night. Upon which Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe he admitted of his



lamentations as real, although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father, in his letters to Cassius who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus; Cassius sent him word back that he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

But fate laughed at the hopes he had: for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand, about the plot that was laid against him; accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the seashore, where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds.

## CHAP. XII.

*Herod overcomes Antigonus in battle; and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus.*

WHEN Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might avenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and was detained by sickness; in the mean time, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus' brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses; for he had gotten a great many of them already.

However, as soon as he was recovered, Herod took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the posture of a suppliant; he also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee.

When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem beloved by every body, for the glorious action he had done; for, those who did not before favour him, did join themselves to

him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, so did he marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

But when Cæsar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Cæsar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony, into Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honourable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation, and, having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him.

However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these Jews put those men that were the most potent, both in dignity and eloquence, foremost, and accused the brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern? who replied, that Herod and his party were the fittest. So Antony constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judea.

But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace, on which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem; upon these men, who made a clamour, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the seashore, and earnestly desired of those ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Flight of Herod, and the taking of Jerusalem.*

NOW two years afterwards, when Barzapharnes, and Pacorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanius had succeeded to the govern-



ment of Chalcis, he prevailed with the governor, by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the sea coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country.

Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called Daymus, to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem, and proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard on them.

Now, when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, were full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and which were the greatest part of them armed also, at which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city he slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight, and some of them he shut up within the city, and others within the outward rampart. In the mean time, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in a hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus; however, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he had laid for him. However, Pacorus went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horsemen, called the Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

But now, when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them; accordingly, he at first made them presents; and afterwards, as they went away, laid ambushes for them; they had also been seized on before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and flying away, although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it: for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Samalla, the richest of all the Syrians.

But Phasaelus went up to the Parthian governor, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him, that he would give him more money for their preservation than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavoured to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then went to the other Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perjury.

In the mean time the cupbearer was sent back, and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod, suspecting the barbarians, would not go out of the city; though Pacorus said very positively, that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers.

Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence, by openly attacking him, Herod prevented them, and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him, by night, and this without their enemies being apprized of it. But, as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them, and, as he gave orders for his mother, and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way, he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians; and when, at every assault, he had slain a great many of them, he came to the stronghold of Masada.

Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians, and created him troubles perpetually, and this ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of regular battle. Now, in the place where Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, there he afterwards built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he performed there, and adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications, and called it from his own name Herodium. Now, as they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thressa of Idumea, his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers; because Masada would not contain so great a multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the stoutest of his followers; and there it was that he left eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege, but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and fell upon the houses of those that were fled, and upon the king's palace; and spared



nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was not above three hundred talents. They lighted on other men's money also, but not so much as they hoped for; for Herod, having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war without denouncing it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hyrcanus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able, upon any mutation of affairs, to take the high priesthood again, for the high priests that officiated were to be complete and without blemish.

However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaelus by reason of his courage, for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his head a stone; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, viz. that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whichever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported, that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman how Herod had escaped out of their hands, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive, that will avenge me of mine enemies."

This was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*When Herod is rejected in Arabia, he makes haste to Rome, where Antony and Cæsar join their interest to make him king of the Jews.*

Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus: for he reasoned thus with himself, that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed; accordingly he led his bro-

ther's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the imprudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances could bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done and sent presently away messengers to call him back; Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city he was received by Cleopatra with great splendour, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius; and, although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundisium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family, and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.



Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs; so he called the senate together, wherein Messales, and after him Atratinus, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At this same time they demonstrated that Antigonus was their enemy. These reasons greatly moved the senate; at which juncture Antony came in, and told them that it was for their advantage, in the Parthian war, that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it.

#### CHAP. XV.

*Antigonus besieges those were in Masada whom Herod frees from confinement when he came back from Rome, and presently marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Silo corrupted by bribes.*

Now during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessities in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians, but on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus' party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles, and some in private ambush.

In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians, and after he had done that, he came into Judea to get money of Antigonus; and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered.

Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais: and marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judea corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him; yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, that no fortress might be left in the enemy's power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, and when the Jews pursued him, and pressed upon him, Herod made an excursion upon them, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo when he was in distress.

After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to free his relations, which place he took, as

well as the fortress Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that "he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city." But Antigonus would not permit any body to hear that proclamation and gave order to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls.

And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessities, and to require their pay. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and begged of them not to leave him who was sent hither by Cæsar, and Antony, and the senate: for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessities, that he cut off all Silo's pretences. Then Herod took with him ten cohorts, five of them were Romans, and five Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenary troops intermixed among them, and came to Jericho, and when he came he found the city deserted, but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains; these he took and dismissed them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there, viz. in Judea, or Idumea, and Galilee, and Samaria.

#### CHAP. XVI.

*Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the robbers.*

So the Romans lived in plenty, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumea. He also removed his mother, and all his relatives who had been in Masada, to Samaria, and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee.

But when Herod had reached Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty. After which he hasted away to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, to the village Arbela, and came himself forty days afterwards with the rest of his forces. Yet were not the enemy affrighted at this assault, but met him in arms; for their skill was not that of warriors, but their boldness was the boldness of robbers; when, therefore, it



came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing with their right one; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, who turned back and ran away.

But Herod followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river Jordan, and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained, and lay concealed in caves. In order to which, Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labours to the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmæ of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into their winter quarters.

In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea; so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding pathways, very narrow, by which they got up to them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them, and burnt them; and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves to him; but not one of them came willingly to him, and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, whose seven children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, slew them after the following manner; he ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually who went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did he not relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent; and slew his wife as well as his children; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them, and then returned to Samaria; he led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus.

By this time the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, by An-

tony's command, sent a thousand horsemen and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus.

However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste, as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly, he heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom; and now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *The death of Joseph, Herod's brother.*

IN the mean time, Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus, till his return; but as soon as Joseph heard his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Macheras sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing on the corn; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was killed, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed.

This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus, but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously; for he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a price of redemption for it.

Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death, and as he leaped out of his bed in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and made haste to march against his enemies; and when he had performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got him eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain, as his assistants, and joined with them one Roman legion, with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continual attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages, before he could take it; but when, after a few day's time, the second legion, that came from Antony, joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted



at his power, and left their fortifications in the night time.

After this he marched through Jericho, as making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers; where happened to him a providential sign, out of which, when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God; for that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men, and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forefront; yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance, in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

Now Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, and he sent Pappus with an army against Samaria, to oppose Macherus; but Herod overran the enemy's country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men, and then returned to his camp.

Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to Herod every day, and Pappus and his party marched out to fight them. Now other parts of their army made resistance for a while; but Herod beat those that opposed him, and turned his forces against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all, so that a great slaughter was made; and the multitude of those slain was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he had been hindered by the depth of winter.

Now when at the evening Herod had dismissed his friends, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armour, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him, before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemy met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armour, and they had lain there for some time in great terror, and in privacy; and when they saw the king they trembled for fear, and endeavoured to get off into the public road. Now there was nobody else at hand that might seize upon these men, so that they all got away in safety.

Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, in the third year after he had been made king at Rome. So he demolished the suburbs, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, and he accomplished this, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemy in great contempt already.

When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army; Sosius also joined

him with a large army, and when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of foot, and six thousand horsemen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, they pitched their camp near to the north wall.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *How Herod and Sosius took Jerusalem by force.*

Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; there was no food for horses or men, and the people that crowded about the temple, gave it out, that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. Yet some of the warlike men were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall.

Now the Jews, though they were bold to the utmost degree, durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death, but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden, and before they could batter down one wall, they built them another in its stead; and, to sum up all at once, they did not show any want either of painstaking or contrivances, as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city, as did Sosius' centurions after them; and now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple, and upon the pouring in of the army there was slaughter of vast multitudes every where, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of this siege, and by reason that the Jews who were about Herod earnestly endeavoured that none of their adversaries might remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy shown either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch, that although the king sent about and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell down at Sosius' feet, who, without pitying him at all upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigona, (*i. e.* a woman.) Yet did he not treat him like a woman, but put him into bonds.

But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries. He forbade the spoiling of the city, asking Sosius in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans had a mind to leave him king of a desert? and told him "that he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens." And when Sosius said, "that



it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege," Herod made answer, that "he would give every soldier a reward out of his own money." So he made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and their commanders, and to Sosius himself, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; then did the axe bring him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, but by his cowardly behaviour well deserved to die by it.

Hereupon king Herod distinguished those that were of his side, and made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus' party he slew them; and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she extended her avaricious humour to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly laboured to have Herod and Malichus slain by his order.

Now as to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part: for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet he took away a great deal of their country, and bestowed it upon her: as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians, as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea: and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents.

## CHAP. XIX.

### *Antony sends Herod to fight against the Arabians.*

WHEN the war against Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony. However he was cunningly hindered from partaking the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

However this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he conquered the army about Diospolis. After which defeat the Arabians

assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Celosyria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet there were snares laid for Herod in that pursuit; while Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him, for, upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numerous forces about stony places, that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod's men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them; but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it.

In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succours; but came too late. However, he overrun their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself of his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for, in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, by pretending that all Judea was overthrown; upon this supposal, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and in an eloquent speech encouraged them to defend themselves, and restored their confidence.

When Herod had thus encouraged them, and saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice, he passed over the river Jordan with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia. He then shot at the enemy at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently; and went in the forefront of the army, which he put in battle array every day, and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces, by which means they were compelled to come out to fight, which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and footmen were mixed together.

Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them; until



they were burnt up by their thirst, when they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put in bonds: and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of ever saving themselves, and came out to fight; with these Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand, insomuch, that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

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## CHAP. XX.

*Herod is confirmed in his kingdom by Cæsar.*

BUT now Herod was under immediate concern, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Cæsar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Cæsar did not think he had quite undone Antony while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to danger; accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Cæsar then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his behaviour as a king. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke thus before his face, "O Cæsar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the best manner, and entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this farther, that thou hadst certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. I own myself also to be overcome together with him, and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

Cæsar replied to him thus; "Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but shalt be a king; and that more firmly than thou wert before; for thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the fastness of thy friendship; and do thou endeavour to be equally constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition."

When Cæsar had spoken this, he put the diadem again about his head. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who had become a suppliant to him. But Cæsar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offences that man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of; and rejected his petition. After this, Cæsar went from Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Cæsar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais; and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was

necessary to feast them withal. It was therefore the opinion, both of Cæsar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Cæsar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honour upon him, but made a great addition to his kingdom. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterwards when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice; but when Zenodorus was dead, Cæsar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee.

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## CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Cities that were built by Herod.*

IN the fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. He also built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments; to which the holy house itself could not be compared in largeness. The one apartment he named Cæsareum, and the other he named Agrippium, from his two great friends: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

But the king erected other places at Jericho, also between the citadel Cypros and the former place. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Cæsar's honour; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his esteem into his provinces, and built many cities which he called Cæsareas.

And when he observed that there was a city by the seaside that was much decayed (its name was Strato's Tower), but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity: for the case was this, that all the seashore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which wind, if it blow but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat, the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyræum at Athens; and in the other retirements of the water he built other deep stations for the ships also.

He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to



that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them in like manner, Cæsar's Games; and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred ninety-second Olympiad; in which not only the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippium. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraven upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence, we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jericho, and named it Phasaelis.

And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself Herodium; and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch, that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also; insomuch, that on account of its containing all necessities, the fortress might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds it had, a palace only.

Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts; that country breeds also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood. Many men therefore there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then, besides these performances of his, depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favourable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not the occasion himself of such failings, but he

either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The murder of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the high priests, as also of Mariamne the queen.*

HOWEVER, fortune was avenged on Herod in his eternal great successes, by raising him up domestic troubles, and he began to have wild disorders in his family on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For, when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome.

Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then what was stronger than all this, was the love he bore to Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. She had indeed but too just a cause of indignation, from what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus; for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child, for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar, at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool till he was drowned.

For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus showed itself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder.



When, therefore, he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bore him good-will on account of their kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he would slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad, and, leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and, as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And, indeed, the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear under his disorders to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief, and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for while she was living.

### CHAP. XXIII.

#### *Calumnies against the sons of Mariamne.*

Now Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother, and when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them, as they grew up to be men, and when they were come to an age fit for marriage, they one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds. So Herod brought Antipater whom he had by Doris, into favour again, as a defence to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

So Herod drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him before Cæsar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation, but having a judge that was more skilful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father, but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him; and when he had demonstrated the innocence of

his brother, he brought Cæsar to that pass, as to reject the accusation, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of their reconciliation were these; that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his absence, and "thanked God greatly, and thanked Cæsar greatly also, for settling his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself.

### CHAP. XXIV.

#### *The malice of Antipater and Doris.*

BUT now the quarrel that was between them, still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater, as was Antipater very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them further, and many of their seeming friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to say out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions.

By these methods Herod was inflamed, and, as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them: for which reason they could not guard themselves against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy from great persons, and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives; and this king delighted in many, all of whom hated Alexander, on account of Glaphyra's boasting and reproaches.

Now upon these accounts, though Herod was some-



what afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king: but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that their actions were sufficient for their vindication, and that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him; for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and laid down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner, which, when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them, that "they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but they ought to fix their attention on him, who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who, in no long time, would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place: that the men in power did already pay respects to Alexander privately; and that the captains of the soldiery, and the officers, did secretly come to him."

These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately, by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected of treason, he put them to death, insomuch, that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings, for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged: he who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short.

#### CHAP. XXV.

##### *Reconciliation between Alexander, Pheroras and Herod.*

Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father that he was innocent, he

resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but he declared withal that the greatest part of the courtiers were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras and Salome; nay, that Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamour against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law, and his daughter, and he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he was in disorder, who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him; and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras.

Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander; but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the four books was Pheroras, who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, put himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, and came with black cloth upon his body and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of his mind, and distraction, which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

##### *How Eurycles calumniated the sons of Mariamne.*

Now a little afterwards there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Archelaus' stratagems, who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him, had a great regard for this Spartan on account of his country.

Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander and Aristobulus to make complaints of their



father, and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves, and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod and told him, that "he would save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and would preserve his light of life by way of retribution for his kind entertainment; for that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way, prevented his speed, and that by pretending to assist him in his design.

However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody: for till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of this vile accusation, Eurycles, his saviour and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander.

But it will be now worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came: so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men; yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was most ready to hearken to what made against them, and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Herod, by Cæsar's direction, accuses his sons at Berytus.*

MOREOVER, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius to Cæsar, who carried the information along with him in writing. Now Cæsar was mightily troubled at the case of the young men; so he wrote back to Herod, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that "he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him, in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death."

With these directions Herod complied, and came to

Berytus, where Cæsar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and would easily have answered what they were accused of.

So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present; and asked every one's sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this, that he condemned the young men, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children; however, he carried them away to Tyre, and sailed thence to Cæsarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

Now there was a certain old soldier of the king, whose name was Tero, who was in a manner distracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at last ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly I think thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and thereby choose to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation; but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was Trypho. This man accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor, when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son, and the barber, by the torture; but his son, out of pity to his father's sufferings, promised to discover the whole to the king; when he had agreed to this, he said, that "his father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had an intention to kill him."

And now Herod accused the captains, and Tero, and accordingly they were put to death, together with the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cæsarea, and ordered them to be there strangled.



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Antipater is hated of all men.*

BUT an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession; because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; and bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

Accordingly Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and with his eyes full of tears said thus to them: "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. And I pray God, that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity, and may look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

While he spake these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime, and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus a king and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bore to those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was angry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind, as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater; so at that time he made Antipater a lone and a peevish answer, and bid him begone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages: he married Aristobulus' daughter to him, and his son to Pheroras' daughter.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Antipater is sent to Rome, and carries Herod's Testament with him.*

NOW when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable, for not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already fixed in his kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances; however, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras' wife; for Salome had principally accused her. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him, that "he would give him his choice of these two things, whether he would keep in with his brother, or his wife?" And when Pheroras said, that he would certainly die rather than forsake his wife, Herod, not knowing what to do further in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras' wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now, though Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their night meetings; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome: for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Cæsar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor, that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter.

However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. A little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod showed great moderation; for he came to him and pitied his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Pheroras died a little afterwards.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Herod discovers that Antipater had prepared a poisonous draught for him.*

BUT now the punishment was transferred unto the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the



death of Pheroras : for certain of his freed men came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him, that "his brother had been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that, upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper; that Antipater's mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skillful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that, instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison.

The king had the maid-servants and women also tortured; one of whom cried out in her agonies, "May that God that governs the earth and the heaven punish the author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire further into the matter. When one of the free women discovered the whole matter.

Now Herod gave credit to all they said. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras' women after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture out of his fear, lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of his son Antipater; and, upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; and that Pheroras committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bade her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, asked her why she had thrown herself down? and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that, if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, "Why do I spare to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead, that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. Hear then, O king, and be thou, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witness to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying, then it was that he called me to him, and said 'My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompence of my impiety; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepst in order to destroy him,

and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world.' This I brought as he bade me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee."

It was also discovered that Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot, and her very brothers, when they were tortured, declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged this insolent attempt of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his testament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### *Antipater is convicted by Bathyllus.*

Now the king being desirous to get Antipater into his hands, he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him, wrote kindly, and desired him to make haste. Antipater, when in Cilicia, received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortune; as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his friends who were the most considerate, advised him not rashly to go to his father till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon his mother: but those that were less considerate persuaded him to make haste home, and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion. So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cesarea.

And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, while every body avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all men. And indeed he begun already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance, thinking he should be able to clear himself by impudence, and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace at this juncture: so Antipater went into his father, and, putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him; but Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. God confound thee, thou vile wretch, do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonably here



to be thy judge; and get thou thy defence ready against to-morrow; for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded, that he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away.

## CHAP. XXXII.

### *Antipater is accused before Varus.*

THE day following the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also: Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom, some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been caught, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have already been discovered to thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Cæsar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech thee do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiassed, and attend to my defence; for, if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent."

Hereupon Herod cried out to him, to hold his peace, and Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater.

So Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effects of their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a bitter and large accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom to him, especially the murder of his brethren, and demonstrated that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said that he had laid designs against them that were still alive, as if they were laying plots for the succession; and, said he, how can it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father, should abstain from mischief as to his brethren? He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order of the several discoveries that had been made, and had great indignation as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater had been for making him murder his brother, and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and filled the whole palace with wickedness; and when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs of them, he left off.

Then Varus bid Antipater make his defence; but he lay along in silence, and said no more but this, "God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and gave it to be drunk by a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Cæsar, went away after a

day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent to inform Cæsar of his misfortunes.

Herod also resolved to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations with him; but he bequeathed to Cæsar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife and children, and friends, and freed-men, about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money, and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

### *Herod's barbarity when he was ready to die.*

NOW Herod's distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already almost seventy years of age, and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain in a public manner.

There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city of Jerusalem, who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation: they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men, when they expounded the laws, and they exhorted them to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal, and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account.

At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumour was spread abroad, that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness; they therefore let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords, and this at midday, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes.



At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease for the time, and went out, and spoke to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as making greater attempts under pretence of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty, and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty, and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with the Rabbins, to be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers to be put to death by them.

After this, the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all his parts with various symptoms; for there was a great fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains in his colon, and dropsical tumours about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen, and a putrefaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which, he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members, inso-much that the diviners said, those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the Rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly, he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirhoe, which run into the lake of Asphaltitis.

He then returned to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness: for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. He then called for Salome, and her husband Alexas, and said, "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death; however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will be but subservient to my commands. Do you but take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no.

These were the commands he gave them; when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Antipater was condemned to die; however, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Cæsar had permitted him to do so. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death; so he took an apple and asked for a knife, he then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lifted up his right hand as if he would stab himself; but Achias, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, as if the king was expiring. As soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and besought his keepers to loose him and let him go; but the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in that his intention, but ran and told the king what his design was; hereupon the king immediately sent some of his guards and slew Antipater.

So Herod having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers the king was dead, and got them and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly, in the amphitheatre in Jericho, where Ptolemy came before them, and spoke of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he earnestly exhorted them to read Herod's testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king.

So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement, and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good-will, and, besides, prayed God to bless his government.



## BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF SIXTY-NINE YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF  
HEROD TILL VESPASIAN WAS SENT TO SUBDUE THE JEWS BY NERO.

## CHAP. I.

*Archelaus makes a Funeral Feast for the People.*

Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person, he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to the multitude.

Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamour that he would ease them of their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. They cried out, that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honoured by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be deprived, and that it was fit to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

At these clamours Archelaus was provoked; but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome. Accordingly, he made trial to quit the innovators by persuasion rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they showed to others, who came to them after him, many of whom were sent by Archelaus, in order to reduce them to sobriety, and it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multi-

tude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult, by force, to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them: but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them, the footmen in great multitudes, by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the way of the plain, who, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains; these were followed by Archelaus' heralds, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes; whither they all went, and left the festival.

## CHAP. II.

*Archelaus accused before Cæsar by Antipater.*

IN the mean time Antipas went to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus' kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Irenæus, the orator, upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him.

Sabinus did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose, by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Cæsar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Cæsar's hands: and after they had done



that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts. And when Cæsar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion, he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together, in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julia, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat, and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

Then up stood Salome's son, Antipater, who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrewdest pleader, and accused him in the following speech; "That Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom, but that in deed he had long exercised royal authority, and so did but insult Cæsar in desiring to be now heard on that account; since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, and since he had suborned certain persons, after Herod's death, to move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities; that he had also complied in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father, for most important reasons. Now, after all this, he desired the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself, and so hath made Cæsar lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him further, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, while he put on a sad countenance in the day-time, but drank to great excess in the night, from which behaviour, he said, the late disturbance among the multitude came, while they had an indignation thereat."

When Antipater had spoken largely to this purpose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus' kindred as witnesses, then stood up Nicolaus to plead for Archelaus. He insisted that the latter testament should, above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Cæsar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence as to recede from his own power and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession, could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor.

When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came, and fell down before Cæsar's knees, without any noise. Upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he made no determination in his case.

### CHAP. III.

#### *The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabinus' Soldiers.*

Now before Cæsar had determined any thing about these affairs, letters were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus, after he was gone, compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews call Pentecost, (*i. e.* the 50th day) was at hand, an immense multitude ran together, out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea, and pitched their camps in three places; one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

Now Sabinus was affrighted, both at the multitude and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for that, if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus, and made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy. Hereupon the soldiers leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downward upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed.

Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to their cloisters. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein: as many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward, and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last, some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents.

However, this destruction of the works about the temple, and of the men, occasioned a much greater number to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the place round, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove



a hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers enjoyed. Sabinus, indeed, was well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Herod's veteran Soldiers become tumultuous.*

AT this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. In Sepphoris there was one Judas, the son of the arch-robber Hezekias, got no small multitude together, and broke open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants of the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance, Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and broke it.

At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king; he was called Athrongeus. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and, besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs: and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren. Three of them were after some time subdued, the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for security.

#### CHAP. V.

##### *Varus composes the Tumults in Judea.*

UPON Varus' reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not

avoid being afraid for the whole legion he had left there. So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolemais; having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there.

Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves; they also went away, and fled up and down the country; but the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt; and said, that they had raised no commotions, but had been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted.

He was also informed, that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms; but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted; but these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offences, but sent their captains to Cæsar to be examined by him. Now Cæsar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family. When therefore Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

#### CHAP. VI.

##### *Cæsar distributes Herod's Dominions among his Sons.*

BUT now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors, who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus' permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them.

And when Cæsar had heard their complaints, he a few days afterwards, gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterwards, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea, and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis,



and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip: while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria, were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus, was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Cæsar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by all which she got together a revenue of sixty talents: but he put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments; but besides that, Cæsar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand drachmæ of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras: but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents in honour of the deceased.

#### CHAP. VII

##### *The History of the spurious Alexander.*

IN the mean time there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected.

But Cæsar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, doubted the truth of the story, even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Celedus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Cæsar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance, and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for, when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said, that "he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate." Then did Cæsar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded

thee to forge such stories." So he said that he would discover him, and followed Cæsar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did when he was alive. Cæsar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also, barbarously; and this out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Cæsar, and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Cæsar's treasury.

#### CHAP. VIII.

##### *The Sedition of Judas of Galilee.*

AND now Archelaus' part of Judea was reduced into a province; and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of life and death put into his hands by Cæsar. Under his administration it was, that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans, and would, after God, submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

And now as the ethnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamnia, as also her plantation of palm trees that were in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years six months and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies, and the latter of them built the city of Cæsarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Xaneas; as also the city of Julias, in the Lower Gaulanitis. Herod also built the city of Tiberias in Galilee, and in Perea beyond Jordan another that was also called Julias.

Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberias, sent by night those images of Cæsar that are called ensigns, into Jerusalem. This excited a great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image to



be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens themselves had at this procedure, a vast number of the people came running out of the country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cæsarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immoveable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Herod Antipas is banished.*

ON the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers, that they should all by agreement at once encompass the Jews with their weapons; so the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks. The Jews were at the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them, that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Cæsar's images, and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their naked swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks bare, and cried out that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensign should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called Corban upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal, and made a clamour at it. Now when he was apprised beforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not indeed to use their swords, but with their staves to beat those that made the clamour. He then gave the signal from his tribunal to do as he had bidden them. Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received, and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves; by which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius, to accuse Herod the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation, he stayed at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius, and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length

stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics; who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill-treated in prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

But when Caius was made Cæsar, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Cæsar, that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Cæsar had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Caius gave his tetrarch, by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

## CHAP. X.

### *Caius' Statue set up in the Temple.*

Now Caius Cæsar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a God, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him that in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity; but God concerned himself with these his commands. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spoke of a war, but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves.

But now the Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and, in the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee, and called together the multitude, and all the men of note, to Tiberias, and showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Cæsar; and, besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable; because, while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Cæsar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to



oppose it, was almost like the behaviour of revolvers, and was injurious to Cæsar.

And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or indeed of a man, and to put in any despicable part of the country, much less in the temple itself, Petronius replied, "And am not I also," said he, "bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the multitude cried out, that "they were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then quitted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Cæsar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Cæsar, and for the Roman people: but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain." At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

#### CHAP. XI.

##### *The Government of Claudius and Agrippa.*

Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him: but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that stayed with them to keep the city quiet, and went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

But Claudius prevailed, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying his daughter, Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment

of so large a dominion, nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their proper height, prevented him.

#### CHAP. XII.

##### *Felix is Procurator of Judea.*

Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander, under which Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on; for, when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple, (for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation, which the multitude thus gathered together might make,) one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and, cowering down after an indecent manner, turned his breech to the Jews, and spoke such words as you might expect upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation, and made a clamour to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon which Cumanus was afraid, lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent to call for more armed men, who, when they came in great numbers into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great consternation, and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city, and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed, insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and every family lamented their own relations.

After this Cæsar sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis: he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and that province Abilene which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years eight months and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina whose name was Antonia.



## CHAP. XIII.

*The Disturbances raised by the Sicarii, the Magicians, and an Egyptian false prophet.*

NERO bestowed the kingdom of the Lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, Herod's son, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging; I mean Abila, and that Julius which is in Perea, Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and whom he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, who were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day-time, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them, by which means they appeared persons of such reputation that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour, as men do in war, so men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance: nor, if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any longer; but, in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves, they were slain. Such was the celerity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.

But there was an Egyptian false prophet, that did the Jews more mischief than the former; for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him; these he led round about from the wilderness to the mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, inasmuch that, when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed or taken alive; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Florus forces the Jews into the War.*

Now it was that Sextus succeeded Felix, as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named, but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had lain there, either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons, as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing.

And though such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus, who succeeded to him, demonstrate him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner: and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent.

And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassy to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions: these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. And afterwards, in order to make a revolt, did every day augment their calamities.

Now at this time it happened that the Grecians at Cæsarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination; at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius. Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cæsarean Greek; the Jews had endeavoured frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in the way of affront to them, and made working shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their syna-



gogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there: but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cæsarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a licence to the Jews to fight it out.

Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Cæsar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamours, and called upon Cæsar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about and begged some spills of money for him, as for one that had no possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was not he made ashamed hereby of his love of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cæsarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning thence, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward of eight talents, he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem, and, on entering the city, he called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the upper market-place, and to slay such as they met with. So the soldiers did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, they slew its inhabitants; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted; they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. Accordingly, the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children (for they did not spare even the infants themselves), was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier, was this new method of Roman barbarity: for Florus ventured the to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order whipped, and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning Bernice's Petition to Florus to spare the Jews, but in vain, as also how, after the seditious flame was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.*

ABOUT this very time king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero: but as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and stood barefoot before Florus' tribunal, and besought him to spare the Jews. Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius. Now on the next day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus; at which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do no more injuries.

So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavoured to kindle that flame again, and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent persons, and said, The only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this, that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cæsarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them, not to return the Jews' salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage they should make use of their weapons.

At this time it was that every priest, and every servant of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those treasures, saying, "What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? Or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they saluted them civilly, all handle would be cut off from Florus to begin a war; that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all farther sufferings; and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should yield to a few seditious



persons, while it was fitter for them, who were so great a people, to force the others to act soberly."

By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude, and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them; but when they made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs, and, as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations, in order to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha, as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel Antonia; but his attempt failed, for the people turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt, and, as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they threw their darts at the Romans, who, as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

But for the seditious, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus, for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God in the temple, and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt; he then sent for the high priests and the sanhedrim, and told them that he was indeed himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire: hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that band, on account of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the band as they desired, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cesarea.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Cestius sends to see in what condition the Affairs of the Jews were. Agrippa makes a speech to the People of the Jews, that he may divert them from their Intentions of making War with the Romans.*

HOWEVER, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting from the Roman government, and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains what he should do. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them: but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give a faithful account of the intention of the Jews. Accordingly he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neopolitanus, who met with king Agrippa, as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errand he was sent.

And here it was that the high priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king upon his safe return; and after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves, and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good: but, as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanus; but the wives of those that had been slain, came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus, and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with only one servant, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to



all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed such acts of divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and to the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford a suspicion that they had been the occasions of such great slaughter as had been made, and were disposed to revolt, alleging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassy. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus, yet did he not think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamoneans, that she might be seen by them, (which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery,) and spake to them on the impolicy of warring with the Romans.

When Agrippa had spoken, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they cried out that "they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means." To which Agrippa replied, "that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; for you have not paid the tribute which is due to Cæsar; and you have cut off the cloisters of the temple from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute-money to Florus."

## CHAP. XVII.

### *How the War of the Jews with the Romans began.*

THIS advice the people hearkened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters: the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the

multitude to obey Florus, until Cæsar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cæsarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal men of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was that gate of the inner temple or court of the priests which looked towards the sun rising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country; after which they confuted their pretence as unjustifiable, and told them, That "their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice, (which would be the highest instance of impiety,) that they had themselves placed those donations about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time: for they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein.

Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory, upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar, upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded in among the weaker people, they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking farther; inasmuch, that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness, and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias, the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice: after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were deposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts. And when they had thus burned down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power, and of the high priests, went into the vaults under ground, and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately.



But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers had fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls.

In the mean time one Manahem the son of Judas, that was called the Galilean, took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Massada, where he broke open king Herod's armoury, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege, but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers and made it totter, and having done that, they set fire to what was combustible, and left it, and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation; this was granted to the king's soldiers, and their own countrymen only; but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected, for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude; so they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers; that called Hippicus, that called Phasaelus, and that called Mariamne. But Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers, and plundered what they left behind, and set fire to their camp.

But on the next day the high priest was caught, where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers: hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel, and, as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant; but Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought, that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while, but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one was able; those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. Metilius, who was the Roman general, now sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only, but agreed to deliver up their arms, and whatever else they had with them; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under

no farther suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them, while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation, and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Metilius; for when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *The Calamities and Slaughters that came upon the Jews*

Now the people of Cesarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour when the soldiers were slain, which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of providence; in-somuch, that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cesarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cesarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew; for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bore them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the soldiers in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other; so the daytime was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together; women also lay amongst them, without any covering for their nakedness; you might then see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened, was every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as enemies; for as they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, with their fami-



lies, to a neighbouring grove ; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure ; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them ; those of Askelon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two thousand, and put not a few into bonds ; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison : moreover, those of Hippos and those of Gadara did the like, while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody.

There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom ; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, to take care of the public affairs. Now there came certain men, seventy in number, out of Batanea, who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people ; these desired to have an army put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those seventy men ; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus ; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications.

But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander the Great, upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves.

Now when Tiberius, the governor of Alexandria, perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them two Roman legions that were in the city, together with five thousand other soldiers, who by chance were come together out of Libya. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also ; for the Jews got together, and set those that were best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while ; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully, and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the

open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans ; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged ; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps ; nor had the remainder been preserved had they not betaken themselves to supplication.

And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befel the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were every where up in arms ; so he took out of Antioch his forces, and came with Agrippa to a strong city of Galilee, which was called *the city of men*, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation : this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things ; those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais.

But now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea ; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could take that city by surprise they should keep it ; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease : and as the inhabitants had no provision aforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred.

But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and when the seditious part and the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee, he brought his forces against them ; and above two thousand in number were slain.

## CHAP. XIX.

### *What Cestius did against the Jews.*

AND now Gallus returned with his army to Cesarea ; but Cestius removed with his whole army to Antipatris. And afterwards ascending by Beth-horon, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao, fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast of tabernacles, and betook themselves to their arms : and with such violence did they fall upon the Romans, as to



break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them, making a great slaughter as they went, inasmuch, that unless the horsemen, and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action, had wheeled round, and succoured that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city; but still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Beth-horon, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war, and led them into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march.

And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them, that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them; but the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, fell upon and killed the ambassadors.

But now Cestius, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopus, or watch tower, which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did not he assault them in three days' time, out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighbouring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetæus Tisri, when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is also called Cenopolis, or the new city, on fire; as he did also to the timber market: after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace.

In the mean time, many of the principal men of the city, invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that

the seditious threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose; but on the next day, Cestius got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world. When the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen and footmen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius stayed two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment, and that if he stayed any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

That therefore he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his army's march, so they killed the mules, and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Beth-horon. Now the Jews pressed upon them so closely, that the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries, as men use in the utmost despair; the joyful acclamations of the Jews, also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced, and were in a rage. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris, after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and, gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, came back running and singing to their metropolis: while they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred foot men, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dios, Marheavan, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

## CHAP. XX.

### *Cestius sends Ambassadors to Nero.*

AFTER this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city,



as from a snip when it was going to sink. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

In the mean time, the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of the Jews in that city, and cut their throats, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they appointed a great many generals for the war: Joseph also the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city.

They also chose other generals for Idumea, Jesus the son of Sepphias, one of the high priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest; they also enjoined Nigr, the then governor of Idumea, who was of a family that belonged to Perea, beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should be obedient to those forenamed commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country, but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as a general to Jericho, as was Manassee to Perea, and John the Essene to the toparchy of Thamna; Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made the governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabattene, as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with that alacrity and prudence they were masters of; but as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the goodwill of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points.\*

\* The particulars connected with the government of Josephus will be found in the History of his Life, prefixed to this work.

## CHAP. XXI.

### *The Jews make all ready for War.*

Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch, that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; but the moderate sort were exceedingly sad, and a great many there were who, out of the prospects they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed, as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus' concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots but their violence was too hard for him, and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

But as for the Acrabbene toparchy, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus, and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robbers that were at Masada, and stayed there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain, and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults; and in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time



## BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING  
TO SUBDUE THE JEWS, TO THE TAKING OF GAMALA.

## CHAP. I.

*Vespasian is sent into Syria by Nero.*

WHEN Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bore the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in.

And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the east, and who might be the best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also; he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits.

So Nero esteemed Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compellations, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance.

## CHAP. II.

*A great Slaughter of the Jews about Ascalon.*

Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that

they could not govern their zeal, but, like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers and marched away for Ascalon. This is an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on near them, for the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonias.

These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprised of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand, and being neither daunted at the multitude nor at the courage of the enemy, received their first attacks with great bravery: and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were to fight with those that were skilful therein; they were footmen, to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient, and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten; for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall, fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's enemies.

Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater



numbers to Ascalon. But their former ill-fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain: so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight.

And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch, where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them.

### CHAP. III.

*Josephus makes an Attempt upon Sepphoris, but is repelled. Titus comes with a great Army to Ptolemais.*

Now the auxiliaries who were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, pitched their camp in two bodies in the great plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men: they also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. By this means they provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by day or by night, burning the places in the plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity: so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempted from any kind of misery and calamity, for the only refuge they had was this, that when they pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father: eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop

of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen a-piece, and an hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus, and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of whom were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand.

### CHAP. IV.

#### *Vespasian marches into Galilee.*

Now as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers, to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscade. Next to these came the army in regular order. So he marched to the city of Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire, not only to the city itself, but to all the villas and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly, he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. But Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city, as supposing, that with taking that, he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. Accordingly, he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Ebutius a decurion, a person that was of eminency both in council and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.



Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly.

Now when an assault was made next day by the Romans, the Jews at first strayed out of the walls and opposed them, and met them as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him; these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions.

On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before, as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews, till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls more desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch, that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to pro-

secute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a counsel of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines was in all an hundred and sixty; and bade them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose, together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come towards those parts within the walls which were reached by the engines; for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well also as all those that threw darts and flung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines.

And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus ordered his workmen to build the wall higher; and when they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he bade them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen, newly killed, that these hides, by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them, for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen, and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high.

And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or, if they should have the courage to hold out till the last, they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily by fighting, if he gave them a



interval, and then fell upon them when they weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessities, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; Josephus, seeing that the city abounded with other necessities, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were as much disheartened hereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst.

Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking their city by their want of necessities, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender.

And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to leave them:

Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties, and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with a common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemy's out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of both days and nights.

When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he

determined to make use of his battering ram. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the wall, and endeavoured to frustrate their attempts: these threw stones and javelins at them, in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst mount the walls, and then it was that the Romans brought the battering ram that was cased with hurdles all over, and in the upper part was secured with skins that covered it, and this both for the security of themselves and of the engine. Now, at the very first stroke of this engine, the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

So Josephus and those about him had afterwards recourse to fire, to defend themselves withal; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately, and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city by storm, after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that oppressed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against these ruins of the wall, but covered with their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid.

But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and before them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, That "when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemies' darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that they should retreat a little backwards for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that, when the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, in order, not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed; and that



they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that they would beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors."

And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout, and the darts, as by order, flew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them; they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as to the engines that were set ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enow to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down, those encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken, and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

Then did Josephus take necessity for his counsellor in this utmost distress, (which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is irritated by despair,) and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire; this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled down from the wall, with horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctious nature rendering it soon heated, and slowly cooled; and as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces and breast-plates, they could in no way get free from this burning oil, they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them, while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling fenugreek upon the boards in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither could those that were coming up,

nor those that were going down, stand on their feet: but some of them fell backwards, upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised and when they were fallen upon it, were slain by the Jews; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater.

Hereupon Vespasian gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand, could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them.

Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained: which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own strength, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves: and assured them that if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius, Sivan. And these were the calamities that befel the Samaritans at this time.

But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day of the siege, the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than



the wall : on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them ; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep ; accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them : this last, because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself, did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak the truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers, if the report was a sham ; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall ; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it ; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army were gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under ; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down : at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves ; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them from the citadel.

However, such of the watch as at first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there ; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully suffered their necks to be cut

off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood on their side, if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain by treachery, at the taking of the city.

And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly : but on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred ; and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Josephus discovered by a Woman.*

AND now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken ; for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city ; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence ; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground : and here met with forty persons of eminence that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night time he got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch : but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days ; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent two tribunes, Paulinus and Galicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

So they came and invited the man up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved : but they did not prevail with him ; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans, must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to



come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; who enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered, and told him, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage.

Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand the future calamities of the Jews, and he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

When he said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those who had fled with him, understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, "O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself? How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty? we will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding to the Romans.

Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. But desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and every one of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smite him; but he calling to one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions, (as he well might in the great distress he was then in,) he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right

hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; "And now," said he, "since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them very just; and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life: yet was he with another left to the last. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian, who gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would in a very little time send him to Nero.

When Josephus heard him give these orders, he said, that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than thou hast taken Josephus himself captive, but I come to thee as a messenger of greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the law of the Jews in this case, and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Cæsar, and emperor, thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Cæsar, art not only lord over me, but over the land and the sea, and all mankind; and certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." One of those present at that secret conference, said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder how thou couldest not foretell to the people of Jotapata that they should be taken, nor couldest thou foretell this captivity which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be



true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his hands, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; and he treated him also in a very obliging manner.

## CHAP. IX.

### *How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up.*

IN the mean time there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria and Phenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded in the night time; however, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night out of the reach of their darts.

While they were in their ships, a terrible storm arose and the ships dashed against one another, and some of the multitude that were in them, were covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought, that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea and so they killed themselves before they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, inasmuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies, for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea, was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news.

But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had showed

their good-will before when he appeared to have been dead. They therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

But Vespasian, as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheæ had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted from their obedience to their governors, he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order that he might bring his cities to reason. So he pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators, it is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them: but before they could come to discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle and not by treachery.

Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans: they then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to a whole city, to spare a people that had ever been civil and obliging to the Romans. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheæ.

## CHAP. X.

### *How Taricheæ was taken.*

AND now Vespasian pitched his camp between Tiberias and Taricheæ, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheæ, as relying upon the



strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them, and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered anything themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him, that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succours could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and exhorted them to act with courage, till an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and when he led them on, and assisted by Trajan, Antonius and Silo obtained a great victory, and led his men onward to the city which he entered first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city, and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth, and some were slain as they were getting up into the ships, but others of them, as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already, made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughters out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father and let him know the good news of what he had done: at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son: for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as

attempted to do so. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon ship-board as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now those that were driven into the lake, could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy: they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners everywhere, till the rest being put to flight were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about on the sea; but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight, there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies, all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dismissal of them would be to his own advantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to, to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself



after what manner they should be slain; for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against the Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the

city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men together with the others that were useless, who were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the Isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, beside such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them: however, the king sold these also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus.

## BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM.

### CHAP. I.

#### *The Siege and taking of Gamala.*

Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did upon the conquest of Taricheæ deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala, and those that had been seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which is a city over against Taricheæ, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as

much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately: both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat of easier ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch here, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south, and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

As the city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it sti



stronger, as also by ditches and mines under ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place, than the people of Jotapata had been, but had much fewer fighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them: for the city had been filled with those that fled to it for safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it, for seven months together.

But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias, and came to Gamala; yet was its situation such, that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he sent men to watch it, and seized upon that mountain which was over it. And he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp, while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the valleys. Now at this time it was that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow, by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who were so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Charles and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessities. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering-rams to three several places, and made the wall shake and fall. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going further, and with great courage thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses,

being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished, for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them, lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses, and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually tumbling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them.

Now a great number of Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was Gaius, who during this disorder being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves (for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians). So he got up in the night time and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

The people of Gamala took courage for a little while upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves that they had no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, as also, through subterraneous caverns: while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason stayed in the city, perished for want of food, for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

Now Vespasian went about other work during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs, and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. So he sent Placidus, who prevailed against them. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, while the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

Now, the Romans having thrown down one of the



towers of the city, Titus took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with them, and entered it without noise. Now, as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; so that the blood ran down all the lower parts of the city from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him; now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to the others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them; nor could the Jews indeed stand upon the precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain, at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now: a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand; nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans, when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants; of whom many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Surrender of Gischala.*

Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose multitude were yet

desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other places got all together thither.

Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he invited them to accept of terms of peace. But none of the populace durst make a reply, or so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer, "That for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them."

Now in the night-time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them. And there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed.

Then the next day Titus came to the wall, the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also of John's flight, and besought him to inform him to



spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring John to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city. And thus was all Galilee taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Concerning John of Gischala.*

Now upon John's entry into Jerusalem the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But for John, he was very little concerned for those he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them.

These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone: and there arose a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous of peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another brake through all restraints with regard to each other, and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that seditions arose every where, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness were too hard for the aged and the prudent men.

Now the Roman garrison, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of troops of robbers

being satiated with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance, but they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, and spent those provisions beforehand, which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men.

There were besides these, other robbers that came out of the country, who proceeded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night-time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day-time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city. And they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

And now, the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the most ancient of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city, if he could have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people; the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did; for in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high priesthood, by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family.

Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim, and cast lots which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village Apatha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he; yet did they hale this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon



the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit face : they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do.

And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he besought and encouraged the multitude to go against the Zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude; and their youth, and the courage of their souls, but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done, since they would not yield, as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for those their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever suffering might come upon him, rather than overlook things, now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most readily disposed to run any hazard whatsoever on that account.

Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the Zealots got information of his undertaking, and leaping out of the temple in crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together on the sudden, who were more numerous indeed than the Zealots, but inferior to them in arms. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other threw their darts and stones at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters.

Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Gischala, that was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He went all about with Ananus, when he consulted the great men every day, and in the night-time also when he went round the watch; but he divulged their secrets to the Zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest

friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chiefs of the people; yet did this overdoing of his turn against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath: accordingly, John took such an oath, readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies, and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without further suspicion; nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple, to the Zealots, with proposals of accommodation.

But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the Zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That "he had run many hazards on their account, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city; and that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account, or gain it by force, and fight with them there; that he did not see how long they could endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies." He added further, "That it was by the providence of God, he was himself sent an ambassador to them for an accommodation: for that Ananus did therefore offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed: that they ought to choose one of these two methods, either to intercede with those that guarded them; to save their lives, or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves: that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done, or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them; while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance; and that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors: and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and illegal judicatures, insomuch, that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority."



## CHAP. IV.

*The Idumeans come to Jerusalem.*

Now by this crafty speech, John made the Zealots afraid: yet he durst not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans. But now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the Zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias the son of Phalek, both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now, when these two men had heard not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves; and besides, how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie, they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened: and because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all the hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a long letter to this effect, that "Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans: that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty: that there was but a small time left, wherein they might hope for their deliverance: and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans." They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans." Now, there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were well able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture; and what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick dispatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the con-

tents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John and Jacob, the sons of Sosas; and besides these was Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusothus.

Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus, or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus, "Many troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians."

Thus spoke Jesus, yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said as follows, "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city to their own nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumeans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms, which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. One may indeed justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants which you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide



before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the Zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder, and any one would guess that these wonders foreshowed some grand calamities that were coming.

Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjecturers at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and by connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the Zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the heart of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed, and unskilled in the art of war; and that besides, the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm; and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself

carefully watched by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the Zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the thunder was not heard by the others.

So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but they first of all made haste to get the Zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sakes they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive who they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

## CHAP. V.

### *Cruelty of the Idumeans.*

THIS advice pleased the Idumeans; and they ascended through the city to the temple. The Zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves with the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in, caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defence; and so long as they thought they were only the Zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when



they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The Zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body, for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords, who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation, but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them, and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity,

even with regard to the meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed; to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him, and although he were inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think, that it was because God had doomed the city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers, while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs, and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's cases, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

Now, after these were slain, the Zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being inrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day-time were slain in the night, and their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night-time they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies, and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day-time; and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.





MAYDAY'S GIFT







And now these Zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain, so, what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him; he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their policy to the Romans, and of having traitorously sent to Vespasian, for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused of, but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to; in the mean time the Zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and show of judicature to the end. They were also desirous on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be unmindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict, that the person accused was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; hereupon there arose a great clamour of the Zealots upon his acquittal, and they all had indignation at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee and the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover, they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the Zealots who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and

gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said, that "they had taken arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such treachery; but they had succoured those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such their proceedings at the first, but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of them now repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them, and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down: and, by avoiding any farther fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded as to have been partners with them hitherto."

## CHAP. VI.

### *Great Slaughtering of the Citizens.*

THE Idumeans complied with these persuasions, and in the first place they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home, which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the Zealots grew more insolent, not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions; and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But



their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whatsoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Perea escape their hands: he had been a man of great valour in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city; and, as he went, he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him without permitting him to be buried.

And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them; and were very earnest to march to the city, and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, That "the providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out of their civil miseries, or repent them of such doings." But Vespasian replied, That "they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theatre, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage, and for their security; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they stay a while they shall have fewer enemies, because they will be consumed in this sedition." The commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed many there were of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the Zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting, at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these Zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of

their country and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also; they left the dead bodies to putrify under the sun; and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any, as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favour of a grave to another, would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy; for what was the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Now, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning the rewards of virtue, and punishments of vice, which when these Zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country: for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that "the city should then be taken and the sanctuary, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hand should pollute the temple of God."

## CHAP. VII.

### *Mischiefs of the Zealots at Masada.*

By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honours that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own in a very imperious manner, so that it was evident he was setting up a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of fear of him, and others out of their good-will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him; yet was there a great party of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy at him weighed a great deal, while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them; but for their leaders they watched one another,



nor met they at all, or at least very little, meet with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly, they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans, which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly, but at this time they overran the countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessities; for the fear they were then in prevented their farther ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided by sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Engaddi. In which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city: as for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterwards, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while they came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers; so that there was not any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all that came thither, yet were there some that had concealed themselves, and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in, and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a worse siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained

elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him, that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystus Adar.

And Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Cesarea with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them further off the wall, and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them.

Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village, and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were nearest to them, as they made those that were further off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen, and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the people on the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed, but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. But Placidus relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan: and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current, (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,) he put his soldiers in array over against them, so the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand,



fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides, two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Vespasian, upon hearing of some Commotions in Gaul, hastens to finish the Jewish War.*

IN the mean time an account came, that there were commotions in Gaul, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report, thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger, and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter; while therefore the winter was his hinderance, from going into the field, he put garrisons into the villages and smaller cities for their security; he put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities; he besides this built many of the cities that had been laid waste, but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia, and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him from other places as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethleptephon. He then destroyed that place and the neighbouring places by fire, and fortified at proper places the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris and Caphartobas, he slew about ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who over-ran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he with the rest of his forces returned to Emmaus, whence he came down, through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city by others called Neapolis (or Sichem,) but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius, Sivan: and on the day following he came to Jericho, on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being subdued already.

Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain, but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltitis southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness; there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it, on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julius, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains, there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between this ridge of mountains, is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village of Ginnabris, as far as the lake Asphaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan.

#### CHAP. IX.

*Vespasian makes preparation for the Siege of Jerusalem.*

AND now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away: but he took their families captives; and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city; for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the Zealots; and to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when



he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war; however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go to Rome, without any terror on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

And now there arose another war in Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning indeed as John of Gischala, who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage; on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy which he once had, by Ananus the high priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the women he brought with him, into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manner so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding-place; but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus, he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he over-ran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and, since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then over-ran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and

receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partisans had their dwelling in them, and he made no secret of it, that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

Whereupon the Zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces, as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumea, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada.

Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him, that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him, that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises, and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him, without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also, for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude, and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumea was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatsoever grew in the country they either



trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

This success of Simon excited the Zealots afresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife; so he came to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed, and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people, that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the Zealots themselves also; that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little milder, and left off his bloodshedding.

And now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the Zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea, and, driving the nation all before him, from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again; and when he lighted upon any labourers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the Zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the others; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage of John corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them suitable requital from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith:

while they decked their hair and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ornaments; and that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes, and imitated, not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort; and thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they lighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant within the wall, was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, if any had a mind so to do.

Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him, and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the Zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the Zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time the multitude of the Zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that had fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers than they, as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free, as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid.

And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, Nisan; whereupon John, with his multitude of Zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had, were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. And



now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of the work; yet did he leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

## CHAP. X.

### *The Soldiers proclaim Vespasian Emperor.*

WHEN Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord, who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself farther in other wars, when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom: because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season: so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was, at this time.

But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs, and getting together in a great body, and encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the government, which was in danger. And when he had shewn his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away his dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out, that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence, in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying corn to Rome, which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius; supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force, for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food; and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other two legions that were with him.

Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius, Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of

Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both of whom willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from his conduct in their neighbourhood.

So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes everywhere, and the public affairs were for the greatest part already in his hands; upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without divine Providence, but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for, as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many everywhere, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him, when he ventured to foretell his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and in the first place he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that, he related those predictions of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demonstrated to be divine. "It is a shameful thing," said he, "that this man who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal of a prisoner should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Vespasian hastens to Rome, but Titus returns to Jerusalem.*

AND now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to



him ahead, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste in order to fight Vitellius. Upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night-time seized upon the capitol, and, as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian, his brother's son, whose encouragement was of a very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabinus, and thirsting out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capitol, and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five days, and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus Casleu; on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off

fighting; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself: so the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus, as far as the city Thmuis; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelusium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the Casian Jupiter, and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cesarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.



## BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS.—FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM, TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Seditions at Jerusalem.*

WHEN therefore Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions, and that one faction fought against the other, which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of Divine justice. Now as to the attack the Zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provision from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sallied out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of corn, and of all other provi-

sions. The same thing was done by Simon, when upon the other's retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had, on purpose, done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. Nay, John abused the sacred materials, and employed them in the construction of his engines of war; for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king Agrippa had, at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose, being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness: but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut and prepared for the building him towers, he finding them long enough to oppose them from those his adversaries that fought from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court over against the west end of the cloister, where alone, he could erect them; whereas, the other side of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough the cloisters.

Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him, before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cesarea.



## CHAP. II.

*Titus marches to Jerusalem.*

Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers: and when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, called The Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabaoth-saul, which signifies, The Hill of Saul, being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and submit; for he had been informed what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers, were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinus, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the Women's Towers, through that gate which was over against the monuments of Queen Helena, and intercepted his horse; and, standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know that the king was in any danger, but supposed him still among them. So he perceived, that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him, to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, and forced his way through them to his own men.

But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar, he removed to a place called Scopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus the prospect, and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified, for two legions that were to be together but ordered another camp to be fortified at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night

they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass in the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

Now, when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war now suddenly came upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and, as the seditious now saw, with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to encourage one another, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now, as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but, when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and them sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. In the mean time, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the



hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted, that, if he had stayed, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another, that they did worse than run away, by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the strait declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch, that if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish anything out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

### CHAP. III.

#### *The Sedition again revived within Jerusalem.*

As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, Nisan, when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this inmost court of the temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction; as the Zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden

and with iron weapons without mercy. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient, opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit-trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the plain level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.

Now at this very time, the Jews contrived the following stratagems against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open the gates to them. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected, at the first retired: but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall, threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of Queen Helen.



And now, when the space between the Romans and the wall had been levelled, which was done in four days; and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western quarter of it, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited, by so great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bear the burdens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall at that part of it where was the corner, and over against that tower which was called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west; but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant, in like manner, but two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Titus presses on the Siege.*

Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: the Zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people which would not join with them in their wicked practices, were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni beyond Euphrates: he also held that fountain, and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called the Valley of Cedron; and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not

cease even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls.

Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side, for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines; he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monuments of John the high priest; for there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, add, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not bear even such as approached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise the banks against the city; and when he had parted his army in three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them.

However, John staid behind out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks; they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. The engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion; those that threw darts and stones were more forcible than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the stones that were cast



were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and farther.\* The blows they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white colour, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came, by its brightness; accordingly, the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud, in their own language, *THE SON COMETH*: so those that were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground: by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down and did them no harm.

And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks, for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden, there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought, however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred, and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them: he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower,

while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while, but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,) they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running after them: and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans; by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it; and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done; for they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, while he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now, it happened at this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance, before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately; leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct also.

#### CHAP. V.

##### *The Romans get possession of the first Wall.*

Now on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that



by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that slung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy; nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now, they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guard, and were retired to lodge on the night-times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall; so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artimisius, Jyar, when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the Camp of the Assyrians, having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander; and Simon's

army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans: and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and fighting upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning, nay, the night itself was passed with sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps: both sides also lay in their armour during the night-time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle.

And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breastplates: but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cæsar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bade Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also went to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked



swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men, and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in the nose, whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. So Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good.

## CHAP. VI.

### *How the Romans took the second Wall.*

Now Cæsar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first: and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore if Titus had demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for those that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, where they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps. Upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were

within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear of those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans, by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were forced to make the best resistance they could, for they were not able in great numbers to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours: for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Cæsar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Titus sends Josephus to discourse about Peace.*

A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute subsistence-money to the soldiers was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle-array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay.

Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no sign of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument, when the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of Zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because



they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines, for their continual use of them one day after another did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones, by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them in many words to surrender themselves to the Romans.

While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at him: but when he could not himself persuade them by such open good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud, "O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons and by your hands against the Romans! When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? O hard-hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city you are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire! who could be willing that these things should be no more! and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved! O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes, your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by no means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice: if that be all, kill them; nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preser-

vation: for I am ready to die, in case you but will return to a sound mind after my death."

## CHAP. VIII.

### *A great many of the People endeavour to desert to the Romans.*

As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves, for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased.

But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was put to death under this pretence, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both these miseries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running unto, and searched men's private houses; and then, if they found any, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not, was taken from the bodies of the miserable wretches; which if they were in good ease, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any farther; nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who sold what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort, but of barley if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear distinct to them; a table was no where laid for a distant meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half baked, and ate it very hastily.

It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into your eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting, for want of it. But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case



despised ; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their very mouths, and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants ; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives : and while they eat after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing ; but the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others ; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food ; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost out of their very throats, and this by force ; the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten, and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing ; nor was there any commiseration shown either to the aged or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor.

These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people, suffered from these tyrant guards ; but for the men that were in dignity, and withall were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves ; some of whom were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed ; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans ; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained ; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them : so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices ; for he that did not communicate what he had got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only ; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him, grieved at the loss, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

#### CHAP. IX.

##### *How the Jews were crucified before the Walls of the City.*

So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were contented with what they got by rapine ; but the greater part of them were poor people, whom in famine made bold, so nothing remained

but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy, and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished ; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy : so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then crucified before the wall of the city.

Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, Jyar, so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. And now when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in, as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire ; and as the cross-beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank ; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame broke out, on which sudden appearance of the flame, a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them ; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come.

Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks ; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus of Garsis, a city of Gallilee, and Maggassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying a lame man, snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay : nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments ; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in.

And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising



other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own wall to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch for some time, but at length were compelled to retire.

## CHAP. X.

### *Famine consumes the People by whole Families together.*

AND now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers, thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews, but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But Titus was of opinion that if they aimed at quickness joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city, which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened them.

These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same. Now, the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. The whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some months, was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with his wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night-time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the

city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families, the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had, and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies, and in order to prove what metal they were made of, thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand, and their sword to despatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

However, Titus, when going his round along these valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan, and, spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of those miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. But no gentle affection could touch the souls of the seditious, nor could any pains affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.



## CHAP. XI.

*The great Slaughters and Sacrilege that were in Jerusalem.*

ACCORDINGLY Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. He condemned his three sons to die with him; for, as to the fourth, he prevented him, by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons; and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all: so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminency, as also Aristeus, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain.

In the mean time, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him, upon which he fell down as giddy. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise in the way of rejoicing. However, this false report did not afford merriment to the robbers long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried aloud, "that it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound they had given him." He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out, upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these, than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed

up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy; after which they all on the sudden over-filled these bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews' bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out, and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city; insomuch, that as much was now sold in the Roman camp for twelve Attic drams, as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me, that any misery befel the Jews, that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he threatened, that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. There now ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also, that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent, and that when, a while afterwards, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress, as to search the common sewers and old dung-hills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food.



## BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.—FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED, TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

## CHAP. I.

*The miseries of the Jews still grow worse.*

AND now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours. These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks, than they formerly had done.

And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do to induce them to scale the walls of the city; but the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. There was one, however, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had showed; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier: for his colour was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. Accordingly, he was the first that rose up, when he thus spake: "I readily surrender myself to thee, O Cæsar; I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution. And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand,

and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery; but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him, and though he was overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious of virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him on every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length he was quite covered over with darts, before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. The other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp.

Two days afterwards twelve of these men that were on the forefront, got together and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter; these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place,



as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. As soon as Cæsar heard, the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive them away. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. At length the Jew's violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Tower of Antonia demolished.*

AND now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him, (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus Tamuz, the sacrifice called the daily sacrifice had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it,) and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that, "if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God: that he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon." Upon this, Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language. But John, and those that were with him they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort, and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction.

Now, after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious

were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing first, that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should very easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and running together from the neighbouring camps, on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence, and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one whose name was Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ancle, as he was running away: the man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armour: so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that his prey, as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Cæsar; whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished with death for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

In the mean time, the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading farther; for they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary: two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month Panemus or Tamuz, the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire, nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by



continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

### CHAP. III.

#### *The Jews burn many of the Romans.*

BUT now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month, Panemus or Tamuz, contrived such a stratagem as this. They filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the more prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flames burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies, in the temple, as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods, were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Cæsar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with them these words and this intention of Cæsar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their unacquaintedness with the places,

and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

Now, of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying; nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such thing as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes, and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic, drachmæ. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians. It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age, and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, her name was Mary, her father was Eleazar, of the village of Bethesob, which signifies, the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perek, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villians, she had provoked them to anger



against her ; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life ; and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself, and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself ; nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, " O thou miserable infant ! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition ? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives ; we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on ; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her, that they would cut her throat immediately if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, that " she had saved a very fine portion of it for them ;" and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight ; when she said to them, " This is my own son, and what hath been done was my own doing. Come, eat of this food ; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother ; but if you be so scrupulous, and do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be preserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately ; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard-of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Titus gives orders to set fire to the Gates of the Temple.*

AND now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous, Ab. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should

be brought, and set over the western edifice of the inner temple ; for before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it ; but the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones was superior to that engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and after a world of pains removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt ; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing ; but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them ; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong, others of them they met, and slew ; they also beat many of those that went down the ladder again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them ; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men ; a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, us deeming it a terrible thing, and that would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroy those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired ; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battle, did the like now, as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and made them be killed, he gave orders to set the gates on fire.

But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Titus proposed to these, that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought, it would be the best way to act according to the rules, of war, and demolish it. But Titus said, that " we ought not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves ; and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued." So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

So Titus resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire ; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages, it was the tenth day of the month Lous, Ab, upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon ; although these flames took their rise from



the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them : for the seditious after having laid still for a little while, attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner court of the temple ; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried only by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it ; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time ; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered : and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary, but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance towards quenching the fire : they were every where slain, and every where beaten ; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped upon one another, as at the steps going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above on the altar fell down.

And now, since Cæsar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. But as the flame had not yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus, supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave orders to Libalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them ; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight

them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark ; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Cæsar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it.

## CHAP. V.

### *The Distress the Jews were in upon the Conflagration of the Holy House.*

WHILE the house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain : nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity ; but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner ; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain ; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise ; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under ; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again ; Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about the city, and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder ; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them : for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it, but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out of the inner court of the temple by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and into the city, while the remainder of the populace



into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes the were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But then, as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall, that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house; their names were Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Daleus.

And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side, and the other on the south; both which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there repositied; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers to contain such furniture. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer court of the temple, whither the women, and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. But before Cæsar had determined anything about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire; by which means it came to pass, that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life.

## CHAP. VI.

### *The Romans carry their Ensigns to the Temple.*

AND now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple, and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus Imperator, with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hand as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with

him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer; "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water: both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were pined with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives: but he replied, that "the time of pardon was over as to them, and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed, and that it was agreeable to their office, that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer court of the temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Cæsar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side, those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with great hopes of pardon, and the Romans about Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and after telling them of the folly of their conduct said, "If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives: and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

To that offer of Titus they made this reply, that "they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so, but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him." At this Titus had great indignation, that when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, that "they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they might save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war." So he gave



orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day, but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house, and to the place called Ophlas, at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra: the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Cæsar to give them his right hand for their security; upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

## CHAP. VII.

### *How Cæsar became Master of the upper City.*

AND now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death, but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged, which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city; and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done; but were insolent, as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared

cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing further left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spoke largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape; though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak by reason of their want of food to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than famine, insomuch that, though the Jews despaired of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it; but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine, or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished, either by that sedition or by that famine.

So now the last hope which supported the tyrants, and that crew of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground; whither, if they would once fly, they did not expect to be searched out, but endeavoured, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these underground subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire, into the ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste even of the dead bodies themselves.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *How Cæsar possessed himself of the whole City*

Now when Cæsar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken without



raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous Ab. Now, the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace: but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, erected their banks at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, where they were at war with one another.

It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering themselves up to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus, thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctance and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most violent was Jacob, the son of Sosas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting, for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price; and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any them deserved to be punished. And, indeed, the number of those that were sold was immense; but the populace, about forty thousand, were saved, whom Cæsar let go whither every one of them pleased.

And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpheus Elul, in eighteen days' time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the

engines for the battery: yet did the Romans overcome them by their number, and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now, as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering-rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach, they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble, inasmuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them, had gone away, (as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,) as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor indeed by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated of before.

So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their engines upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody



to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpheus Elul, upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasion of this its overthrow.

#### CHAP. IX.

##### *What Instructions Cæsar gave when he was come within the City.*

AND now, when the soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Cæsar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Cæsar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious, and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were about seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed by the sword, and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these

men, there perished for want of food, eleven thousand some of whom did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take in any when it was given to them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those who perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation with the citizens of Jerusalem, but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which at the very first occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterwards such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest from the number of them which was taken under Cestius, who, being desirous of informing Nero of the flower of the city, who otherwise was disposed to condemn that nation, entreated the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten belong to every sacrifice, (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves,) and many of us are twenty in a company, found the number of sacrifices was two hundred fifty-six thousand and five hundred; which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two million seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy, for as to those who have the leprosy, or the gonorrhœe, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished, exceeded all the destruction that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by another, but chiefly by the famine; but then, the ill savour of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put



in prison by the tyrants were now brought out: for they and not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for security, which he had often proudly rejected before: but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter: so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

#### CHAP. X.

*That whereas the City of Jerusalem had been five times taken formerly, this was the second time of its Desolation. A brief Account of its History.*

AND thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpheus, Elul. It had been taken five times before,

though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after him Sosias and Herod, took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called Melchisedek, The Righteous King, for such he really was; on which account he was there the first priest of God, and first built a temple, there, and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred seventy-seven years; yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

### BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.

#### CHAP. I.

*The entire City of Jerusalem demolished.*

Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done,) Cæsar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued, but for all

the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

But Cæsar resolved to leave there as a guard, the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spoke so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: "That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good will which



they had showed to him : he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone ; as also, for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said further, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for they had nothing to wish for when they entered into it ; and that this happened more favourable for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire, and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work, as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave ; yet he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits ; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another, should miss of a just retribution for the same : for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than punish such as had offended."

Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was, to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their head crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank ; and, besides this, he plentifully distributed among them out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings to the gods, and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had stayed three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated ; but permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them

away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called Melitine, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia : he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him, till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesarea which lay by the sea side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there ; for the winter season hindered them from sailing into Italy.

## CHAP. II.

### *How Titus exhibited all sorts of Shows at Cesarea Philippi.*

Now, at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes ; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece ; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cesarea which lay by the sea side, and came to that which is named Cesarea Philippi, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Gioras, which was made after the following manner : This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, but when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went onward along it without disturbance ; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this, in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground, in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope ; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also ; insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to astonish and elude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the



temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and they stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was? Now Simon would not tell them, but bade them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Cæsar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies: and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Cæsar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cesarea which was on the sea side: who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Concerning the Danger the Jews were in at Antioch.*

WHILE Titus was at Cesarea, he solemnized the birthday of his brother Domitian after a splendid manner; and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him: for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded twotousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this, Cæsar came to Berytus, which is a city of Phenicia, a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birth-day, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at, in his devices thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians, and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long

before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

For, as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body. But, about this time, when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them; who were accordingly all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing, that by punishing them suddenly, they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befel them, the



description of which, when we were going about, we premised in the account foregoing: for, upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces, (and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city,) Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what had been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused, and this, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: nor was it without difficulty that one Cæus Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Cæsar; for, as to Cecenius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened, that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectation of what would be the upshot of those uncertain accusations against them.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Concerning Macherus, and how Lucilius Bassus took the Citadel, and other places.*

Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it: after which he got together all the soldiery that was there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties,) with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength.

Now when Alexander the king of the Jews observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinus, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so

near to Arabia: for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and had a prospect towards that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain: nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place that he might exceed its natural strength and security, which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken, by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants' security, under the longest siege possible.

Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should at last surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial in the first place whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing, with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts there were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon one named Eleazar, and carried him to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befel the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city with one voice sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to the usual custom. Accordingly they sent



out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms, while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night-time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within, they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

About the same time it was that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Tiberias Maximus, who was the procurator of Judea, and gave orders that all Judea should be exposed to sale: for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmæ every year into the capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

## CHAP. V.

### *Concerning Masada, and those Sicarii who kept it.*

WHEN Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there: who when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but only one strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas, who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said, that they differed not at all from

foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which the Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention.

Now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it; he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape: he also set his men to guard the several parts of it: he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place, as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions; for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance to the army, and this with a great deal of pains to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

When therefore the Roman commander Silva had built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege himself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest parts of Masada: it was called the White Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank: this was fifty cubits both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready, were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ran which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should



not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other: it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they farther laid other beams over across them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour the taking of this wall by setting fire to it: so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it; accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire, and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans: for by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so: but when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech which he made to them.

Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it; and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes, declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were

dejected at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should by their lamentations and tears enfeeble those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly, and fully to them, and urged them to the act by a consideration of the immortality of the soul.

## CHAP. VI.

*How the People that were prevailed on by the Words of Eleazar, two Women and five Children only excepted, and all submitted to be killed by one another.*

Now as Eleazar was proceeding on this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavouring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children, and themselves also. Nor, indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort, but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any number of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them dispatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distresses forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they not being able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had in a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them, to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office: and when these ten had, without fear,



slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite dispatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would leave not so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus Nisan.

Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within: the women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all, both what was said and what was done, and the manner of it: yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immoveable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

#### CHAP. VII.

*That many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria also, and what Dangers they were in there; on which account, that Temple, which had formerly been built by Onias the High Priest, was destroyed.*

WHEN Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went

to Cesarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass, that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also, that "these men, now they were run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins." Accordingly they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them were caught immediately; but as to all those that fled into Egypt, and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Cæsar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Cæsar for their lord: so far does the strength of the courage of the soul prevail over the weakness of the body.

Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria, who presently sent Cæsar word of this commotion, who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in



Egypt; which was built, and had its denomination from the occasion following: Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high priests, fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able he desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater good-will, that by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

And now Lupus the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterwards, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there, so much as to come near the whole sacred place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of this time, from the building of this temple, till it was shut up again, was three hundred and forty-three years.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Jonathan, one of the Sicarii, that stirred up a Sedition in Cyrene, and was a false Accuser of the innocent.*

AND now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither, and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him; he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them: but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after

him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men: of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at this time, but upon a great and very diligent search, which was made over all the country for him, he was taken also. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said, that they had put him upon what he did.

However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no further request made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means, yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and made an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this, on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severe condemnation at this time: yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out, "That he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him." Whereupon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

And here we shall put an end to this our history, wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers; but as for the agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.



## APPENDIX.

## DISSERTATION I.

*The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just, vindicated.*

SINCE we meet with certain important testimonies in Josephus the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth; concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself hath of late being greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the original evidence and citations I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make proper observations upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger, in the Prolegomena to his book *De Emendatione Temporum*, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers; nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews; but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

*The ancient Citations of the Testimonies of Josephus, from his own Time, till the End of the Fifteenth Century.*

About A. D. 110. *Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 44.*—Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, as if he himself had set Rome on fire, ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar "Christians:" these he punished exquisitely.

*The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberias, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.*

About A. D. 147. *Just Mart. Dialog. cum Trypho*, p. 230.—You Jews, knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen.

About A. D. 230. *Origen Comment. in Matth.* p. 234.—This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered so much miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befel them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ: and wonderful it is that while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says further, that the people thought that they suffered these things for the sake of James.

About A. D. 250. *Contra Cels. lib. i. p. 35, 36.*—I would say to Celsus, who personates a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins. For Josephus testifies in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwilling, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called Christ, because they had slain him who was the most



righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen as *the Lord's brother*; Gal. i. 19., which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If therefore he says the desolation of Jerusalem befel the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus, &c.

*About A. D. 324. Euseb. Demonstr. Evn. lib. iii. p. 124.*—Certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if, over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for further witness; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of our Saviour in these words: "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him; for he appeared unto them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these and ten thousand wonderful things concerning him; whence the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." If, therefore, we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind, for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews, who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. Acts xxi. 20.

*About A. D. 330. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 11.*—Now the divine scripture of the Gospels make mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, (Aretas made war with him,) because his daughter had been used dishonourably. In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover, the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself

condemned to be banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes this of John *verbatim*: some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing with water, would appear acceptable to him, when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away, or the remission of some sins only, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when many others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might tend to some sedition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to, so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt of a mutation from him, by cutting him off, than after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent of such negligence. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after this manner: "Now there was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him, both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." And since this writer, sprung from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any further evasion? &c.

Now James was so wonderful a person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews, thought this to have been the occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befel them for no other reason, than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing, by the words following: "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person."

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, in these words: "Cæsar sent Albinus, into Judea to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high



priesthood, was in temper bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since, therefore, this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity to exercise his authority, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembles the Sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and some others of his companions, and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also went to the king Agrippa, desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified," &c.

*About A. D. 306. Ambrose, or Hegesippus de Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. ii. cap. 12.*—We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms, who is an author not to be rejected, when he writes against himself, that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of revenge for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.*

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears by Josephus, the writer of their history, who says thus: That there was at that time a wise man, if, says he, it be lawful to have him called a man: a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples after the third day from his death alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these, and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congregation of Christians, and hath penetrated among all sorts of men; nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world, which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandered from the right way, that even he was not a believer, as to what he himself said; but thus he spoke, in order to deliver historical truth, because he thought it not lawful for him to deceive, while yet he was no believer, because of the hardness of his heart and his perfidious intention. However, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was not a believer; but this adds more weight to his testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and unwilling this should be true, he has not denied it to be so.

*About A. D. 400. Hieronym. de Vir. Illust. in Josepho.*—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles, and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle. Now, he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner: "At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a

teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers both of the Jews and of the Gentiles. He was believed to be Christ. And when, by the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, yet notwithstanding, those who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of those and other wonderful things concerning him; and the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."

*About A. D. 410. Isidorus Pelusiota, the Scholar of Chrysostom. lib. iv. epist. 225.*—There was one Josephus, a Jew, of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous of the law; one also that paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and had shewed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? "Now there was about that time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure."

*About A. D. 440. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1.*—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, a priest, a man of very great note, both among the Jews and Romans, may well be a witness of credit, as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the words of truth. He names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to them, being many of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me by this his relation, almost to proclaim that Christ is God. However, he appears to have been so affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of middle way, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

*About A. D. 510. Cassiodorus, Hist. Tripartit. e Sozomeno.*—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility, among the Jews, and of great lignity among the Romans, bears witness to the truth of Christ's history; for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true



doctrines; he names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

A. D. 640. *Chron. Alex.* p. 514.—Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife: she was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petreans. When therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive, on whose account he slew John also, Aretas made war against Herod, because his daughter had been dishonourably treated. In which war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he also was banished to Lyons, &c.

P. 526, 527. Now that our Saviour taught his preaching three years, is demonstrated both by other necessary reasonings, as also out of the holy Gospels, and out of Josephus' writings, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

P. 584, 587. Josephus relates in the fifth book of the Jewish war that Jerusalem was taken in the third year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they dared to put Jesus to death: in which time he says, that James the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down from the temple, and slain of them, by stoning.

About A. D. 740. *Anastasias Abbas contr. Jud.*—Now Josephus, an author and writer of your own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, shewed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

About A. D. 790. *Georgius Syncellus Chron.* p. 339.—These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was Christ, on the account that they had slain him who was a most righteous person. Now as Ananus, a person of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembles the Sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those that were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king Agrippa, desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for what he had done already could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 850. *Johan. Malela Chron. lib. x.*—

From that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written: who also said this, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and righteous man, that is, if it be fit to call such a one a man, and not a God, the land of Judea was never free from trouble. These things the same Josephus the Jew has related in his writings.

About A. D. 860. *Photius Cod. lib. xlviii.*—I have read the treatise of Josephus about the universe, whose title I have elsewhere read to be, *Of the Substance of the Universe*. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God, in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes of his ineffable generation of the Father after such a manner, as cannot be blamed; which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus were the author of the work, though the phraseology does not at all differ from this man's other works. However, I have found in some papers, that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Caius a presbyter.

*Cod. ccxxxviii.* Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and of Perea, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Philip, whose name was Herodias, who was the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner of Christ, being afraid, as Josephus says, lest he should raise a sedition among his people; for they all followed the direction of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

*Cod. xxxiii.* I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was most necessary to be related; but, as infected with Jewish prejudices, being also himself a Jew by birth, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or of the acts done, or of the miracles wrought, by Christ.

*The time uncertain. Macarius in Actis Sanctorum, tom. v. p. 149 ap. Fabric. Joseph. p. 61.*—Josephus, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness that Christ, the true God, was incarnate, and crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are deposited in the public library. Thus he says, "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: this was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first, did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." Since therefore the writer of the Hebrews have engraven this testimon



concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for the unbelievers?

*About A. D. 980. Suidas in voce Josous.*—We have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem, of whom Eusebius Pamphili makes frequent mention in his Ecclesiastical History, saying openly in his memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. Thus we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

*About A. D. 1060. Cedrenus Compend. Hist. p. 196.*—Josephus does indeed write concerning John the Baptist as follows: “some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod’s army came from God, and that he was punished very justly for what punishment he inflicted on John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism.” But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, that about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure, for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles; whom when Pilate had crucified, those who at first had loved him, did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoke these and other wonderful things concerning him.

*About A. D. 1080. Theophilact. in Joan. lib. xiii.*—The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them; as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus.

*About A. D. 1120. Zonaras Annal. tom. i. p. 267.*—Josephus in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ: “Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that had loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.”

*About A. D. 1120. Glycas Annal. p. 234.*—Then did Philo, that wise man, and Josephus flourish. This last was styled, *The lover of truth*, because he commended John, who baptized our Lord: and because he bore witness to Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles; and that when he was crucified he appeared the third day.

*About A. D. 1240. Godfridus Viterbiensis Chron. p. 366. e Vers. Rufini.*—Josephus relates, that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, the same Josephus writes thus concerning Christ: “There was at this time

Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly hear truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.”

*About A. D. 1300. Nicephorus Callistus Hist. Eccles. lib. i. p. 90, 91.*—Now this concerning Herod the tetrarch, is attested to, not only by the book of the holy Gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth; who also makes mention of Herodias his brother’s wife, whom Herod had taken away from him, while he was alive, and married her, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her; on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, because his daughter had been dishonourably used; in which war he relates, that all Herod’s army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds that John was a most righteous man. Moreover he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the Gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienne, which was their place of exile, and a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

*About A. D. 1450. Hardmanus Schedelius Chron. p. 110.*—Josephus, the Jew, who was called Flavius, a priest, and the son of Mattathias, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things: he was certainly a good man, and of an excellent character, who had the highest opinion of Christ.

*About A. D. 1480. Platini de Vitis Pontificum in Christo*—I shall avoid mentioning what Christ did until the 30th year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the Gospels and Epistles are full of those acts of his, which he did in the most excellent and most holy manner, but the books of such as were quite remote from his way of living, and acting, and ordaining, are also full of the same. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as the government of the emperor Tiberias, says, “There was in those days, Jesus, a certain wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear the truth. On this account he drew over to him many both of the Jews and Gentiles: He was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those who had loved him from the beginning forsake him: and besides,



he appeared to them the third day after his death, alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of Christians, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being."

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle of Macherus; not because he was afraid for himself, and his kingdom, as the same author says, but because he had incestuously married Herodias the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent person his brother Philip.

*About A. D. 1480. Thithumius Abbas de Scriptor. Eccles.* Josephus the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christians; and in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

#### *Observations from the foregoing Evidence and Citations.*

I. THE style of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially the style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody as to the other, concerning John the Baptist and James the Just, and is now become equally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies therefore being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is next to impossible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and James the Just, are so honourable, and give them so great characters, it is also impossible that this testimony concerning Christ should be other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could the very same author, who gave such a full and advantageous character of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, all whose disciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of that Jesus of Nazareth himself? And this is a history of those very times in which he was born, and lived, and died, and that while the writer lived but a little after him, in the same country in which he was born, and lived, and died. This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author, who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just, and this under the very appellation of "James, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ," which James was one of the principal disciples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country, of this writer? Could he, I say, wholly omit any, nay, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was? This is also almost incre-

dible. Hear what Itigius, one of the wisest and most learned of all those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ as it stands in our copies for spurious, says upon this occasion: "If any one object to me, that Josephus had not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian, if he had been entirely silent concerning Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ; nay, I shall further grant, that when Josephus was speaking of Christ he did not abstain from his commendation; for we are not to determine from that inveterate hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ imprinted a sacred horror."

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, "This was Christ," or "the Christ," did not mean that this Jesus was the Christ of God, or the true Messiah of the Jews, but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of Christ; or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of Jesus Christ, and his followers by the name of Christians. This I esteem to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following:

The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his Antiquities, could no otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterwards the Christians, who knew that a great Messiah, a person that was to be Christ, the Anointed of God, and that was to perform the office of a King, a Priest, and a Prophet, to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing of this, but knew very well that an eminent person living in Judea, whose name was Jesus Christ, or Jesus the Christ, had founded a new and numerous sect, which took the latter of those names, and were every where from him called Chrestians, or Christians; in which sense alone could they understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense I believe he desired they should understand them: nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew term Messiah in any of his writings, nor the Greek term Christ in any such acceptation elsewhere.

Josephus himself as good as explains his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says, the Christians were named from this Christ, without a syllable as though he really meant he was the true Messiah, or Christ of God. He farther seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was condemned by Ananus, he calls him the Brother of Jesus, not, that was the true Messiah, or the true Christ, but only that was called Christ.

It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a Christian, or a believer in



Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the meaning of the word Christ to his Greek and Roman readers; he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the Christian religion: nor would such a declaration at that time have recommended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks, or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people, he is known to have been, in the writing of these Antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

Josephus' usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of others, and but rarely such as directly informs us of his own opinion, unless we prudently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus' way of writing in parallel cases.

This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost everywhere own this to be the true reading, yet do they everywhere suppose Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing Christian; nay, Jerome appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not mean to declare any more by these words than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words but to the sense, (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his accounts out of Josephus, now before us,) he renders this clause "*credebatur esse Christus*," i. e. "He was believed to be Christ." Nor is this parallel expression of Pilate to be otherwise understood, when he made that inscription on the cross. "This is Jesus, the king of the Jews," which is well explained by himself elsewhere, and corresponds to the import of the present clause, "What shall I do with Jesus, who is called Christ?" And we may full as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross, that he hereby declared himself a believer in Christ, for the real King of the Jews, as we can from these words of Josephus, that he thereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebionites then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observation of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, which were the two main articles of those Jewish Christians' faith though in opposition to all the thirteen apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic Church of Christ in the following centuries also. Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that Josephus was no other in his own mind and conscience, than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian; and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus

says of John the Baptist, and of James, as well as his absolute silence about all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and no other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James' own words, that "so many ten thousands of the Jews as believed in Christ," in the first century, "were all zealous of the ceremonial law," or were no other than Nazarene or Ebionite Christians; and, by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be in any sense a believer, or a Christian, as from all these testimonies there were very great ones, all those, and many other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us he was no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian: and this I take to be the plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since therefore Josephus appears to have been, in his own heart and conscience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and, by consequence, with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, styled by them, "The Gospel according to the Hebrews;" or "according to the twelve apostles," or even "according to Matthew," we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments, in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ or to Christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which first parts of the gospel history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the enrolment or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod, it is no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus when we find that Josephus calls James the brother of Christ, by the name of James the Just, and describes him as a most just and righteous man, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but nowhere else that I remember, in the earliest antiquity: nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that righteousness which was by the Jewish law, wherein St. Paul, before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been blameless. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah as foretelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries; "Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways." Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the con-



demnation of this James, and some of his friends or fellow Christians, by the high priest and Sanhedrim, about A. D. 62, and declares that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the terrible miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James, A. D. 63, we may easily see these opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high priest and Sanhedrim, who always persecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and the body of these unbelieving Jews, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the head of the Nazarene or Ebionite Christians in Judea, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion: nor could Josephus himself be of the same opinion, as he declares he was, without the strongest inclinations to the Christian religion, or without being secretly a Christian Jew, i. e. a Nazarene or Ebionite; which thing is, by the way, a very great additional argument that such he was and no other. Thus, lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites. Hegesippus affirms the very same of James the Just also.

VI. In the first citation of the famous testimony concerning our Saviour from Tacitus, almost all that was true of the Jews is directly taken by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time that he wrote his *Antiquities*, appeals to the same *Antiquities* by that very name; and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, "That his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophets did foretell was to happen." Since there neither now is, nor probably in the days of Justin was, any other Jewish testimony extant which is so agreeable to what Justin here affirms of those Jews, as is this of Josephus the Jew before us: nor indeed does he seem to me to have had any thing else particular in his view here, but this very testimony, where Josephus says, "That Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him."

VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed entire silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, "This is the Christ," and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that, in his opinion, Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for the Christ. Now as to this latter clause, I have already shown, that Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks

and Romans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and Christians naturally understood by them: I have also observed, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God; notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine, so that unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen's, that he had not these words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all, much more likely that his copy a little differed from the other copies in this clause; or, indeed, omitted it entirely, than that he, on its account, must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there, that they had slain "that Christ which is foretold in the Prophecies." Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony of Josephus concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself, that "the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him?"

How came Origen to be so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews' murdering James the Just, and not to their murdering Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that "Josephus was not remote from the truth," perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

How came the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, to say, that "it may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?" This looks so very like the fifth and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that "Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man," that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them: and this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus with one consent as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible, to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who, in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the catholic Christians, who thought him a God, would say anything like his being a God.

How came Origen to affirm twice, so expressly, that



Josephus did not himself own, in the Jewish and Christian sense, that Jesus was Christ, notwithstanding his quotation of such eminent testimonies out of him for John the Baptist, his forerunner, and for James the Just, his brother, and one of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was generally called Christ indeed, but not any otherwise than as the common name whence the sect of Christians was derived, and where he all along speaks of those Christians as a sect then in being, whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of the truth, yet as such a sect as he had not joined himself to. Which exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time: nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James as the brother, not of Jesus who was Christ, but of Jesus who was called Christ, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

IX. There are two remarkable passages in Suidas and Theophylact, already set down, as citing Josephus; the former, that Jesus officiated with the priests of the temple; and the latter, that the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews, were owing to their putting Jesus to death, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancient authors, nor indeed do they seem altogether consistent with the other more authentic testimonies. However, since Suidas cites his passage from a treatise of Josephus, called *Memoirs of the Jews' captivity*, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus' character as a Nazarene, or Ebionite, I dare not positively conclude that they are spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the farther consideration of the learned.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because, in his extracts out of Josephus' *Antiquities*, it is not expressly mentioned. This is a strange thing indeed! that a section which had been cited out of Josephus' copies all along before the days of Photius, as well as it has all along been cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy, because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. Those who lay a stress on this silence of Photius, seem little to have attended to the nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, and his brethren and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa, junior, and Cumanus, the governor of Judea, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour, without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems, therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise ascribed by some

to Josephus, of the Universe, because it speaks very high things of the eternal generation and divinity of Christ, this looks very like his knowledge and belief of somewhat really in the same Josephus, which spake in a lower manner of him, which could be hardly any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no notice of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done everywhere else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us, so that it is probable Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the *Antiquities* of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is no strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus: so that his silence may almost as well be alleged against a hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus' works as against these before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any of Josephus' treatises but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology: nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Josephus' writings beside, and far from being certain that he saw even those. He had particular occasion in his dispute against the Jews to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion; so that it seems to me, that Tertullian never read either the Greek *Antiquities* of Josephus or his Greek books of the Jewish wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus' writings: nor is it worth my while, in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

## DISSERTATION II.

*Concerning God's Command to Abraham to offer up Isaac his Son for a Sacrifice.*

SINCE this command to Abraham has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts, from very modern notions, and this



3. That till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt both ancient and modern princes, generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many men's lives away upon much less authority; nor indeed do the most sceptical of the moderns care to deny this authority directly: they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amount to much the same: they say that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be that it does. But as to this matter, although divine revelations have now so long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelations with certainty to men, and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God, ought at present generally, if not constantly, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet there was no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, the friend of God, who are ever found to have had an entire certainty of those revelations: and what evidently shows they were not deceived, is this, that the events and consequences of things afterwards always corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the first miraculous voice from heaven, calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of those eminent promises made by the second voice, on account of his obedience to that command, are demonstrations that Abraham's commission for what he did was truly divine, and are an entire justification of his conduct in this matter. The words of the first voice from heaven will come hereafter to be set down in a fitter place; but the glorious promises made to Abraham's obedience by the second voice, must here be produced from verse 15—18. "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord; for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice." Every one of which promises have been eminently fulfilled; and what is chiefly remarkable, the last and principal of them, that "in Abraham's SEED all the nations of the earth shall be blessed," was never promised till this time. It had been twice promised him, chap. xii. ver. 3. and xviii. 18. that "in himself should the families of the earth be blessed," but that this blessing was to belong to future times, and to be bestowed by the means of one of his late posterity, that great Seed and Son of Abraham only, was never revealed before; but on such an amazing instance of his

faith and obedience, as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son Isaac, was now first promised, and has been long ago performed, in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, "the Son of David, the Son of Abraham," which highly deserves our observation in this place: nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear conviction that this command came from God, could induce so good a man, and so tender a father as Abraham was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to lose thereby all the comfort he received from him at present, and all the expectation he had of a numerous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

4. That long before the days of Abraham, the demons, or heathen gods, had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the offerer's own children, and this both before and after the deluge. This practice had been indeed so long left off in Egypt, and the custom of sacrificing animals there was confined to so few kinds in the days of Herodotus, that they would not believe they had ever offered human sacrifices at all: for he says, "that the fable, as if Hercules was sacrificed to Jupiter in Egypt was feigned by the Greeks, who were entirely unacquainted with the nature of the Egyptians, and their laws, for how should they sacrifice men, with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast? (boars and bulls, and pure calves, and ganders, only excepted.)" However, it is evident from Sanchoniatho, Manetho, Pausanias, Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Plutarch, and Porphyry, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phenicia and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, and this till the very third, if not also the fifth century of Christianity, before it was quite abolished. Take the words of the original author in English, as most of them occur in the originals, in Sir John Marsham's *Chronicum*, p. 76—78, 200—304.

"Chronus offered up his only begotten son as a burnt offering, to his father Ouranus, when there was a famine and a pestilence."

"Chronus, whom the Phenicians named Israel (it should be Il), and who was after his death consecrated unto the star Saturn, when he was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named Anobret, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called Jeud, (the Phenicians to this day calling an only begotten son by that name,) he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice."

The Phenicians, when they were in great danger by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose. And Sanchoniatho's Phenician history is full of sacrifices. These hitherto I take to have been before the flood.

"In Arabia, the Dumatii sacrificed a child every year."

"They relate, that of old the Egyptian kings sacrificed such men as were of the same colour with Typho, at the sepulchre of Osiris."

"Manetho relates, that they burnt Typhonean men alive in the city Idithya, or Ilithya, and scattered their



without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereto these facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about those customs, opinions, circumstances, and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul, St. James, the author to the Hebrews, Philo, and Josephus, in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred history highly commended by the divine Angel of the Covenant, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last in the eighteenth century, become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true, i.e. in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order whereto we are to consider.

1. That till this very profane age, it has been, I think, universally allowed by all sober persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to what length he pleases; to cut them off when and by what instrument he pleases; to afflict them with what sickness he pleases, and to remove them from one state or place in this his great palace of the universe to another, as he pleases; and that all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all such his dispensations towards them. I do not mean to intimate, that God may, or ever does act in these cases after a mere arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of natural and revealed religion, that he hateth nothing that he hath made; that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and, at the upshot of things, will fully appear so to be: but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them immediately, but usually tries and exercises their faith and patience, their resignation and obedience, in their present state of probation, and reserves those reasons to the last day, "the day of the revelation of the righteous judgments of God."

2. That the entire histories of the past ages, from the days of Adam till now, do show, that almighty God has ever exercised his power over mankind, and that without giving them an immediate account of the reasons of such his conduct; and that withal the best and wisest men of all ages, Heathens as well as Jews and Christians, Marcus Antoninus as well as the patriarch Abraham and St. Paul, have ever humbly submitted themselves to this conduct of the divine providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not demand any of them of his justice, no, not so much as the continuance of that life whereto

those enjoyments do appertain. When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants as well as the guilty old sinners; when he was pleased to shorten the lives of men after the flood, and still downward till the days of David and Solomon; when he was pleased to destroy impure Sodom and Gomorrah, by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as "their iniquities were full," and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners; when God was pleased to send an angel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Assyrians, (the number attested to by Berosus the Chaldean, as well as by our own Bibles,) in the days of Hezekiah, most of whom seem to have had no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their king Sennacherib, his generals and captains; and when, at the plague of Athens, London, Marseilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion; I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt unjustly with such his creatures, in those to us seemingly severe dispensations: nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to a greater misery in the world to come: nor is it fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present state, to call our almighty, and all-wise, and all-good Creator and Benefactor to an account, upon any such occasions; since we cannot but acknowledge that it is "He that hath made us, and not we ourselves;" that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves, independent of him; but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty, which therefore he may justly take from us in what way soever, and whensoever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases, with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9, "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it;" and with patient Job, i. 21. ii. 10. "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not we receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord took away; blessed be the name of the Lord." If therefore this shortening or taking away the lives of men be an objection against any divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of divine providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of Abraham now before us. Nor is this case much different from what was, soon after the days of Abraham, thoroughly settled, after Job, and his friends' debates, by the inspiration of Elihu, and the determination of God himself, where the divine providence was at length thoroughly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified, at the final judgment.



ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season in the dog-days."

"The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of a holy practice, and acceptable to the gods. And this thing both private persons, and kings, and entire nations, practise at proper seasons."

"The human sacrifices that were enjoined by the Dodonean oracle, mentioned in Pausanius' Achaics, in the tragical story of Coresus and Callirrhoe, sufficiently intimate that Phenician and Egyptian priests had set up this Dodonean oracle before the time of Amosis, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."

— *Isque adytis hæc tristia dicta reportat:  
Sanguine placastis, ventos, et virgine casa,  
Cum primum Iliacas, Danaï, venistis ad oras;  
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animæque litandum  
Argolicæ.*

— He from the gods this dreadful answer brought,  
O Grecians, when the Trojan shores you sought,  
Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought;  
So must your safe return be bought again,  
And Grecian blood once more atone the main. DRYDEN.

These bloody sacrifices were for certain instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty, in the world, that either wicked demons, or wicked men, who neither made, nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the lives of men, and particularly of the offerer's own children, without the commission of any crime. This was, I think, an abomination derived from him who was a murderer from the beginning; a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That, accordingly, Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves, for this crime: and for this, and other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay, sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. Take the principal texts hereto relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.

"Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech. Defile not yourselves in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you," &c

"Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones."

"Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nation, serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hateth have they done unto their gods, for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods." See Deut. xii. 30, 31, chap. xviii. 18. 2 Kings xvii. 17.

"And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire,

according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

"Moreover, Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children (his son in Josephus) in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

"And the Sepharites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech and Anamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim," &c.

"And Josiah defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech."

"Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons; and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isa. lvii. 5.

"The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name to pollute it, and they have built the high places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart."

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burned incense unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind," &c.

"They built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin."

"Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?"

"Thou hatedst the old inhabitants of thy holy land, for doing most odious works of witchcraft, and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood, with their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help."

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one instance, that such a human sacrifice should be actually offered to himself, (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased,) under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the



procuring pardon of sin and the divine favour; this the ancient records of the heathen world attest. Take their notion in the words of Phyllo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniatho: "It was the custom of the ancients, in the greatest calamities and dangers, for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing, or avenging, demons: and those so devoted were killed after a mystical manner." This the history of the king of Moab, when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who "then took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the city wall." This also the Jewish prophet Micah implies, when he inquires, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, and ten thousands of fat kids of the goats? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" No, certainly, "For he hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God?"

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their demons or idols, yet did he withal take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a ram, as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac, immediately: "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son." Thus though Jephthah has, by many, been thought to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him, upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, of which opinion I was once myself; yet upon more mature consideration, I have, for some time, thought this to be a mistake, and that his vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterwards. Philo never mentions any such law, no more than Josephus: and when Josephus had thought that Jephthah had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own words, as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice."

7. That Isaac, being at this time, according to Josephus, who is herein justly followed by Archbishop Usher, no less than twenty-five years of age, and Abraham being, by consequence, one hundred and twenty-five, it is not to be supposed that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent; which free consent of the party who is to be offered seems absolutely necessary in all such cases: and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of on this occasion. St. Clement describes it thus: "Isaac being fully persuaded of what he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice. And for Josephus, after introducing Abraham in a pathetic speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that Isaac very cheerfully consented;" and then introduces him as giving a short, but very pious answer, acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that "he then immediately and readily went to the altar to be sacrificed." Nor did Jephthah perform his rash vow, whatsoever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despaired entirely of the interposition of Providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience to the command, he prepared to sacrifice him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham's words to his servants on the third day, when he was in sight of the mountain on which he was to offer his son Isaac; "We will go and worship, and we will come again to you." As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?" And Abraham said, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." Both these passages look, to me, somewhat like such an expectation. However,

9. It appears most evident, that Abraham, and I suppose Isaac also, firmly believed, that if God should permit Isaac to be actually slain as a sacrifice, he would certainly and speedily raise him again from the dead. This, to be sure, is supposed in the words already quoted, that both "he and his son would go and worship, and come again to the servants:" and is clearly and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 17, 18, 19. "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called; accounting, or reasoning, that God was able to raise him from the dead." And this reasoning was at once very obvious, and wholly undeniable; that since God was truth itself, and had over and over promised that he would "multiply Abraham exceedingly; that he should be a father of many nations; that his name should be no longer Abram, but Abraham, because a father of many nations God had made him, &c. that Sarai his wife should be called Sarah, that he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her, and that he would bless him, and she should become nations, and kings of people should be of her, &c.; and that in Isaac should his seed be called." And since withal it is here supposed, that Isaac was to be slain as a sacri-



fice, before he was married, or had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promises, in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead; and this was an eminent instance of that faith whereby "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness," viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead, "from whence also he received him in a figure," as the author to the Hebrews here justly observes.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection, was this, besides the general consideration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia, at seventy-five years of age, he had had constant experience of a special, of an overruling, of a kind and gracious providence over him, till this his 125th year, which, against all human views, had continually blessed him, and enriched him, and, in his elder age, had given him first Ishmael, by Hagar, and afterwards promised him Isaac to spring from his own body now dead, and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, and had actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that, although at his first exit out of Chaldea, or Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief, yet might he now, after fifty years' constant experience, be justly "strong in faith, giving glory to God; as being fully persuaded, that what God had promised," the resurrection of Isaac, "he was both able and willing to perform."

11. That this assurance, therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise or prospect of such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That, upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and what followed upon it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent beforehand in Isaac, "a beloved," or "only begotten son," what was to happen long afterwards to the great "Son and Seed of Abraham," the Messiah, the beloved and "the only begotten of the Father, whose day Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it," viz. that "he by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God should be crucified, and slain," as a sacrifice, and should "be raised again the third day," and this at Jerusalem also; and that, in the mean time, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams, and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem,

and why it is noted, that it was "the third day" that he came to the place, which implies that the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be "the third day" also: and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael "the son of the flesh" only, but Isaac the son by promise, the beloved son of Abraham, and why Isaac was styled the only son, or only begotten son of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to bear the wood on which he was to be sacrificed; and why the place was no other than the land of Moriah, or vision, i. e. most probably a place where the Shechinah or Messiah had been seen, and God by him worshipped, even before the days of Abraham, and where lately lived, and perhaps now lived, Melchisedeck, the grand type of the Messiah (who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice,) and why this sacrifice was to be offered either on the mountain called afterwards distinctly Moriah, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterwards to be offered, as Josephus and the generality suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour Mount Calvary. This seems also the reason why the ram was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Clement mean anything else, when in his forecited passage, he says, That "Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come," and therefore "cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." Nor indeed does that name of this place, Jehovah Jireh, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, God will see, or rather God will provide, seem to be given it by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there, in the fullness of time, "provide himself a lamb, that Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world, for a burnt-offering."

But now if, after all, it be objected, that how peculiar, and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or at least greatly encourage their wicked practices, in offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer by the next consideration:

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then be at all surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices,) as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seems to have been the very occasion of the immediate abolition of those impious sacrifices by Tethmosis, or Amosis, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the substitution of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which



is almost cited from Porphyry, by Eusebius and Theodoret: "Amosis," says Porphyry, "abolished the law for slaying of men in Heliopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also sealed with them; they were sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax, of the same number, should be substituted."

Now I have lately shown, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that "all the wisdom of those Egyptians, in which Moses was afterward learned," was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the forecited passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the north-east part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the distance of about one hundred and twenty miles only, was, in the days, and by the order of Tethmosis, or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phenician shepherds. Now therefore we are to enquire, when this Tethmosis or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now, if we look at my chronological table, published A. D. 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or, which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into A. M. 2573, or into the thirteenth year of Tethmosis or Amosis, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years' reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shows the great seasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many, if not for all generations afterwards.

### DISSERTATION III.

*Tacitus' Accounts of the Origin of the Jewish nation, and of the Particulars of the last Jewish war, that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus' Antiquities, and that the latter was for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus' History of the Jewish War.*

SINCE Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman emperors, Vespasian Titus, and Domitian;

and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome, during the time, or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since therefore it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and of Jewish affairs, together. Nor is it other than a very surprising paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject, matter, and circumstances, is so very remarkable: nay, indeed, since many of the particular facts belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus, this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of, whence such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to have been in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, cotemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minutius Felix, in his Octavius, sect. 33. as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissert. I. As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his sufferings under the emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there, as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. xxx. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him to have been not a Jew, but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomizer of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could so exact a writer as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus' seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome: were attested to, and recommended by Vespasian and Titus, the emperors, by king Agrippa, and king Archelaus, and Herod, king of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue; and these his books were deposited at the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerome, while we never heard of any other of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus might take from the Roman records of this war, I mean from the commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life, sect. 65, and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned; as also other affairs might be



remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly, I still suppose that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from, or makes additions to Josephus; but then, as this will all reach no further than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgment of the geography of the country, and entire series of the principal facts of history thereto relating, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, 240 years before the war, with which Antiochus, both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, preparatory to the history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and Christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors; of which Jewish and Christian affairs those authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathens generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify; and this is so true as to Tacitus' own accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever lights upon anything relating to them that is true and solid, but when the same is in those Antiquities at this day; of which matters more will be said in the notes on this history immediately following.

## HISTORY OF THE JEWS

### BOOK V. CHAP. II.

SINCE we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city, Jerusalem, it seems proper to give an account of its original. The tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the Power of Jupiter: an argument for it is fetched from their name. The mountain Ida is famous in Crete; and the neighbouring inhabitants are named Idæi, which, with a barbarous augment becomes the name of Judæi, Jews. Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt under the reign of Isis, and that the Egyptians got free from that burden, by sending them into the adjacent countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part, say they, were those Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations, in the reign of king Cepheus. There are those who report that they were Assyrians, who, wanting lands, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterwards settled themselves in cities of their own, in the land of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them. Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave this their own name Hierosolyma to the city which they built there.

CHAP. III. Many authors agree, that when once an

infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bocchoris their king went to the oracle, Jupiter Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil; and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries as hateful to the gods. That when he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert: that hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping and inactivity; but one of those exiles, Moses by name, advised them to look for no assistance from any of the gods, or from any of mankind; since they had been abandoned by both, but bade them believe in him as in a celestial leader, by whose help they had already gotten clear of their present miseries. They agreed to it; and though they were unacquainted with everything, they began their journey at random. But nothing tired them so much as the want of water: and now they laid themselves down on the ground to a great extent, as just ready to perish, when an herd of wild asses came from feeding; and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was thereabouts some grassy soil, and so he opened large sources of water for them. That was an ease to them; and when they had journeyed continually six entire days, on the seventh day they drove out the inhabitants, and obtained those lands wherein their city and temple were dedicated.

CHAP. IV. As for Moses, in order to secure the nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them profane which with us are sacred; and again, those practices are allowed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable.

They place the image of that animal in their most holy places, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and their thirst.

They sacrifice the rams by way of reproach to Jupiter Hammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of Apis.

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memorial of that miserable destruction which the mange, to which that creature is liable, brought on them, and with which they had been defiled.

That they had endured a long famine they attest still by their frequent fastings. And that they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an argument from the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened.

CHAP. V. These rights, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their antiquity. The rest of their institutions are awkward, impure, and got ground by their pravity: for every vile fellow, despising the rights of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and their contributions, by which means the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. And because, among themselves, there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness, always ready at hand, but bitter enmity towards all others; they are a people separated from others in their food, and in their beds; though they be the lowdest nation upon earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign women, though nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves.



CHAP. VI. The limits of Judea easterly are bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south; on the west are Phenicia and the great sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, as at some distance from them.

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have not many showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful; the produce of their land is like ours, in great plenty.

They have also, besides ours, two trees peculiar to themselves, the balsam tree, and the palm tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beautiful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swelled, the veins quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are to be opened with the broken piece of a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in physic.

CHAP. VII. Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old fertile; and to have had many cities full of people, but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning; it is also said, that the footsteps of that destruction still remain, and that the earth itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natural fertility; and that, as an argument thereof, all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at complete maturity, become black and empty, and, as it were, vanish into ashes.

CHAP. VIII. A great part of Judea is composed of scattered villages; it has also larger towns: Jerusalem is the capital city of the whole nation. In that city there was a temple of immense wealth; in the first parts that are fortified are the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is enclosed in its most inward recesses. A Jew can come no further than the gates; all but the priests are excluded by their threshold. While the East was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable.

After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, King Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most profligate nation a change for the better, and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arsaces had fallen off from the Macedonians. Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote: which kings, when they were expelled by the mobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the same things that kings used to do, I mean the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superstition; for they took upon them withal the honourable dignity of the high priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

CHAP. IX. The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Caius Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory. Thence the report was everywhere divulged, that therein was no image of a god, but an

empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still. Soon afterwards arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Pacorus, king of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Paulus Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven beyond Euphrates; and for the Jews, Caius Sosius subdued them. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod: and when Augustus conquered Antonius, he still augmented it.

After Herod's death, one Simon, without waiting for the disposition of Cæsar, took upon him the title of king, who was brought to punishment by Quintilius Varus, when he was president of Syria. Afterwards the nation was reduced, and the children of Herod governed it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius the Jews had rest. After some time they were enjoined to place Caius Cæsar's statue in the temple; but rather than permit that, they took up arms; which sedition was put an end to by the death of Cæsar.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be governed by them. Among whom was Antonius Felix, one that exercised all kinds of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antonius, so that Felix was the grand-daughter's husband; and Claudius the grandson of the same Antonius.

#### ANNAL.—BOOK XII.

BUT he that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation as did Pallas himself. He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, while he relied on so sure an authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition: and even after the death of Caius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command, for the setting up the prince's statue in their temple. And in the meantime Felix, by the use of unseasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Ventidius Cumanus, the country being thus divided between them, that the nation of the Galileans were under Cumanus, and the Samaritans under Felix: which two nations were of old at variance, but now, out of contempt of their governors, did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another, to send in parties of robbers, to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battles, and withal to bring spoils and prey to the procurators.

#### HISTORY.—BOOK V. CHAP. X.

HOWEVER, the Jews had patience till Gessius Florus was made procurator. Under him it was that the war began. Then Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria,



attempted to appease it, and tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

Upon his death, whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain, Vespasian had the fortune, by his reputation, and excellent officers, and a victorious army, in the space of two summers, to make himself master of all the open country, and of all the cities, Jerusalem excepted.

Against this city Titus Cæsar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprise. He parted the duty among the legions : and there were no further engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

N. B. Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, to set down the two following heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in antiquity, and of much greater authority than Tacitus.

#### PLINY'S EPISTLE TO TRAJAN, *about A. D. 112.*

SIR,—It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts : for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance ? I have never been present at the examination of the Christians, by others, on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what, and how far, they use to be punished : nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages of the accused, and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men ? whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance ? or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a Christian, that he hath forsaken Christianity ? whether the bare name, without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished ? In the mean time, I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians : I asked them whether they were Christians, or not ? If they confessed that they were Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions : if they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed ; for I did not doubt but, let their confessions be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect, whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city. After some time, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent to me, though without an author, containing many names of persons accused. These denied that they were Christians now, or ever had been. They called upon the gods ; and supplicated to your image, which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose with frankincense and wine : they also cursed Christ : none of which things, as it is

said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do ; so I thought fit to let them go. Others of them that were named in the libel, said they were Christians, but presently denied it again, that indeed they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more ; and one there was that said, he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of your gods : these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me, that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this, that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately ; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament, or oath, not to do anything that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery ; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again : after which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent meal, which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments what the truth was, which I did of two servant maids, who were called deaconesses ; but still I discovered no more, than that they were addicted to a bad and extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any further examinations, and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account of the number of those that are in danger ; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, who are now and hereafter, likely to be called to account, and to be in danger, for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped, and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented : and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well everywhere, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared ; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men might be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

#### TRAJAN'S EPISTLE TO PLINY.

MY Pliny, you have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that had been accused as Christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for ; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished ; but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so, by supplication to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.



# JEWISH WEIGHTS, &c.

## TABLE OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c. AND PARTICULARLY THOSE MENTIONED IN JOSEPHUS' WORK.

### Of Jewish Measures of Length.

	Inches.	Fect. Inches.
Cubit, the standard .....	21 .....	1 9
Zereth, or large span .....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	0 0
Small span .....	7 .....	0 0
Palm, or hand's breath .....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	0 0
Inch, or thumb's breadth .....	1.16 .....	0 0
Digit, or finger's breadth .....	.875 .....	0 0
Orgyia, or fathom .....	84 .....	7 0
Ezekiel's Canneh, or reed .....	126 .....	10 6
Arabian Canneh, or pole .....	168 .....	14 0
Schænus line, or chain .....	1680 .....	140 0
Sabbath-day's journey .....	42000 .....	3500 0
Jewish mile .....	84000 .....	7000 0
Stadium, or furlong .....	8400 .....	700 0
Parasang .....	252000 .....	21000 0

### Of the Jewish Measures of Capacity.

	Cub. Inches.	Pints or Pounds.
Bath, or Ephra .....	807.274 .....	27.83
Corus, or Chomer .....	8072.74 .....	278.3
Seah, or Saton .....	269.091 .....	9.266
Ditto, according to Josephus .....	828.28 .....	28.3
Hin .....	134.54 .....	4.4633
Ditto, according to Josephus .....	414.12 .....	14.3
Omer, or Asseron .....	80.727 .....	2.78
Cab .....	44.859 .....	1.544
Log .....	11.21 .....	.39
Metretes, or Syrian firkin .....	207 .....	7.125

### Of the Jewish Weights and Coins.

	£.	s.	d.
Statur, Silus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard .....	0	2	6
Tyrian Coin, equal to the shekel .....	0	2	6
Bekah, half of the shekel .....	0	1	3
Drachma Attica, one fourth .....	0	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchmon, one half .....	0	1	3
Gerah, or Obulus, one-twentieth .....	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Maneh, Mna—100 shekels in weight—21900 grains Troy.			
Maneh, Mna, or Mina, as a coin—60 shekels .....	7	10	0
Talent of silver—300 shekels .....	375	0	0
Drachma of gold, not more than .....	0	1	1
Shekel of gold, not more than .....	0	4	4
Daric of gold .....	1	0	4
Talent of gold, not more than .....	648	0	0

Table of the JEWISH MONTHS in Josephus and others, with the Syro-Macedonian Names Josephus gives them and the Names of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.

Hebrew Names.	Syro-Macedonian Names.	Roman Names.
1. Nisan .. .. .	Xanthicus .. .. .	March and April.
2. Jyar .. .. .	Artemisius .. .. .	April and May.
3. Sivan .. .. .	Dæsius .. .. .	May and June.
4. Tamuz .. .. .	Panemus .. .. .	June and July.
5. Ab .. .. .	Lous .. .. .	July and August.
6. Elul .. .. .	Gorpiaëus .. .. .	August and September.
7. Tisri .. .. .	Hyperberetæi .. .. .	September and October.
8. Marhesvan .. .. .	Dius .. .. .	October and November.
9. Casleu .. .. .	Appelliaëus .. .. .	November and December.
10. Tebeth .. .. .	Audinaëus .. .. .	December and January.
11. Shebat .. .. .	Peritius .. .. .	January and February.
12. Adar .. .. .	Dystrus .. .. .	February and March.
13. Ve Adar, or The second Adar intercalated.		



# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

## TABLE I.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE LIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS,

*From Adam to the Deluge.—According to the Hebrew Computation.*

A.M.	B. C.	
14004		Adam, created in the first year of the world; died A. M. 930.
1303874	130	Seth born A. M. 130; died in 1042.
2353769	235	Enos born A. M. 235; died in 1140.
3253679	325	Cainan born A. M. died in 1235.
3953609	395	Mahalaleel born A. M. 395; died in 1290.
4603544	460	Jared born A. M. 460; died in 1422.
6223382	622	Enoch born A. M. 622; translated in 987.
6873317	687	Methuselah born A. M. 687; died in 1656.
8743130	874	Lamech born A. M. 874; died in 1651.
9303074	930	Noah born A. M. 1056; died in 2006.
9873017		
10422962		
10562948		
11402864		
12352769		
12902714		
14222582		
15582446		
16512353		
16562348		
16562348		THE DELUGE.

## TABLE II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, FROM THE CREATION TO THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD.

According to the Supputations of three celebrated Writers.	USHER. Following the Hebrew.				JOSEPHUS.				PEZRON. Following the Septuagint.			
	1. Year of the World.	2. Year of the Flood	3. Year before Christ	4. Years of the Interval.	1. Year of the World.	2. Year of the Flood	3. Year before Christ	4. Years of the Interval.	1. Year of the World.	2. Year of the Flood	3. Year before Christ	4. Years of the Interval.
1. Creation .....	0	—	4004	—	0	—	4658	—	1	—	5873	—
2. Deluge.....	1656	—	2348	1656	1556	—	3102	1556	2256	—	3617	2256
3. Vocation of Abraham.....	2083	427	1921	427	2523	976	2135	967	3513	1257	2360	1257
4. Exodus of Israel .....	2513	857	1491	430	2953	1397	1705	430	3943	1687	1930	430
Death of Moses .....	[2553]	—	—	—	[2993]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Foundation of the Temple .....	2992	1336	1012	479	3545	1989	1113	592	4816	2560	1057	873
Captivity.....	3397	1741	607	—	—	—	—	—	[5268]	3012	605	452
6. Temple burned .....	3416	1760	588	424	4015	2459	643	470	5287	3031	586	[19]
First Edict, by Cyrus .....	3468	—	—	—	4085	—	—	[70]	[5337]	3081	536	69
Second Edict, by Darius Hystaspis ..	3486	—	—	[70]	—	—	—	—	[5351]	3095	520	14
7. Nativity of our Lord .....	4004	2348	0	588	4658	3102	0	643	5873	3617	1	522
Total number of Years ....	—	—	—	4004	—	—	—	4658	—	—	—	5873



# FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION.\*

## BOOK I.

I SUPPOSE that, by my books of the "Antiquities of the Jews," most excellent Epaphroditus†, I have made it evident to those who peruse them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally; as also, I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of 5,000 years, and are taken out of our sacred books; but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians, I, therefore, have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses, whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the know-

ledge of all antiquity, by the Greeks themselves. I will also show, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us, are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it has so happened, that there has not been a great number of Greeks, who have made mention of our nation in their histories; I will, however, bring those Grecians to light, who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are enquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this, if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledged themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phœnicians (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them), that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them: and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those that would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phœnicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody

\* This first book has a wrong title. It is not written against Apion, as is the first part of the second book, but against those Greeks in general who would not believe Josephus's former accounts of the very ancient state of the Jewish nation, in his XX books of Antiquities; and particularly against Agatharchides, Manetho, Cheremon, and Lysimachus. It is one of the most learned, excellent and useful books of all antiquity; and upon Jerome's perusal of this, and the following books, he declares, that it seems to him a miraculous thing "how one that was a Hebrew, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able to produce such a number of testimonies out of profane authors, as if he had read over all the Grecian libraries." Marasseh-Ben-Israel, esteemed these two books so excellent, as to translate them into Hebrew.

† Since Flavius Josephus wrote [or finished] his books of Antiquities on the thirteenth of Domitian [A. D. 93], and after that wrote the Memoirs of his own Life, as an appendix to the books of Antiquities, and at last his two books against Apion, and yet dedicated all those writings to Epaphroditus, he can hardly be that Epaphroditus who was formerly secretary to Nero, and was slain on the fourteenth [or fifteenth] of Domitian, after he had been for a good while in banishment; but another Epaphroditus, a freed-man and procurator of Trajan. (Luke i. 3.)



able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterwards, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made whether the Greeks used their letters at that time: and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth is, that the present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them more ancient than Homer's poems,\* who must plainly be confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave the poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Phecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks: and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner! Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they know but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accordingly, they confute one another in their own books on purpose, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things: and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies: in how many cases Acusilaus

corrects Hesiod; or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history; as does Timeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the latter writers do to Herodotus;† nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistus, or with Callias, about the Sicilian history, no more than do the several writers of the Attidæ follow one another about the Athenian affairs: nor do the historians the like that wrote the Argolices, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused by some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the most exact history of the affairs of his own time.

As for the occasion of so great a disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an enquiry about them; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principal of all. For if we remember, that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those, that would afterward write about those ancient transactions, the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be aborigines, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they themselves say that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisis-tratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also?

There must, therefore, naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, when they might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell lies. However, we are to suppose a second occasion, besides the former, of these contradictions; it is this, that those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavoured to please the cities of the kings by writing in their commendation: others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions,

\* Josephus does not say 'there was no more ancient writings among the Greeks than Homer's poems,' but that they did not fully own any writings pretending to such antiquity as genuine.

† It well deserves to be considered, that Josephus here says, that all the following Greek historians looked on Herodotus as a fabulous author: and that Manetho, the most authentic writer of the Egyptian history, greatly complains of his mistakes in the Egyptian affairs: also that Strabo, the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him such; that Xenophon, the much more accurate historian in the affairs of Cyrus, implies that Herodotus' account of that great man is almost entirely romantic. We must not, therefore, always depend on the authority of Herodotus, where it is unsupported by other evidence, but ought to compare the other evidences with his, and, if it preponderate, to prefer it before his.



and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And, indeed, these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the great character of true history, that all concerned therein, both speak and write the same thing; while these men, by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We, therefore [who are Jews] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our several countries.

As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians: that the priests were entrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians, and that the Phœnicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their latters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be: but now as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I have spoke of) and that they committed that matter to their high-priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter; I shall endeavour briefly to inform you.

For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he who is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it; and this is our practice, not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live; and even there, an exact catalogue of our priests' marriages is kept; I mean at Egypt and at Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are witnesses also; but if any war falls out, such as have fallen out, a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners, but what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is what I am now going to say that we have the names of our high-

priests from father to son, set down in our records, for the interval of 2,000 years; and if any one of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications; and this is justly or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us disagreeing from, and contradicting one another [as the Greeks have], but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of 3,000 years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to those books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories.



As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive. Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds; but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria, to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city], I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of those transactions; and I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I at first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in the war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now, all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colour to actions, or omitted any of them.

There have been, indeed, some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now, both these methods of knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings: and as for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye-witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed, who undertake to contradict me about the true state of affairs! who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperors' own memoirs, yet they could not be acquainted with our affairs who fought against them.

This digression I have been obliged to make, out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of

those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those who endeavour to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners: I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maratime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phœnicians, who lived by the sea-side, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandize. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose; for this reason it was that the Phœnicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whence the Phœnicians in long voyages over the seas, carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in general that all maritime nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations farther from the sea, were, for the most part, unknown to them: which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is never yet mentioned by Herodotus nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians (and Ephorus for one) were so very



ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said; and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs, was this, they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records; would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbouring nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now, the very same thing will I endeavour to do; for I will bring the Egyptians and the Phœnicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us; I mean this as to the Egyptians, in general all of them, while of the Phœnicians, it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them; and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now, when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretence for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relation of Egyptian affairs. Now, this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner: I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: "There was a king of ours, whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt

down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner: nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saite Nomus [Seth-roite], a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theological notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of 240,000 armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Jonias fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was called Hyksos, that is, Shepherd-kings; for the first syllable, Hyc, according to the sacred dialect, does denote a king, is Sos, a shepherd, but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyksos: but some say that these people were Arabians." Now, in another copy it is said, that this word does not denote kings, but, on the contrary, denotes Captive Shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue, again denotes Shepherds, and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]: "These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt 511 years." After these, he says, "That the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the Shepherds, and that there was a terrible and long war made between them." He says farther, "That under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the Shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was named Avaris." Manetho says, "That the Shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with 480,000 men to lie round about them; but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with



them, that they should leave Egypt, and go without any harm to be done them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria: but that, as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country, which is now called Judæ, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem.\* Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called Shepherds, were also called Captives, in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages†; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called Shepherds. Nor was it without reason that they were called Captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission; but as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere.‡

But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall, therefore, here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case, and thus he speaks: "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months: then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Tethmoshis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acenchres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acenchres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months, after him came Armessus Miammoun, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt." [In another copy it stood thus: After him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of whom had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses

in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt.] He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these injunctions only, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts; but after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things by way of opposition, which his brother had forbidden him to do, without fear, for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother; but then, he who was set over the priests of Egypt, wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt; for Manetho says that Sethosis himself was called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus."

This is Manetho's account; and evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country 393 years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time, as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost 1,000 years; but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phœnicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worthy of remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, 143 years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is re-

\* Here we have an account of the first building of the city of Jerusalem, according to Manetho, when the Phœnician shepherds were expelled out of Egypt, about thirty-seven years before Abraham came out of Haran.

† Gen. xlvii. 32, 34; xlvii. 3, 4. ‡ This is now wanting.



lated: for Hiram, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of 120 talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain, which is so called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning his roof. Solomon also not only gave him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon; but there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other, wherein Solomon was superior to Hiram, as he was wiser than him in other respects\*; and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness, Dios, one that is believed to have written the Phœnician History after an accurate manner. This Dios, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phœnicians: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hiram took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olynpus, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He, moreover, went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say farther, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hiram to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him, should pay money to him that solved them; and when Hiram had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and proposed others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hiram." These things are attested to by Dios, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings: and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now, when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hiram, and says thus: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hiram took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones: besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and Astarte.

\* 1 Kings ix. 13.

He first built Hercules's temple, in the month *Peitatus*, and that of Astarte, when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, had recommended to be solved." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage, is thus calculated: "Upon the death of Hiram, Baleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years; after him succeeded his son Abdastartus: he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years; after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus: he lived fifty-four years and reigned twelve years; after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years and reigned nine years; he was slain by his brother Phœles, who took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badesorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years; he was succeeded by Matgenus his son: he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years; Pygmalion succeeded him: he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now, in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hiram to the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of 155 years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hiram, there were from the building of the temple until the building of Carthage, 143 years and 8 months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phœnician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? and to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories; which records have a great agreement with our books in other things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein Noah, the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains; after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was



relating the acts of this king, he describes to us how he sent his son Nebuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus, king of Persia. He then says, "That this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phœnicia, and Arabia; and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldaea." A little after which Berosus subjoins what follows in his History of Ancient Times: I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these: "When Nabolassar, father of Nebuchodonosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and over the parts of Celesyria and Phœnicia had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer; but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel: Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as he understood, in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armour, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia, while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal persons among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came, and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia: but for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, after an elegant manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the whole city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon that none who should besiege it afterwards might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to facilitate an entrance into it; and this he did by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendour. It would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe it. However, as prodigiously large and magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, sup-

ported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a pensile paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect of an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

This is what Berosus relates concerning the before-mentioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldean History; wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and for her false pretence to those wonderful edifices thereto relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs, the Chaldean History cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says, in the archives of the Phœnicians, concerning this king Nebuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phœnicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian History, wherein he pretends to prove that the before-mentioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength, and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also. Now, as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall now be demonstrated from what Berosus adds farther upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the before-mentioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner; and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine months; but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him was beaten; and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city



had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly, Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died.

These accounts agree with the true history in our books: for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years; but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phœnicians; for it will not be altogether superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings: 'Nebuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people: Ecnibalus, the son of Balsacus, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abhar, the high-priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year: after his death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Hiram, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia.' So that the whole interval is fifty-four years, besides three months; for in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he began to besiege Tyre; and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of Hiram. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation; and I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

But now it is proper to satisfy the enquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers, in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not, indeed, extant, any writing that is owned for his: but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive in all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus: 'That Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was Calliphon, a Crotoniate by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had

fallen down; as also not to drink of such waters as caused thirst again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches.' After which he adds thus: 'This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy.' For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says that 'the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths.' Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban; which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares that a man may call 'A thing devoted to God.' Nor indeed was Herodotus, of Halicarnassus, unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these: 'The only people who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phœnicians and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians; and as for those Syrians who lived about the rivers Thermodon and Parthemius, and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians; but as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other.' This, therefore, is what Herodotus says, that 'the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumcised.' But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and, therefore, it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus also, a still more ancient writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece; for in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says: 'At the last there passed over a people wonderful to be beheld; for they spake the Phœnician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymeian mountains, near a broad lake: their heads were sooty; they had round rasures on them: their heads and faces were like nasty horse-heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke.' I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body that Cherilus means us, because the Solymeian mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called Asphaltitis; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are held in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but, when they lighted upon any of them admired them also, it is easy for any to know; for Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep, says



that Aristotle, his master, related what follows of a Jew,' and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: 'Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, For this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperochides, Go on, if it so pleases thee. This man then [answered Aristotle], was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians Calami, and by the Syrians Judæi, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judea; but for the name of their city it is a very awkward one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us and with other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us.' This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature; but for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher, and one very useful in an active life, he was contemporary with king Alexander in his youth, and afterwards with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; he did not write about the Jewish affairs, by the bye, only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves; out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating by way of epitome. And in the first place I will demonstrate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the 117 olympiad, as Castor says in history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says farther, that 'on this olympiad, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, at Gaza.' Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died in the 114th olympiad; it is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again, Hecateus says to the same purpose, as follows: 'Ptolemy got

possession of the places in Syria after the battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs; one of whom (Hecateus says) was Hezekiah, the high-priest of the Jews; a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very movingly, and was very skilful in the management of affairs, if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above 1,500 at the most.' Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that 'as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and polity down in writing.' Moreover, Hecateus declares again, 'what regard we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right for us to do so.' Whereupon he adds, that 'although they are in a bad reputation among their neighbours, and among all those that come to them, and have been often treated injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of deaths, they meet them after a most extraordinary manner beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers.' Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus: 'Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither. But the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet.' He adds farther, that 'when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all; but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses or sometimes obtained forgiveness.' He adds farther, that 'these men deserve to be admired on that account.' He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says, that 'the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phœnicia, by reason of the sedition that was arisen in Syria.' The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, that 'the land in which the Jews inhabit contains 3,000,000 of arouræ, and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions.' The same man describes our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from



the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner: "There are many strong places and villages (says he) in the country of Judea; but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by 120,000 men, or thereabouts: they call it Jerusalem. There is, about the middle of the city, a wall of stone, the length of which is 500 feet, and the breadth 100 cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and in weight two talents; upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, neither by night nor by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any donations therein: nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add farther what he says he learned when he was himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: "As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed us a man whose name was Mosollom; he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they stayed for. Hereupon the augur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him that if the bird stayed where he was, they ought all to stand still; but that if he got up, and flew onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosollom made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus: Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, which could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollom the Jew would shoot at him, and kill him." But of Hecatus's testimony we have said enough; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, but during the time of his raising an army

at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how after that the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediately, yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught and put to death." When Agatharchides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus: "There are a people called Jews, who dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day; on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice.\* This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as they were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharchides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God, before the preservation of themselves and their country.

Now, that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances; for Hieronymus, who wrote the History of [Alexanders'] Successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonos, and president of Syria. Now, it is plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now, certainly, the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those before-mentioned, Theophilus, Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many others (for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books) have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before-mentioned, have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have

\* Not their law, but the superstitious interpretation of their leaders.



they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. However, Demetrius Phalerus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves: and that in general this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude, is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavoured to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Polycrates that of Lacedemon, as hath he that wrote the Tripoliticus (for he is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some) done by the city of Thebes. Timeus also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also; and this ill-treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation; some, out of envy and malice, and others as supposing that by this foolish talking of theirs, they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves; and, indeed, they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence; and indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us: in the first place, because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country,\* and when they were delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs, hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ from one another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them; and certainly, men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account: for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly

\* The Phœnician shepherds, whom Josephus mistook for the Israelites.

and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho.† He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and promised this; that 'Our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and subdued its inhabitants;' and when he had farther confessed, that 'We went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple.' Now thus far he followed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions Amenophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been 518 years before; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to 393 years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Hermeus; the one of whom, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egiptus, and the other, Hermeus, by that of Danaus. He also says that Sethos cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses reign after him sixty-six years. When Manetho, therefore, had acknowledged that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus: 'This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orius, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities.' Manetho adds, 'How this namesake of his told

† In reading this and the remaining sections of this book, and some parts of the next, one may easily perceive that our usually cool and candid author, Josephus, was too highly offended with the impudent calumnies of Manetho, and the other bitter enemies of the Jews, with whom he had now to deal, and was thereby betrayed into a greater heat and passion than ordinary, and that by consequence he does not hear reason with his usual fairness and impartiality; he seems to depart sometimes from the brevity and sincerity of a faithful historian, which is his grand character, and indulges the prolixity and colours of a pleader and a disputant: accordingly, I confess, I always read these sections with less pleasure than I do the rest of his writings, though I fully believe the reproaches cast on the Jews, which he here endeavours to confute and expose, were wholly groundless and unreasonable.—Whiston.



him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; and the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defects in their bodies out of Egypt. And that their number was 80,000; whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians.\* He says farther, that 'There were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this farther [out of his sagacity about futurities], that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years: that, however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate.' After which he writes thus, verbatim: 'After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable for a long while, the king was desirous that he would set apart the city of Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Trypo's city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, that they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians,\* he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their city, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all very glad of this message, and

came away with alacrity all together, being in number 200,000 men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenophis the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, especially for those that were principally worshipped in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Ramesses from his father Rhampses, being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being 300,000 of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the beforementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis; and his name Osarsiph from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses.'

This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, that 'After this, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rhampses with another army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria.' These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him; for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not ori-

\* This is a very valuable testimony of Manetho, that the laws of Osarsiph, or Moses, were not made in compliance with, but in opposition to, the customs of the Egyptians.



ginally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says that 'king Amenophis desired to see the gods.' What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure, it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, the prophet, by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that, such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices; and as to 800,000 lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers, than intended to purge his country. He says farther, that 'This prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in writing. Besides, how came it to pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his lifetime; or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all:—the king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, 'He then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called Avaris; whither when they were gone in crowds (he says) they chose one that had formerly been priest of Heliopolis; and that this priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he

bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about Avaris, he made war against the king.' Manetho adds also, that 'this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt.' He says also, that 'the Egyptians came with an army of 200,000 men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of preserving them.' He says farther, that 'the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and, in short, abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity: and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws,' he says, 'he was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris the god of Heliopolis; but that he changed his name, and called himself Moses.' He then says, that 'on the thirteenth year afterward, Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortunes, came upon them out of Ethiopia with a great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria.'

Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie; for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city, and a country they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians: I mean this on the account of the great kindred they who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay, still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods; nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manetho, that he does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so; but still how absurd it is to suppose that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them; while these polluted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence! What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were



enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their promising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves very well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about, that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself, that 'Amenophis's son had 300,000 men with him, and met them at Pelusium.' Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that 'those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there.' And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, 'Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in a battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria.' As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever; and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Egypt into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria; while yet it is not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country without fighting.

Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us, for it is to be supposed, that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person: nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner; and pretended that he was of Heliopolis, and one the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy: although it had been demonstrated out of their records that he lived 518 years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us: for he forbade those that had

the leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclean; nay, more, if any one of their diseases be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications, and washings, with spring-water, and the shaving off all their hair, and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, and then at length, to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be expected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests; nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honour of officiating. How can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says, that 'he was formerly called Osarsiph;' and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Moÿses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Moÿ. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so, out of their ill-will to us.

And now I have done with Manetho, I will enquire into what Cheremon says; for he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: 'The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the war: but that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out 250,000 of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country; that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe; that their names were Egyptian originally; that of Moses had been Tisithen, and that of Joseph, Peteseph: that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon 380,000 that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Amenophis could not sustain their attacks, but immediately fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child



behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about 200,000 men, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now, I take it for granted, that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible that they should so greatly disagree about the particulars; but for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please, out of their own heads. Now, Manetho says, that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says, that the person who foreshowed this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis; but this man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well, the former reckoning them 80,000, and the latter about 250,000! Now, for Manetho, he describes these polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says, that after that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also, he relates that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only, that they were gone out of Egypt, and lighted upon 380,000 men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia; but then, this Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor, indeed, has this man, who forged a dream from Isis about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four generations before Moses; which four generations make almost 170 years. Besides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia: but Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about 200,000. O, the levity of the man! for he neither told us who these 380,000 were, nor how the 430,000 perished; whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses; and what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him, who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the 250,000 leprous people, or to the 380,000 that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently

confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by other men it had been more tolerable.

I shall now add to these accounts about Manetho and Cheremon, somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood with those before-mentioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries; which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these: 'The people of the Jews being leprous and scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers, in the days of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, they fled to the temple, and got their food there by begging; and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under these diseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon, Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of [Jupiter] Ammon about this scarcity. The god's answer was this, that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby and leprous people, he must drown them; and purge his temples, the sun having an indignation at these men being suffered to live; and by this means the land will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bocchoris's having received these oracles, he called for their priests, and the attendants upon their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to carry them away into the desert; but to take the leprous people, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together, and sent into desert places in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do: and determined, that as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch: that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, in order to obtain deliverance from them. That on the next day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them to have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsels to any, but always to advise them for the worst; and to overturn all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: that the rest commended what he had said with one consent, and did what they had resolved on, and so travelled over the desert. But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and then came into that land which is called Judea, and there they built a city and dwelt therein, and that their city was named Hierosyla, from this their robbing of the temples; but that still, upon the success they had afterward, they, through course of time changed its denomination, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierosolymites.'

Now this man did not discover and mention the same king with the others, but feigned a newer name, and passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Ammon, in order to gain oracles



about the scabby and leprous people; for he says that the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now, it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean? foreigners, or those of that country? Why then dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be that, after the king had thrown many of them into the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislature than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country; and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain some laws or other which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with

regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also imprudence enough to say that a name [Hierosyla] implying 'Robbers of the temples,\* was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while, it seems, those that built the city thought they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks, But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

\* That is the meaning of Hierosyla in Greek, not in Hebrew.

## BOOK II

In the former book, most honoured Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phœnicians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers, as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now,\* therefore, begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing against us; although, I confess, I have had a doubt upon me about Apion,† the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous,

\* The former part of this second book is written against the calumnies of Apion, and then more briefly against the like calumnies of Apollonius Molo. But after that, Josephus leaves off the more particular reply to those adversaries of the Jews, and gives an excellent description and vindication of that theocracy which was settled for the Jewish nation by Moses.

† Called by Tiberius 'Cymbalum Mundi,' the drum of the world.

and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it shews him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together, looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means: yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses the Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with



those things; such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

Now, although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly, more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, either on account of bodily diseases, or on any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject; for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus: 'I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards sun rising, which was agreeable to the situation of Heliopolis: that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other.' This is that wonderful relation which we have given us by this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such an one. Moreover, when in a future age Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says, further, how 'he had heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Heliopolis.' To be sure that was because being a younger man himself, he believed that those by their elder age were acquainted and conversant with him? Now this grammarian as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer's country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago: yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men's relation; which shows how notorious a liar he was. But then as to his chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind, and the lame, out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him. Manetho says, that the Jews departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tethmosis, 393 years before Danaus fled to Argos; Lysimachus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, 1,700 years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased; but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh Olympiad, and the first year of that Olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phœnicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not unaware that this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phœnician

records, as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hiram their king was above 150 years earlier than the building of Carthage, concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phœnician records, as also that this Hiram was a friend of Solomon, when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple 612 years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimachus, and says they were 110,000. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of Sabbath; for he says, that 'when the Jews had travelled a six days' journey they had swellings on their groins; and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, for that malady of swellings on their groin was named Sabbatois by the Egyptians.' And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus? We must, it seems, take it for granted that all these 110,000 men must have these swellings. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey: but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had swellings on their groins after the sixth day was over: for no such distemper comes naturally, and of necessity upon those that travel; but still when they are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled pace [in a day]. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance: this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion, had before told us, that 'they came to Judea in six days' time; and again, that 'Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Sinai, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down from thence he gave laws to the Jews.' But then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in six days? And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from each other: for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, denotes, among the Egyptians, a malady of a swelling in the groin.

This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptian origin, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a



man may say, the top man of all the Egyptians; yet does he foreswear his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his family; for you see how justly he calls those Egyptians whom he hates and endeavours to reproach, for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who boast of their own countries, value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts: I mean, either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us [that we were originally Egyptians], in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow citizen with them: he also is apprized of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also, while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

But let us now see what these heavy and wicked crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews: 'They came (says he) out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the dashing of the waves.' Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real country [Egypt], but what he pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea, is the best part of all for habitation. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valour; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor can I devise what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis, and not been fixed hard by the royal palace [as it is]; nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day [as they have]. Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shewn himself to be a wicked man: but if he knew nothing of these records he hath shewn himself to be a man very ignorant; nay, when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another like instance of his ignorance; for all such as are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews

that dwell at Antioch are named Antiochians, because Seleucus, the founder of that city, gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of Romans upon them: I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrcheni, and Sabini, are now called Romani: and if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of what he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? Although, indeed, these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever, while this fine fellow, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of, endeavours by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it; for Alexander did not, therefore, get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward; because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as Hecateus says concerning us, 'Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria.' For he entrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene, and the other cities of Libya to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called Philadelphus, he did not only set all those of our nation free, who were captives under him, but did frequently give money [for their ransom], and, what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures: accordingly, he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and in order to have them well complied, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreus, and Aristæas; the first, Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others, such as were entrusted with the guard of his body, should take the care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

Now, this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors, who were yet very well



affected towards us; for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called Euergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws, offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and as for Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army; but certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be; for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. 'But then (says Apion) Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thermus the Roman ambassador was there present.' Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco, upon the death of his brother Philometor, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly. For this cause then it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly, God gave them remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria], with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them; nay, after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men; his very concubine, whom he loved so well (some call her Ithaca, and others Irene), making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do; whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations, and husbands who had loved her, and indeed in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain,

in a temple, when she had done her no harm; moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country, and the sepulchres of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Cæsar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son\* and successor; nay, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly; but what need I enlarge upon this head any farther, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army, and to follow her [into Egypt]; nay, when last of all Cæsar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hopes of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived; and doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine, distribute wheat among us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Cæsar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as also to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Cæsar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon these epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf, under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors; and if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shews what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known, for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria; but they still were desirous to preserve what the kings had formerly entrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river; nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

But besides this, Apion objects to us thus: 'If the Jews (says he) the citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?' To which I give this answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now, if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had

\* His sister's son, whom he had adopted.



original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of these laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are all known to be of one mind? Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions brake out still more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who not having the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their ancient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all, no other than foreigners; for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the Emperors done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect images to our emperors, as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety and with their own laws; for they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them: nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of. What wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then our legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation beforehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator nowhere forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and in-

ferior to those we pay to God; with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome; we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expenses, no not for own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo, who while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend, that 'the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place;' and he affirms that this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money. To this my first answer shall be this, that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible creature than —\*, and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say farther, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although Theos [Epiphanes], and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Cæsar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple, yet has none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes], he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends: nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Trimagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apollodorus, who all say that it was out of Antiochus's want of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and

\* It cannot be ascertained at this distance of time, to what particular animal Josephus here alludes; but it is not unlikely that it was the ox or cow, both of which, in common with many other animals, were held in great reverence by the Egyptians.



silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart, or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, viz. creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes; because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskilful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he began [somewhat better] he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which, it would be enough to say that they who presume to speak about divine worship ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now, such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king than to write what is just and what is true about us, and about our temple; for when they are desirous of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavour to disgrace us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says, that 'Antiochus found in our temple a bed and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of dainties, from the [fishes of the] sea, and the fowls of the dry land; that this man was amazed at these dainties thus set before him; that he immediately adored the king, upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released: and that when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave him this account of the distress he was in; and said that he was a Greek, and that as he went over this province in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, and brought to this temple, and was shut therein, and was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him: and that truly at the first such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; that, after a while they brought a suspicion upon him, and at length astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him, and was by them informed that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; and that they

did the same at a set time every year: that they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fatten him thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and sacrificed with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon this sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch into a certain pit.' Apion adds farther, that 'the man said there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and implored Antiochus that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jews laid for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he was encompassed.' Now this is such a most tragical fable, as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious attempts, as those who wrote it in his vindication are willing to suppose; for he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore, still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion] he hath done whatever his extravagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most easy to discover by a consideration of his writings; for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also: for while it so falls out, that men of all countries come sometimes and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire only against the Grecians, and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, who-soever he was, and whatsoever was his name (which is not set down in Apion's book), with great pomp back into his own country? when he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter; for the proper way of confuting fools is not to use bare words, but to appeal to the things themselves that make against them. Now then, all such as ever saw the construction of our temple, of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four several courts,\* encompassed with cloisters round about, every one of which had by our law a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners; and none but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they

\* It is remarkable that Josephus here, reckons up four distinct courts of the temple; that of the Gentiles, that of the women of Israel, that of the men of Israel, and that of the priests; as also that the court of the women admitted the husbands of those wives that were therein, while the court of the men did not admit any women into it at all.



were free from all uncleanness; into the third went the Jewish men when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high-priests, clothed in their peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours: for, in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house; nor is there any thing therein, but the altar [of incense], the table [of shew bread], the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law: for there is nothing farther there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place. For what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and their operations are very manifest; for, although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them have above 5,000 men in them, yet do they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible things about them! But it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now, if he knew the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the siezing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place wherein to the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters. Whereas, such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related, have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

Nay, this miracle of piety derides us farther, and adds the following pretended facts to his former fable; for he says that this man related how, 'while the Jews were once in a long war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, came to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidus made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him to be a kind of star waiking upon the earth: that the Jews were terribly

frighted at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance; and that Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass (for so facetiously does he write), and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste.' And say you so, sir! as I may reply; then does Apion load the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies; for he writes of places that have no being; and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora, although there be, it is true, a city named Dora in Phœnicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him; for, certainly those who have so many festivals wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick? But still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad, they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty men required to shut them every day: nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a hand for a second fable of Apion, is uncertain.

Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we 'swore by God, the maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks.' Now this liar ought to have said directly that 'we would bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians.' For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we are rather remote from them in place than different from them in our institutions, inso-much that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this,



'That there is a plain mark upon us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another; and that our city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to the Romans.' But now this man had better leave off his boasting; for every body but himself would think that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps, they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of these monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country and saved themselves, by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts. Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious, of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them, whose name was Cesus, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Epheusus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostrius, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath blinded him. Now we will not boast of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for 120 years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings everywhere were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

'But,' says Apion, 'we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, nor any inventors of arts, nor

any eminent for wisdom.' He then enumerates Scocrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life, and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever; and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

As to the other things which he sets down as blameworthy, it may, perhaps, be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our males. Now, as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian [as he pretends to be] he had not shown an uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full with the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise, and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh; nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying their sacrifices they offer to their gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus; which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer; and when he received no benefit by such circumcision, but the wound became putrid, he died in great torment. Now, men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religion, accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours; and this was the end of Apion's life,



and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

But now since Apollonius, Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others write treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous, I have a mind to discourse briefly, according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it; for I suppose it will thence become evident that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for a contempt of death; and I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and down his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness, and madness in our conduct; nay, he says that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people who have made no improvements in human life; now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves; and if I be compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to depreciate our laws in comparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for them to pretend, either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

To begin then a good way backward, I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony that they are better than other men, both for moderation and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed, their endeavour was to have every thing they ordained believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them,

neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now, I venture to say, that our legislature is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have any where heard of; for as for the Lyeurguses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators who are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, who never uses that term in all his poems; for, indeed, there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their kings. It was also a long time that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions; but for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest, (as even those that speak against us upon all occasions do always confess), he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counsellor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

But let us consider his first and greatest work; for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt and return to their own country, this Moses took the many ten thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and, during these battles, to preserve their children and their wives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counsellor, and one that took the truest care of them all: he also so brought it about that the whole multitude depended upon him; and while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely; whereas when our legislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to shew his great good-will to the people; and by this means he thought he might show the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had, therefore, come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counsellor; and when he had first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress, above all things, that notion upon the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in any sin; and this is the character of our legislator: he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such an one as they boast Minos to have been among the



Greeks and other legislators after him; for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was; but which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point. Now, there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads:—Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all the good things enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them that it was impossible to escape God's observation, either in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and immutable, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments among the wisest of the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty: for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his notions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly imprinted his faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all than other legislations were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words [in Moses's settlement] have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined; for there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning, and a moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now, other

lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instructions, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretans teach by practical exercises, but not by words while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercise of practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should use; as also, what communion they should have with others; what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed, that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all the other legislators seem to have neglected.

And, indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government, confess they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws; but for our people, if any body do but ask any of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them, as it were, engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few; and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind; for no other people but we Jews have avoided all discourses about God, that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true, not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to



indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives; but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things; as also, we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women and servants themselves.

Hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made, are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change! and what can be invented better! or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it! Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this make us esteem God to be the governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withal entrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high-priest himself; which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the principal management of divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be the inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity? For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days' time, and call them Mysteries and Sacred Ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What

are the things then that we are commanded or for bidden? They are simply and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude, he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him; and all arts are unartful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, not with labour, nor as wanting the assistance of any to co-operate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this Being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth, is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray\* for the common welfare of all, and after that our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another; and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself, is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all), as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed. and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions, too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his

\* See 1 Kings viii. 2 Chron. vi.



worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

But then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is his punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly; but demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, saith the Scripture, 'A woman is inferior to her husband in all things.\* Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so, that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. A husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing; which, if any one venture upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves; for there is a defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death; on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the birth of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess: but it ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they may be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor yet have any pretence for their ignorance of them.

Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies; and hath shown it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried, should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains, that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the

funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

The law ordains also, that parents should be honoured immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says, that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal anything from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one entrusted to another, ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money, must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

It will be also worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws, so to do; and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union, which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us; yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only, to be admitted into communion with us.

However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which, of necessity, we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to show them the roads; and not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit: nay, farther, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed, he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them: nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that labour for mankind. Thus hath our law-giver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein: while at the same time he hath ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatever.

\* This text is nowhere in our present copies of the Old Testament.



Now the greatest part of offences with us are capital; as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt an unnatural crime; or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another; if any one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited; all these have punishments allotted them, not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behaviour towards parents, or impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver or gold: it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such an one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by our actions that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverend notions of God, and had continued for a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manner and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs; although he that shall diligently peruse his writings, will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain

idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver; and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws.\* But then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than 2,000 years which our political government hath continued; and let them farther consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change in their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws; while we, having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune, by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in; nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood. Nay, if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pain-taking in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessities of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them, have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many; nay, not of more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think, those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws. Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random, or at any one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of

\* 'I will (says he) boldly declare my opinion, though the whole world be offended at it. I prefer this little book of the Twelve Tables alone to all the volumes of the philosophers. I find it to be not only of more weight, but also much more useful.'—*Cic. De Oratore.*



rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some other writers (unskilful sophists as they are, and the deceivers of young men) reproach us as the vilest of all mankind. Now, I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to accuse the laws of others. And, indeed, our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people, on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not now be first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also; for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets, and most celebrated legislators, for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living, as they would distinguish several sorts of animals: as some to be under the earth; some to be in the sea; and the most ancient of them all to be bound in hell; and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter (which daughter he brought forth from his own head), made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly; that some are set to trades; that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; and one god is a warrior, and fights with men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery; and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions; but what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours, which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and

begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries, truly, are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act; and why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust from lying with his wife, so long as they might get into their bed-chamber? Now, some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass; and what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great stillness of those that admit them for true! Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions, into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them avengers of evil. They also endeavour to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them unless they pay them such wages.

Wherefore, it deserves our inquiry what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity. And, truly, I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it: nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statuaries of Greece, had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making a bare picture of such a one; but those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues; [whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of all kinds of purification.] Besides this, the first gods who have long flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old, while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the more honourably of them that I can: nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped, [as we, by way of digression, have said already, and yet have left their places of worship desolate]; and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are



built anew, according to the pleasure of men; whereas they ought to have preserved their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

But now, this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretences of allegories [which had been alleged for such things]: on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God, whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements to admit of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have the main regard to this precept, 'That every one of them should learn their laws accurately.' He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random; and, provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves; yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men; not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not indeed give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and, perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor would give leave for them to stay among them: whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which I think I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behaviour was, Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that spoke contrary to the laws about the gods, without mercy; for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? Certainly, he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of sacrilege with regard to their temples; but on this account, that he swore certain new oaths, and that he affirmed, either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do]. For these reasons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also complained that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the political settlement and

laws of the city; and thus was Socrates, the citizen of Athens punished. There was also Anaxagoras, who, although he was of Clazomenæ, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also made this public proclamation, 'That they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos,' because it was reported that he laughed at their mysteries: Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians about the gods, had been seized upon, and put to death, if he had not fled immediately. Nor need we wonder that they thus treated such considerable men when they did not even spare women; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law, do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had; and this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians? Now, as to the Sythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and differ little from brute beasts; yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs. We find many punished among the Persians, on the same account. Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinion about the gods which they had. This last was exemplified in the temples they burnt, and their courage in coming, and almost entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Apollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and castrating his own sons. Now, with us, it is a capital crime, if any one does thus abuse even a brute beast; and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude; and, indeed, what reason can there be that we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators? And why do not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government which suffers them not to associate with others, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not shew a sufficient sign



of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these unnatural practices to the gods themselves, as part of their good character; and, indeed, it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them, the greatest part of legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that, for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting [virgins] they need only marry them;\* as also what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one should attempt to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations, it is a studied art how men may transgress their laws; but no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of other advantages we have, one law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him. If any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the most ancient of them all.

We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men: nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, farther, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us; nor are we guilty of any envious behaviour towards them, when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God; for though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those that desire to imitate them, justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my

\* Or 'for corrupting other men's wives, the same allowance.'

books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own, but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth: and now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. It has been said that we sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt: while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared on the contrary, that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow; whereas, God in old time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings; they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws; they are inexorable in punishing malefactors: they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only; on which account I am so bold as to say that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only; for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? and this so far that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity; but to condemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and all ways are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters; but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions and the Molones, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confuted; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.



# SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

## BOOK I.

COMPREHENDING THE EVENTS OF TWO CENTURIES, FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR SEVERUS.

### CHAP. I.

*The Romans exult over the vanquished Jews.—The plough is passed over the walls of Jerusalem.—Agrippa, the last of the House of David, survives.—Death of Vespasian.*

IN all ages, with the exception of the name, the case of an unfortunate town captured after a desperate resistance, and given up to a licentious and infuriated soldiery, has been the same. "*Væ victis*" is the cry, whether the date of the struggle is in the first or in the nineteenth century; whether the conquerors were Romans or Britons; whether the place was called Jerusalem or Badajos. The far famed city of the Hebrews escaped not the common lot of the vanquished. It presented a scene of unspeakable misery, which could only be contemplated with horror and despair. "Weep, daughter of Judah," exclaims the Rabbi Abravanel; "weep that thy house is no more! Sacrilegious warriors have immolated thy pontiffs in the streets and in the sanctuary. The blood of our fathers has flowed from the rocks into the river Jordan; the olive tree is withered at the approach of the cruel flames which have devoured the hopes of Jacob. Where now are your pompous festivals? Daughter of Zion, why still vainly seek for the husband of your heart? Do you wish to give posterity to him who has not even a stone on which he can rest his head? Assume the dishevelled hair of widowhood; fly the nuptial bed; cover your head with ashes: the Holy of Holies is no more."

Such were the feelings of the disconsolate Israelite, while he beheld the desolation of that Jerusalem which his forefathers, holding it as the immediate gift of God to the Hebrew race, had regarded with even more than the love men commonly feel for their native land. While such their lament, the proud followers of Titus, exulting in their victory, were anxious that no means

should be neglected for perpetuating not only the triumph of Romans over Jews, but, as they regarded it, that of Jupiter over Jehovah. Their joy was great as well as their astonishment: they were amazed to find that any people or sect could imagine the existence of a Creator pure and supreme, but invisible to mortal eyes. The sublime ideas "which the Jews entertained of the Supreme Being, escaped the gross conceptions of the Pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals of altars and sacrifices." The absence of means, commonly odious or ridiculous, in the eyes of those who do not themselves feel want, were more especially the subject of mockery, where the ignorant scoffer could jest at a poverty stricken Deity! Here, however, the victors were in a high state of exasperation. Fierce and fatal as the resistance had been, they missed crowds of their countrymen, who had perished after the fall of the city was in their judgment inevitable; and that admiration of valour, displayed by an enemy at the expense of an assailant, which in later times conquerors have been proud to evince, found no place in the bosoms of the new masters of Jerusalem. They claimed from their officers that the city should be destroyed, and that the plough should be driven over its demolished walls. The demand was pressed so earnestly as essential to Roman glory, that Titus was forced to comply. In the midst of deafening acclamations Jerusalem was thus degraded. Its palaces and most conspicuous buildings were razed to the ground; and on the site which they had occupied, as well as on the ruins of the temple, the plough, the emblem of peace, was made to complete the work of war. But a small portion of the wall and three towers which had been built by Herod, were spared to stand associated with the surrounding desolation, as monuments of Roman vengeance to all posterity.

In the course of the operations which led to this catastrophe, it has been seen that, according to the estimate of Josephus, which some writers suspect of exag-



geration, nearly one million one hundred thousand Israelites had perished by famine or by the sword; and ninety-seven thousand, after the contest was at an end, remained to be divided among the conquerors, and were counted off like so many sheep in the pastures of Jordan. Of these, the youngest and best favoured were reserved to grace the triumphs of Titus and Vespasian in the Roman highways. The males who were above seventeen years of age, were sent in the direction of Egypt to be employed on the public works, or to take part in the combats of the circus, to be exhibited as the antagonists of wild beasts, or in the spectacles of the gladiators. Nor was theirs a happier fate who escaped this doom. Those who were under seventeen were destined to be exposed in the markets of Rome, there to be sold to administer to the indolent luxury or brutal passions of the wealthy sensualist. It has been seen their leader Simon was put to a cruel and ignominious death; and the tidings of his melancholy end were hailed with shouts by the crowd who joined to celebrate the victories of Titus. Nothing was omitted that could further humble and exasperate the unhappy Jews. Their blood was pitilessly shed; rapacious hands despoiled them of their property; and insults and mockery were added to complete their misery.

The last survivor of the royal race of Herod was Agrippa. An inglorious sensualist, he lived and died the vassal of Rome; in the enjoyment of luxuries which consoled him for the loss of power and the downfall of his nation. The honours of the Prætorship had required his tame submission, together with a grant of territory. It was shrewdly surmised by some, that the charms of his sister Berenice, which Juvenal intimates had added Agrippa himself to the number of her lovers, procured him the favour with which he was treated. Objects of hatred and disgust to their conquerors, the unhappy Jews were unceasingly outraged in the streets, and scornfully taunted with the victory which had been achieved over the impotent Deity they called "The God of Abraham." "The clanking of their chains," it is remarked by Lucian, "announced that the fetes of the nation of Solomon were at an end, and that the dances of their Sabbath must thenceforward be performed with a lame foot." The rigour of their destiny was, however, in some degree abated by the influence of Berenice. She long retained the affections of Titus, and his passion for her caused him occasionally to lend a favourable ear to her representations in behalf of her countrymen. The talents of Josephus too, it is supposed, rendered his countrymen important benefits. He wrote his history of the wars of the Jews under the eyes of Titus and Agrippa. The former took pleasure in having his exploits rehearsed in the Greek tongue, and was desirous of copying with his own hand the record prepared by the Jewish historian, himself an eye witness of the facts he relates, of what Titus had accomplished in Palestine, and especially before the Holy City. Josephus, in the plenitude of his love of truth, for which he fails not to give himself credit, was, it may fairly be presumed, not unmindful of his interest. Hence the laboured panegyrics on Roman virtue, and on the noble qualities which distinguished Vespasian and his son. Looking at these

and at the rewards which the historian received, to every ordinary imagination the connexion will be sufficiently obvious.

The moment approached when the reign of Vespasian was to reach its termination. It was reserved for him, a rare circumstance in Roman history, to die a natural death. Ten years he had reigned, and his subjects confessed that many benefits had been conferred on them by his temperate sway, when sudden illness attacked him at Campania, which from the first he had an impression he should not survive. Death he regarded not merely as the common lot of mankind which none can escape, but as that which was to give him infinite promotion. "I am going to be a god," said the fearless Pagan; and he soon ceased to be a mortal. Removed to a country residence near Reate he rapidly declined; and being of opinion that it became the dignity of an emperor to die standing, he caused himself to be raised on his feet and supported on either side. In this position Vespasian expired.

## CHAP. II.

*Titus succeeds Vespasian.—He reforms his libertine life and puts away Berenice.—A tax is imposed on the Jews who adhere to the faith of their forefathers.—The Sanhedrim is upheld.—Rabban Jochanan.*

THIS was an important but not a favourable event for the Jews. The lover of Berenice succeeded his father and assumed the imperial purple. In this eminent position he felt called upon to set an example of virtue, and to correct the errors of his youth, now that the cares of sovereignty devolved upon him. His libertine life had heretofore scandalized many of the graver Romans; and, sensible of that, he now, from prudence or from satiety, separated himself from the beauty who had for many years been the partner of his bed. "He was accused of debauchery," says Suetonius, "on account of his love for the queen Berenice; but from the moment of his becoming emperor, he proved that he could govern himself, and remained no longer the slave of passion." Though Berenice was permitted to return to Rome he indulged in her society no more. She, with all the companions of his former pleasures, was dismissed from his society; and Titus, applying himself to the duties of his high station, though ambitious of proving himself a virtuous sovereign, the Israelites, whom love of Berenice had formerly disposed him to serve, he no longer regarded with special favour. By some it is said that he loved the fair one as ardently as ever, and would fain have married her, but, as he was aware this would offend the people, and as he knew they disapproved of her even as a mistress, he sacrificed feeling to duty, or at least to policy; and though the beautiful Jewess inhabited the palace and the garden of Livius, and occasionally was admitted to speak with him, their intimacy was never renewed.

Fearful as the slaughter had been during their con-



tests with the Romans, it is to be borne in mind that multitudes who had the good fortune to reside in the opulent cities beyond the Jordan escaped in a great measure the calamity. The subjects of King Agrippa had been spared the scourge of war; and Samaria, and many cities on the sea coast, submitting without resistance to the conqueror, were not seriously molested.

It is plausibly inferred that the feelings of hostility towards the Jews which prevailed at Rome must have been great in the extreme, to have caused them to require that their sovereign should put away a favourite mistress because she belonged to that nation. The concurrent testimony of the historians and poets of that time, shew that the proud disdain of the Romans pursued the ill-fated Jews after their defeat and dispersion. Little regard to their feelings or their interests was evinced by those in power; Titus even ordered the members of the Hebrew nation who adhered to the faith of their ancestors, and worshipped God in secret, to pay a didrachma as an offering to the Jupiter of the Capitol, to cover the expense of re-erecting his temple. A tax was imposed upon them as on the prostitutes of the city, and they were placed under the superintendence of the prætor of the taverns and the toll collectors of the Tiber, who formed a distinct class so far as the laws and the government were concerned. If the Jew wished to escape from this condition by concealing the fact that he was a member of the Hebrew nation, he was subjected to a rigorous and offensive personal scrutiny, most annoying to his feelings, and utterly at variance with decency.

The Sanhedrim is believed to have survived the ruin of Jerusalem, having been removed before the commencement of the siege to Jamnia, to which place its Nasi or Prince, Gamaliel, found it expedient to withdraw. The son of Gamaliel, Simeon, succeeded him in his office. He ventured to revisit the holy city at the time of the passover, but the pious observance cost him his life. While the ineffectual struggle was yet prolonged, Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai feared not to represent to them the obvious inutility of all their efforts, and the inevitable ruin to which they must lead. He was not attended to; and in order to save himself from participation in that catastrophe which it was not in his power to avert, he determined to pass over to the camp of Titus. He first tried to overawe his countrymen by using something like the solemn language of prophecy; and on one night recorded as memorable in Jewish history, when the eastern gate of the temple flew open, as it was said untouched by human hand, while all besides regarded the incident or omen in silent amazement, the awful voice of Rabban Jochanan was heard repeating aloud, "Oh, temple, temple, why art thou not moved?" and repeating the words of the inspired Zechariah, "Open thy doors, oh Lebanon! that the foe may devour thy cedars." Rabban Jochanan would have been torn to pieces by those who surrounded him, and who were prepared to hold out with all the energy of desperation, but from their hostility he was saved through the devotion of his scholars, who pretended that their master was no more. His motionless form was extended on a bier; and, with well-acted grief, they seemed to mourn for the de-

parted, while R. Joshua and R. Eleazar, his faithful disciples, carried him forth and enabled him to pass to the Roman encampment. The son of Simeon, who bore the name of Gamaliel, his grandfather, was allowed by Titus to accompany or follow Rabban Jochanan to Jamnia, where he afterwards became his successor.

### CHAP. III.

*The Sanhedrim's removals.—Its presidents.—Gamaliel deposed.—Eliezer, Akib, and Joshua.—Samuel the less composes a prayer against the Christians.—The Jews become more pious in adversity than they had been in former times.*

THE Hebrew Rabbins report that the Sanhedrim had ten removals or flittings, as they are termed, which are described to have been as follows: from the chamber in the temple which was called Gazeth, to the tabernæ or shops in the vicinity of its exterior, or in its outer court, indicated by the name of Khanoth, from Khanoth to Jerusalem, from Jerusalem to Jabneh, thence to Osha, next to Shefaraam, from Shefaraam to Bethshairam, from the last place to Sepphoris, and finally thence to Tiberias. The names of the Nasi, or presidents, are also preserved; and among the first may be enumerated Ezra, Simon the Just, Antigonus of Socho, master of Sadoc, Joseph Ben Joezer, Joseph Ben Jochanan, who was vice-president, and Joshua Ben Perachiah, who fled from the persecution of Alexander Janneus to Alexandria. The next parties mentioned, as president and vice-president, are Judah Ben Tabbai and Simon Ben Shattach. They were considered to have been distinguished by great and worthy deeds, and it is especially recorded that they had the merit of hanging eighty witches in one day! Among the other presidents, were Sheammai and Abtalion, who were reputed to have descended from Senacherib by Hebrew mothers; but Hillel was a president more remarkable, and probably more illustrious, than any of those already particularized. If study could render a man fit for action Hillel must have deserved well of his countrymen; for it is related of him that, having made his appearance at Jerusalem when he was forty years of age, he applied himself to study the law for the next forty years. This in any case would have been much for a man to undertake at that period of life; but Hillel had previously given his time to preparation, and with such success, that the occasion of his coming to the Holy City was the eminence he had gained, having been invited thither to terminate a dispute which had occurred among the learned as to the keeping of Easter. It was the wise decision, as it was deemed, then pronounced, that raised him to the dignity he subsequently enjoyed, and which remained in his family for five centuries. His countrymen loved to regard him as a second Moses. Forty years he had lived in comparative obscurity. As already mentioned, he turned his powerful mind to the law for the next forty years. At their expiration, and when fourscore years of age, being chosen president, he con-



tinued in that high situation his labours for forty years more. His merit was such that the Jews regarded him with enthusiastic veneration. He was followed by Simeon his son; and this Simeon is supposed to be the same who took the Saviour in his arms and rejoiced that he had seen the Salvation of Israel.

To him succeeded that Jochanan ben Zaccai whose singular story has already been related. He gained the office not by right of birth, but as a reward due to extraordinary merit,—of merit so extraordinary that, according to the hyperbolic language of some of the Rabbins, if the whole heavens were paper, all the trees in the world pens, and all the men created by the Eternal, writers, their constant and united labours would not render justice to the illustrious Jochanan. This is saying much for the Hebrew, whose prudence led him to save his person by going over to the enemy of his country. He owes it, perhaps, to his having succeeded in persuading Titus to grant permission for the establishment of the Sanhedrim at Jamnia, where, rejoicing in their security, his admirers had leisure to celebrate the worth of him to whom they were indebted for a benefit so important. Great as his holiness may have been, their gratitude, so far as words go, must have been equal to it. Not content with what has been mentioned above, they professed to believe that he was indeed the true Saviour of the world, as it was only on account of his sublime virtue that the universe was permitted longer to exist. He survived to the age of one hundred and twenty. When asked to explain the secret of his longevity, he ascribed it to the reverence with which he had approached the temple, to scorn for disguise, and to good living. "Never," said he, "did I deny my name, and I have ever been mindful duly to attend the celebration of all festivals. It was the practice of my ever prudent mother to sell my head ornaments, in order to procure us wine enough to make merry on such occasions, and to sanctify the sabbath of the Lord our God. At her death, she left me three hundred hogsheads of wine." His son, Gamaliel, the teacher of St. Paul, was president after him; but he appears not to have supported the dignity of the office in a manner that was satisfactory to his countrymen! The honour of the law is said to have failed, and the purity of the Pharisees was no more. He is believed to have been distinguished by intolerable pride, and by undying hatred for the Christians, who had now made their appearance in great numbers. In expressing it, he was probably assisted by Samuel the less, his contemporary, who composed a prayer, or a string of frantic imprecations against them, for which the ignorant ferocity of the times furnished admirers; and they were used against heretics by thoughtless zealots, long after the malevolence of Gamaliel had by the doom of nature been set at rest.

While he lived he was impatient of any rivalry, and appears to have exerted himself to check the advancement of those who approached him in learning. Two persons in particular are mentioned, who were forced on his attention, the son of Hyrcan, R. Eliezer, and R. Joshua, the son of Hananiah. These ingenious questions, the importance of which cannot now be very generally under-

stood, but they were sufficiently grave to lead to his deposition. It was debated whether a first-born animal, wounded on the lip, was fit to be accepted for sacrifice. Joshua held that such a victim would be a lawful offering. This was fiercely resented by Gamaliel, who had advocated the contrary opinion; and by virtue of his authority he annulled the decision, and imposed what was regarded as a severe and humiliating penance; Joshua was ordered to stand while giving his lectures. But this was not all. Joshua was next solicited to declare whether evening prayer was to be regarded as a duty, or as a free-will offering. He did not scruple to reply, that though it was the duty of men at all times to propitiate the Most High, yet the particular ceremony in question might be considered that which the worshipper tendered as an uncalled for offering. Again Gamaliel rebuked and punished the learned offender; but doing so gave such offence to his scholars, that they deposed him, and made R. Eliezer president in his stead. This was not done without difficulty. The prize was contested for by one whose energy had greatly distinguished him in the eyes of his country. Akiba had been a shepherd for the first forty years of his life; but becoming enamoured of the daughter of his employer, she would only consent to a union with him when he had acquired learning. To gain such a prize he studied night and day, and at length became so profound a doctor, that many inclined to favour his claim to the presidency; but such extraordinary advantages are reported to have favoured Eliezer, that no competitor could stand against him. In the first place he was known to be the lineal descendant of Ezra. This was no small recommendation, and his great modesty was another, which made him reluctant to accept the high office designed for him. Those who had carried his election, surprised and disappointed at this, demanded his reasons, when he said, he feared his appearance would not be sufficiently venerable to uphold the dignity of the office. It is added what he most felt himself deficient in was a grey beard; but while expressing his regret for the defect, it was seen rapidly abating. With miraculous expedition a beard of the appropriate hue and length was supplied, and no further obstacle opposed his advancement. Other schools being established, the eminent persons, who have been mentioned, were all of them employed. While Eliezer taught in Lydda, Akiba did the like at Baar-brok, as did Joshua at Pekun. Proceeding with the list of presidents, we read of Simeon, who was the first Patriarch of Tiberias, and Gamaliel the son of Judah. The exactness of this statement cannot be very clearly proved; and it is even doubtful if the school of Gamaliel was ever in strictness entitled to be called the Sanhedrim. Whether this were the case or not, the academy established at Jamnia unquestionably gained no small celebrity. The character of its president lent it importance; and if it is matter of dispute, whether it could of right claim to be called by the name in question, it is not denied that it was countenanced by many of the members of the ancient Sanhedrim. These flying to a more dangerous neighbourhood, had formed at Jamnia a little society of their own; and the Jews looked with much com-



placency on a school, which, if it could not be viewed as their ancient and venerated establishment, was at least valuable as its representative.

How this question might be disposed of, the Roman conquerors of the Israelites did not trouble themselves to inquire. They had too much moderation to wish to deprive a conquered people of the comfort which might be derived from such a source. It should, perhaps, rather be said, that their forbearance in this respect arose from contempt for the Hebrews. Be this as it may, we see, in the Acts of the Apostles, that those who held authority among the Jewish subjects of Rome were permitted to decide on questions relating to their law. Such indulgence the conquering Roman could well afford; but still it was an important concession to the Israelites, as on the law's exact observance depended all their hopes of future happiness, of mercy and favour from the God of Abraham. Their fate was sufficiently melancholy,—deprived of their property, of their country, and even of their name, among the nations of the world; but still it would have been an aggravation of misery, had their Roman masters desired to convert them to Paganism. Though their temple was overthrown, and general ruin rendered their land desolate, it was something, still, that they might cherish those ideas of the Deity which they had been taught by their fathers. In adversity they had learnt to feel more reverence for the Eternal, than they had evinced in happier days. In the forcible language of Gibbon, "When the law was given in thunder from Mount Sinai: when the tide of the ocean and the course of the planets were suspended for the convenience of the Israelites; and when temporal rewards and punishments were the immediate consequences of their piety or disobedience, they perpetually relapsed into rebellion against the visible majesty of their divine king, placed the idols of the nations in the sanctuary of Jehovah, and imitated every fantastic ceremony that was practised in the tents of the Arabs, or in the cities of Phœnicia. As the protection of heaven was deservedly withdrawn from the ungrateful race, their faith acquired a proportionate degree of vigour and purity. The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld with careless indifference the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry."

#### CHAP. IV.

*Thirteen articles of faith, framed in ancient times, are carefully preserved by the Jews.—Titus establishes a garrison of eight hundred men in Jerusalem. Tiberias and its lake.—A search is made for a successor of the house of David.—The Jews avoid strangers.*

HUMBLLED, and politically debased as the Jews were, if they had lost the renown, it is apparent that they did not retain all the rites of their forefathers. Idolatry,

to which, after the most astonishing marks of favour and love, and the grandest revelations of the Creator, they had so readily yielded, had charms for them no more. No longer admonished by a leader who had held converse with God, they raised their thoughts to the Deity himself. Thirteen articles, which tradition declared had been framed at a very remote period by their ancestors, though it is not easy for a modern reader to peruse them without suspecting some of them to have been levelled at Christianity, and consequently written at a later day, they preserved with pious care, and imposed their study on the rising generations. They may be rendered thus:

I. I believe with undoubting faith, that God, blessed be his name for ever, is the Creator and Master of all things; that all that has been, or is, or will be, has been made by him alone.

II. I believe with undoubting faith, that the Creator of all things, blessed be his name for ever, is one and indissoluble, that there can be none like him, that he alone has been and will be our God.

III. I believe with undoubting faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, is not corporeal, and resembles nothing that we can imagine as corporeal, and that there is nothing in the universe that can resemble him.

IV. I believe with undoubting faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, is the first and the last, the beginning and the end of all things.

V. I believe with undoubting faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, ought to be alone adored.

VI. I believe with undoubting faith, that all that has been written by the prophets is true.

VII. I believe with undoubting faith, that all the prophecies of Moses, our master, (may he rest in peace) are true; that he is the chief of all wise men, whether they preceded or followed him.

VIII. I believe with undoubting faith, that the law which we have had handed down to us, was given by Moses, may he rest in peace.

IX. I believe with undoubting faith, that this law will never be changed; and that the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, will never give mankind another.

X. I believe with undoubting faith, that the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, knows all the actions and all the thoughts of men, as it is written that he has formed the hearts of all men, and is ignorant of none of their doings.

XI. I believe with an undoubting faith, that the Almighty Creator will requite those who keep his law, and punish those who break it.

XII. I believe with undoubting faith, that the Messiah will eventually come; and though his advent may be long delayed, I will ever expect it till he appears.

XIII. I believe with undoubting faith, in the resurrection of the dead at the time ordered by the Creator, blessed be his name for ever, and that his glory will extend to countless ages, and through all eternity.

Such were the opinions which the Jews still avowed in their bitterest humiliation. These soothed affliction at the moment, and taught them to hope for future



happiness, and the masters of the world, though they subdued their arms, could not shake their faith.

Though no means of resistance seemed to remain to the Jews, the desperation by which they had formerly been animated, made Titus feel that the present tranquillity might soon reach its termination, if his troops were withdrawn. While the lands were put up for sale, he established a garrison of eight hundred men, to control the inhabitants, and to deter them from ever attempting to rebuild their ruined city. Tiberias, on which the army of Vespasian had been encamped, was long revered as containing the graves of many distinguished Hebrews. Here numbers of their warriors slept, by the side of those who had conquered them. In modern times it has retained its interest, though the town is but small. Established close to the lake of Genesarat, it is encompassed with towers standing equidistant, and at the northern extremity the ruins of the ancient Tiberias are still marked by the fractured red granite column, and other remnants of vanished grandeur. On the opposite side of the town, its famous hot baths were found, the heat of which was so great, that the hand could not endure it longer than one minute; while the lake, through which the Jordan finds a passage, presented a magnificent sheet of water. The prices obtained for grounds in this vicinity enriched the treasury of Vespasian, and rendered the laurels won by Titus any thing but barren. They gladdened the heart of the emperor, and gave more intensity to his devotions, while he acknowledged the bounty of Jupiter by ample sacrifices and libations.

But the dread which had once oppressed the heart of Herod, now came over the mind of the Roman emperor. He feared that the Israelites might again be called to arms, to place on the throne the representative of their ancient kings, a scion of the house of David. To guard against an evil of such a magnitude, that which, under other circumstances, would have been deemed a crime, was held to be justified as a measure of state policy. An active search was set on foot, if possible to discover any surviving member of the house of Jesse; and strict orders were given that such individual, when found, should be put to death, in order to extinguish every hope of a new deliverer, arising to lead them out of bondage, or to enable them again to appear in the battle-field. It does not appear that any one likely to suffer from this cruel caution was then found; but at a subsequent period such was not the case. Depressed as they were, the spirit of industry soon revived among the Israelites; and, though suffering much from oppression, thrifty habits lifted some of them to opulence. Two separate communities were gradually formed; the one claiming a spiritual, the other a temporal sovereign. This was connected with no attempt again to assume the importance of an independant state; but, politically speaking, it rather tended to increase prostration by division. In the two communities which have been mentioned, all the best known Jewish families were found. The patriarch of the west was acknowledged on this side of the Euphrates as the Hebrew chief; while the head of the Mesopotamian community was honoured as the Risch Glutha, or Prince of the

Captivity. It does not appear that the Prince of the Captivity, in those days, received all the honours, and possessed all the importance, which belonged to him at a later date. Though called prince, and recognised as lord, it will easily be conceived that affectionate loyalty might prudently refrain from flattering him by hailing him as the royal descendant of David. In other respects, the Hebrews paid the individual so distinguished as much homage as they rendered to some of his successors, whom they were compelled reverentially to salute, under pain of receiving a hundred stripes. The course taken by Vespasian, of raising a supply of money by selling portions of his conquest, of course had the effect of tempting many speculative strangers to settle in that fertile region. For the most part they regarded those they despoiled with too much scorn to associate with them; and the Jews, always accused of being unsocial, always anxious to avoid being confounded with the other races of mankind, had here as little temptation as opportunity to depart from their established practices.

## CHAP. V.

*The Roman publicans make themselves obnoxious to the Hebrews.—Two grandsons of Jude the Apostle are suspected of being descendants of David.—Nerva affords the Jews some relief.—They suffer from popular violence at Antioch and Alexandria.*

THE peculiar rites of the Jewish religion, it has been seen, provoked insult from the Romans. It was not only hatred of a faith which they had never been taught to respect, but avarice prompted outrage to extort money from those who were accused of belonging to the race of Abraham.

There were certain men among the Romans known by the name of publicans. They were not persons who obtained a livelihood by providing food or wine, or by otherwise entertaining voluntary customers, but men dispersed through the empire, who farmed the taxes, and extorted as much as they could from the people. As they advanced money to the emperors, and ran great risks, they were allowed to make large profits, and they frequently amassed enormous wealth, which they realized by monstrous exactions and merciless severity. To the Jews they made themselves peculiarly obnoxious in the way already indicated. The crimes they perpetrated were sanctioned or unheeded by the Roman authorities; for the Israelite there was no redress. Under many succeeding rulers three wrongs were endured. In the days of Domitian the policy which aimed at rooting out the last representative of the ancient kings of Israel was again acted upon, and the inquiries made proved more effectual than those formerly commanded by Vespasian. The self-degraded brother of Titus, intoxicated with power, had forgotten the glorious example placed before his eyes by his father and brother, and now consumed his days in sensual pleasures, with which he



associated capricious cruelty. He loved to mock the sufferer he had resolved to despoil or murder. Such a monster found unspeakable delight in torturing the Jews, and draining them of their wealth. Under various pretences he extorted large sums from them; and, as a sort of apology for his barbarity, he pretends to feel alarm on their account. One of those mysterious prophecies which are occasionally reported in every country, declared that a Jew of the line of David should arise and become the master of the world. The same insolent brutality, which moved the emperor to put Ascleterion the astrologer to death, and his body to be burnt to ashes, that it might not be devoured by dogs, as he had foretold, now caused Domitian to order search to be made for such Hebrews as were of royal lineage, that his fears might be set at rest by depriving them of existence. Two humble unoffending men were discovered, who were reported to be the descendants of David. They were seized, imprisoned, and severely interrogated before the emperor's tribunal; but eager as their accusers were to establish a case against the prisoners, their efforts ultimately failed. The poor men, thus placed in jeopardy, were really grandsons of the Apostle Jude, but they were men of such humble unassuming minds, that it was soon seen the peace of the empire was not likely to be disturbed by them. They refuted the charge against them, not by denying their relationship to the brother of Jesus, but by exhibiting their hands, coarse and hard from daily labour. These, with their humble garb and inoffensive character, seemed to the inspectors to be all sufficient. There was a frankness and an unaffected simplicity in their manner, that put aside suspicion, and called forth something like esteem; something at least that indicated, if they possessed the imputed rights of birth, they would not seek to raise themselves to power. Happily for them, this conviction of their insignificance was brought home to those who had to decide on their fate, and in consequence they were liberated.

When Nerva became emperor, he pitied the melancholy condition of the Jews, and took steps in various respects to afford them relief. But, like most monarchs, he was reluctant to suffer his humanity to injure his revenue; and the tax which he had imposed to cover the expense of restoring the fane of Jupiter Capitolinus, destroyed in the course of the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, to its former magnificence, though that object had been now effected, was still exacted, and continued to be claimed long after the Temple had been rebuilt. In other respects, Nerva modified the barbarous laws which had been framed by his predecessors. Many of the Jews, exiled from Rome, obtained permission to return to it on certain conditions, which were imposed upon all foreigners. At the same time he totally abolished the fierce prosecutions which had previously been common against the crime of *impiety*, and of *Judaism*. This had been the accusation preferred in the time of Domitian against the Jews, who were established in Italy. It is even said, that one impost which pressed upon them was withdrawn; but that is apocryphal, and is no more than a somewhat ingenious inference drawn from an inscription found on an ancient

medal, "*Calumnia fisci Judæi sublata*," "an obscure expression," Caefigie remarks, "but which may explain a passage in Origen, 'the ordinary *Didrachme* has not ceased to be paid; but all the vexations of the public tax collectors, the secret and arbitrary contributions exacted, whether to swell the public treasure or to benefit individuals, are severely forbidden.'"

It has been faintly argued, that the probability is, the tax if abated was not withdrawn, but that it was believed that the Jews had been too hardly treated, had suffered from misrepresentation, and that at all events it was desired that they should be relieved from the pressure of that calumny under which they had heretofore groaned. Those measures of wisdom, policy, and humanity, which the emperor could see carried into effect under his own eye at Rome, in the distant provinces of the empire, were not immediately adopted. The Greeks and Syrians who peopled Egypt and Asia Minor, and whom ancient hatred separated from the Israelites, retained all the hostile feelings which had been produced by the siege of Jerusalem; and the violences which had preceded it. To them it seemed hardly within the range of things possible, that the favour and protection of Cæsar, could be extended to malcontents who had not scrupled to resist his legions in Alexandria and in Antioch. The populace frequently took up arms against the insulted Israelites, who were there found in great numbers. In every place, all voices were raised against them. In the theatres, in the circus, in public meetings, in short, wherever excitation could be easily produced by inflammatory harangues, the mob demanded the banishment of the Jews. Sometimes providing themselves with stones and clubs, they rushed to the quarter in which the Israelites resided, committed the most ruffianly outrages, and convulsed the whole city with their unholy strife. Persons of distinction or opulence, though they kept aloof from these doings, with the proconsul of the provinces, seemed to regard such outbreaks with indifference, and seldom interposed their authority to check them. When at length they judged it necessary to interfere, their decisions were prompted by their own prepossessions against the Israelites, rather than by a sense of what was due to justice; and as the Syrians and the Greeks professed their belief in the gods of Rome; as they were the richest proprietors, and formed the most brilliant society of the cities in which they were established; it was seldom that the Jews could obtain a fair hearing, and that the magistrate would give in a case, where they were concerned, a righteous and impartial judgment. Policy like this was ill calculated to tranquilize a people always sufficiently refractory. The cruel subjection they had to deplore; the imprudent or unjust conduct of the Proconsuls, supplied to the oppressed irresistible temptations to revolt. Forty years had scarcely elapsed, from the taking of Jerusalem to the triumph of Titus, when three successive insurrections were witnessed; one at Cyrene, a city of Lybia; another in Mesopotamia; and the third, the most desperate and deplorable of all, in the isle of Cyprus.



## CHAP. VI.

*Simon the Magician, and the Gnostics.—The Jews are the objects of great hatred.—Great importance of the Rabbins.—Their temporal aid is greatly needed.—They claim for the unwritten law the same importance as for the ten commandments.—Oppression renders the Jews desperate.*

MIXED with sober realities, we find many startling relations in connexion with this period of Jewish history. The early progress of Christianity was opposed by the weakness and imprudence of some of its friends, as much as by the scorn and rancour of its foes. Men seemed awaking from the long sleep of paganism, to run wild from the new light which broke in upon their vision. Sorcery was then universally believed in. We find, in the Acts of the Apostles, a striking account of Simon the Magician. This man, it is stated, "had used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria," giving out, "that himself was some great one." He was regarded by many as a person to whom Godhead entrusted unearthly power; but when others were converted by the preaching of Philip, he also believed, and was baptized. Simon saw the Holy Spirit communicated by the imposition of hands, and offered money to purchase from the disciples the like power. Peter bitterly reproved him, for thinking the gifts of God could be purchased by money. Called upon to repent, Simon appeared sensible of his error, and entreated the apostle to pray for him. Subsequently, he is believed to have relapsed, practised sorcery, and to have taught a corrupted religion, asserting it to be the true Christian faith. He described the Eternal to reside in unapproachable light, while intermediate beings passed between him and the earth, of whom he represented himself to be one. Boastful of the wonders he could perform, a legend reports, that being at Rome, he undertook a flight to heaven, but instantly falling, broke his legs, and died shortly afterwards from shame. Failure, at once so ridiculous and deplorable, did not put an end to the sect known as the Gnostics, which he had established; and these, about the end of the first, and in the beginning of the second centuries, strong in number, were in the habit of indulging in the most outrageous jeers at all who believed what the apostles preached, and, indeed, at all who differed from the particular views which the Gnostics themselves had been led to adopt. Their body comprised those who were wealthy, and who were looked up to as learned, enlightened, and polite. This they thought entitled them to the proud name they had assumed; though some have held, that it was ironically bestowed by those who were unfriendly to them, in derision of their egotism. They blended the tenets of Christianity with some derived from the eastern philosophers and the writings of Zoroaster, and were soon, like other religionists, divided into sects, which severally rejoiced in famous leaders, incomparable doctors, and glorious martyrs.

All these various worshippers, much as they might

differ from the orthodox Christian or the Pagan, cordially joined either in his hostility to the Jews. No severity exercised on that unhappy race was thought by the Gnostics to be reprehensible. They hated the Jew and despised his law. To the history of his ancestors they attached no credit. "The Mosaic account of the creation and the fall of man were treated with profane derision by the Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labour, to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offences of their first progenitors. The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and error, capricious in his favours, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people, and this transitory life. In such a character, they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent Father of the universe." Their opposition, we are told, eventually served Christianity; it certainly had not the effect of putting down Judaism, as taught by the Rabbins. Their spiritual supremacy was every where confessed by the children of Israel, and their authority still upheld the natural feeling of a people who had no longer a nation, and saved them from being lost in the masses with whom they were forced to sojourn, but with whom they never would associate. After the Babylonian captivity, the tribe of Levi appear to have lost their position with their lands. High distinction they still retained; and their presence seems to have been required to give a necessary sanction to public meetings of the law. Still their condition was not a very happy one. The tithe which they retained, could not console them for what they had lost; and sometimes it was so wretchedly unproductive, that the Levites experienced the greatest distress, and indeed were almost in a starving state. They officiated as ministers in the temple; but as the instruction of the people, and the expounding of the law, fell into other hands, their profits were small, and consequently their importance in the eyes of the people declined.

That attachment of the Jews to their ancient religion, which has been remarked upon as being most strongly manifested in their misfortunes, seems to have been roused and encouraged, or, at all events, greatly sustained after their captivity, by Ezra and Nehemiah. They are believed to have formed that bond of union, which preserved the Hebrew race from amalgamation with the rest of mankind. The Jewish law, in the midst of hostile strangers, they laboured to uphold. To know it accurately demanded long and careful study, which the many were happy to escape; but some individuals were induced, with a view to profit, to undertake the office of expositors of the law. The indolent and the incapable were easily brought to require largely the industry and talent which enabled them to conquer, or saved them from some of the obvious inconveniences of their own deficiency. Hence, to be learned in the law gave honourable distinction. It devolved upon those who devoted themselves to its study, to correct the calendar, and to



determine the days on which feasts and festivals were to be held—a duty which was supposed to be of vast importance, as an error in calculating them, and which caused the celebration to take place on the wrong day, was deemed an evil omen, and one that was sure to produce a series of disasters. Among the graver Hebrews, great would have been the consternation if the Passover were shewn to have been inaccurately named, or if the day of the new moon had been erroneously calculated. From ancient days the victim might bleed, the incense ascend, but the pious could not hope that the sacrifice would be acceptable, if negligence so gross had interfered with the worship of the Most High, and caused them to depart from the strict letter of the law. These are mentioned but as a small portion of the cases that might arise, in which, for the want of able expounders of the law, the children of Abraham would be fatally led astray. Observances connected with every-day life exposed them to appalling danger if they were not rightly advised; and thus the man of law was constantly required to regulate the individual doings of each family, as well as the general arrangements of the community. To the temple, as heretofore, the worshipper repaired to meet the congregation, and to join in national devotion; but oftener he was obliged to resort to the synagogue, where, besides assisting in prayer, he was instructed in the law. Divinity and law were there combined; and at last they were taught within the same walls. It was from this circumstance that the Rabbins gained the vast importance he possessed; besides instructing his followers in spiritual matters, he was a most necessary guide in temporal affairs. From the strong impression thus made on their minds, their zeal and admiration of the Rabbins were inflamed to a degree which caused the homage their instructors received to approach adoration; and the cry of “The voice of the Rabbins is the voice of God,” became common. This is thought to have had more reference to his weight in temporal concerns, than to his spiritual importance; and indeed, the priesthood, apart from the Rabbins, was so depressed, that it was regarded but as a mere addition to the magisterial power which the Rabbins exercised. Through the Sanhedrim their will was commonly made known. That body was at once senatorial and judicial, and comprehended the ablest teachers. The Rabbins were commonly selected as the most competent persons to become members of that grave assembly. They took upon themselves, not merely to interpret the statutes; they claimed to be regarded as the depositories of the sacred traditions handed down from their ancestors. Their claim to declare the unwritten law did not pass unquestioned; but they vindicated the authority which they insisted belonged to them with such success, that the majority of the people acknowledged their rights, and yielded cheerful obedience to their decisions. In solemn language they announced, what might well awe those who revered their character, and confided in their truth, that the unwritten law proceeded from the Almighty himself, communicated by Him to Moses on Mount Sinai, and handed down with all the care and precision, a charge so precious, so sacred, demanded,

through a long line of the most illustrious teachers known to Hebrew history. They scrupled not to declare these traditions were entitled to the same reverence as the ten commandments. Hence the Massora, or *Cabala*, as it was sometimes called, had immense importance with the vulgar, and commanded the serious attention of all.

The hateful oppression to which the Jews were subjected, the cruel insults to which they were incessantly exposed, bred discontent. Their murmurs called forth additional punishment; and resentment of fresh outrage, at last broke out in revolt. In the reign of Trajan, not the least deserving of the Roman emperors, the misery and desperation of the Israelites rose to its height. During his life, and that of his successor, their rebellions caused a great loss of life, and fearful scenes were witnessed in the settlements of Babylonia, Egypt, and Cyrene, as well as in Judea.

## CHAP. VII.

*Trajan is not favourable to the Jews—He orders their extirpation.—The men are slain; the women reject life, and share the same fate.—The Jews revolt.—Dreadful cruelties are imputed to them.—The revolters are quelled and severely punished.—Lucius Quintus is appointed governor of Judea.—Trajan dies.*

TRAJAN, though the reputed possessor of many virtues, was little disposed to favour the Jews, or any body of men found among the Romans who adhered to what were denounced as foreign superstitions. An accident, which caused the Jews to appear bewailing his happiness, prompted rigour which might otherwise have been spared. The ninth day of August, the anniversary of the twofold destruction of Jerusalem, they kept as a day of mourning, while their conquerors were rejoicing in the birth of a prince. Great offence was thus given; but, on another occasion, Trajan was equally disgusted at learning the Jews appeared openly to rejoice in his affliction. The imperial family had to deplore the loss of a daughter, when their sorrow was indecorously interrupted by the noisy rejoicings of the Israelites in their vicinity, who were then celebrating their “Feast of Lamps.” An army was at that moment about to march against a foreign enemy; but the indignant emperor, in the fulness of his disgust at the unfeeling insult the Jews were supposed to have offered, impatiently ordered the general, before he marched against the barbarians, “to sweep the insolent and hateful Israelites from the face of the earth.” The stern mandate was in a great measure obeyed, at least with regard to the Jews, who were on the spot encompassed by the Roman legions, whom they had no power to resist, and from whom they could not escape. They were mercilessly cut to pieces. The men were put to death; but a touch of cruel humanity came over Trajan, when their sorrowing wives only remained, and he gave them the alternative of life or death, by decreeing that they should share the fate of their husbands, or give themselves up to the



pleasure of his soldiers. The Hebrew women had the magnanimity and virtue to disdain life on such ignominious terms; and their answer was, "That which thou hast done, O emperor, to those beneath the soil, do also to those who yet remain on it." This noble answer failed to move compassion,—they were taken at their word, and the conquerors of the world cruelly massacred a crowd of helpless women. From their blood, it is said, mingling with that of their husbands', the sea, which washed the shore of Cyprus, blushed for the crime. This narrative, though countenanced by Jewish writers, has been impeached by other historians. It is believed that Trajan had no children, and consequently, that the occasion for such inhumanity could hardly arise; and generally it is considered inconsistent with the known character of that emperor. It, however, appears, that for some cause or other they incurred his displeasure, and suffered from his vengeance. When the revolt which has been mentioned broke out, he was engaged in a war with the Parthians. He doubtless felt that it was no slight thing to be assailed by the Hebrews at a moment so critical; and the anger which it would create was inflamed by reports of the horrid cruelties which marked the progress of the rebels. These, indeed were such as almost justified those who knew the statement to be true in putting them to death, "not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society."

The immediate occasion of the outbreak does not appear; but enough has been said of the condition of the Israelites, to shew that the fact of the legions being employed elsewhere, was enough to wake the discontent, long smouldering in their bosoms, into a flame. By some, the Greeks are supposed to have moved the Jews to take up arms. Be this as it may, the insurgents are represented to have degraded themselves in the struggle, by committing the greatest enormities, while they were momentarily successful. In Egypt, in Cyprus, and Cirene, they had lived on friendly terms with their neighbours; but when the standard of revolt was raised, they indulged in wanton outrages, shocking to humanity. Ancient writers report, that in Cirene alone, they put to death two hundred thousand Greeks, in Cyprus two hundred and forty thousand, besides a multitude in Egypt. This horrid butchery was aggravated by the manner in which they tortured the sufferers. With the deplorable madness of slaves who have burst their chains, they sought not merely to kill, but studied how to connect excruciating agony with death. Some whom they had made prisoners were sawed asunder, in imitation of the vengeance of David. Horrible festivals were celebrated, in which the flesh of murdered men formed a part of the repast; and reeking with blood, they tore the skin from the dead, and converted them into garments. Some, more fortunate, were dashed in pieces, by being thrown from the mountain's summit; others were doomed to be the prey of wild beasts. Their leaders were named Lucuas and Andrew. The two names are thought by some to belong to the same individual. They (if Lucuas and Andrew were not one) were joined by immense numbers of their countrymen. A simultaneous movement was witnessed in Alexandria, the Thebais, and Cirene. At first the Jews

were successful in the land where their forefathers had witnessed miracles in their favour, and they exulted as conquerors of Egypt. But the Greeks who had fled before them to Alexandria speedily rallied, gave battle to the Hebrews, defeated them, and murdered all that fell into their hands. The reports which were spread far and wide, of the cannibal practices in which they had indulged, and of the varied and ingenious tortures which they had inflicted on their unhappy captives, inspired among those by whom they were vanquished an ardent thirst for retaliation and blood; while on the other hand, the Jews, hearing of the slaughter of their friends by the Greeks, as they passed through Lower Egypt, committed new violences to requite the merciless proceedings of their enemies. The entrails of those who perished beneath their swords were torn from their bodies to form a disgusting wreath, which the victor insultingly wore. The Roman governor, whose name was Lupas, was compelled to remain an inactive spectator of these violences. He had no troops strong enough to oppose the force which the Israelites had collected; the Jewish commander affected the dignity of royalty, and expected to sit on the throne of the Pharaohs.

In Cyprus the revolt was general. It is unnecessary to repeat the disgusting atrocities which the insurgents are said to have perpetrated. Suffice it to say, the city of Salamis is described as having been reduced to a desert. To check the rebels, Hadrian was sent with adequate power to assist those of the inhabitants who, faithful to Rome, had dared to resist. His military skill was more than equal to the task of meeting a fanatical ill-disciplined host; and the Jews were soon vanquished. They had little mercy to expect in the hour of defeat; those to whom quarter was shewn were expelled from the island to approach it no more. This edict was carefully promulgated, and acted upon with such strictness, that if a Jew were thrown on the coast by a tempest, his misfortune was not allowed to excuse his involuntary intrusion, and he was doomed to instant execution. To the Cirenian coast, Martius Turbo was sent with a naval force, and, besides, considerable military power both horse and foot. The records of this expedition are somewhat confused; he seems to have first actively applied himself to subdue Andrew; and having succeeded, he turned his arms against Lucuas. It may be that the same Jewish leader (as already mentioned,) is indicated by both names. Tradition, however, relates that Lucuas endeavoured to find a passage for himself and followers through the Isthmus of Suez. At all events, he fled defeated, and with great loss, before Martius Turbo. There is every reason to believe that in their operations many thousands of Jews perished; but credulity is rather severely tasked, when we read that more lost their lives in this unavailing struggle than had originally been conducted from Egypt by Moses, that is to say, more than six hundred thousand men! Martius Turbo is praised as one of the most skilful of the Roman generals. He so completely extirpated, or drove out the Hebrews, that the country was completely depopulated; and at a subsequent period, Hadrian thought it expedient to re-people it by estab-



lishing a colony there. It may be mentioned, as not a little remarkable, that the Rabbins who have narrated those mournful events; while they deplore and condemn the unholy vengeance which had pursued their brethren, breath no reproach, and do not even express surprise, at the atrocities imputed to the Jews.

At, or nearly at, the same period, Mesopotamia became the theatre of a like sedition. There the Jews had loudly murmured against the Roman government, and threatened to throw off the yoke. They had formerly been under the rule of the Parthian Kings, who are believed to have allowed them the unrestrained enjoyment of their religion; and they are even said to have made many proselytes to Judaism. They were also subjected to no exclusive taxation. When they were placed under the Roman Emperor, their condition was materially changed for the worse. At all events, impatient of their condition, they ventured on the experiment of rebellion. Trajan promptly directed Lucius Quintus, at the head of several legions, to march towards Mesopotamia. Here, as elsewhere, the Jews were again worsted; and, as related by Eusebius, a massacre was perpetrated by the victors, which was so perfect that not a single Jew survived in all that country. Quintus was ordered, not merely to subdue, but to expel. According to some writers, he considered extirpation preferable to banishment. But the assertion of Eusebius is not borne out to its fullest extent. That either some of the vanquished Hebrews were spared, or permitted very soon to return, seems more than probable from the appointment of Lucius Quintus to the government of Judea. It was doubtless hoped that those who had been so desperately refractory would be deterred from attempting a new outbreak by the presence of their conqueror.

The severe chastisement which they had received, appears for a time to have broken the spirit of the Hebrews, and they submitted to their fate with melancholy resignation. Trajan was not again disturbed by their sedition, but he was not permitted long to enjoy the tranquillity he had won. In the year following that in which this rebellion had been suppressed, his reign and his life were brought to a close. He died in Cilicia of an apoplexy, in the sixty-third year of his age.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Hadrian succeeds Trajan.—He shews no favour to the Jews.—He resolves to establish a colony.—Additional indignities are offered to the Hebrews.—The coming of the Messiah is expected.—His appearance is announced.—The son of Coziba presents himself as the Messiah.—He takes the name of Barcochab.—Akiba acts as his precursor.—He warmly espouses the cause of the false Messiah.*

WE approach a remarkable portion of Jewish history. Trajan was succeeded by Hadrian, the commander who visited so severely the revolt of the Jews in the island of Cyprus. What he had seen there, did not dispose him

to regard with favour the insurgents he had vanquished; but the Jews of Mesopotamia had cause to rejoice in his advancement. For some reason he considered that they were not worth retaining as subjects, or satisfied that empire becomes stronger from condensation, he deemed it prudent to abandon the conquests in the east, which his predecessors had made, and to declare that thenceforth the river Euphrates should be the boundary of Roman dominion. This caused the Mesopotamian Jews again to revert to their former masters, and to rejoice in the advantages of a paternal government. But for Judaism, the new emperor felt no kindness. As a Roman, he resented the outrages which he had witnessed, and the insults offered to his religion. The beautiful island of Cyprus he had seen in a state of frightful ruin; its streets depopulated; its sacred groves polluted by murder; and the most ferocious outrages were reported to have been perpetrated in pure wantonness. To him the name of the Hebrew nation was hateful, and identifying their religion with their crimes, he attempted to put down their worship altogether. He forbade the observance of their sabbath; their meetings at the synagogue; and the circumcising of their offspring. Still more to afflict the children of Abraham, he resolved to abolish a colony in Jerusalem; and on the foundation of their ruined temple, to build one to the honour of Jupiter. Whatever the Jews had deserved, they were not prepared for measures like these. Though Jerusalem had not been restored, many of them still found habitations there; and to behold, in addition to other degrading outrages, the house consecrated to the Most High, about to be renewed, in the form of a temple, in honour of a Pagan deity, shocked the pious, and affronted the most indifferent. In the deep gloom which now enveloped their prospects, they felt their condition was more intolerable, than when they sighed by the waters of Babylon, and all contemplated with bitter anguish the coming moment, when the sacred ground of Sion, on which the Holy of Holies had rested, was to be thus mournfully desecrated.

Yet, to those who had faith in prophecy, a ray of hope remained. They had been taught that that mighty arm which compelled the sea to offer the followers of Moses a passage "as on dry land" would yet be put forth at the season of their greatest peril. They looked for a glorious advent; to the coming of an unearthly friend and monarch; to the appearance of the promised Messiah; who would present himself to them with celestial splendour and irresistible power, "conquering and to conquer."

And if it were permitted to them at any period to expect divine interference in their favour, when could they more reasonably hope that a relenting Deity would aid and sustain them under unparalleled suffering than at that moment. Miracles were familiar to their minds. The most astounding were spoken of, not as events loosely reported to have been witnessed, at that remote period in which history seems lost in fable, but as facts clearly ascertained, and carefully preserved, by Rabbins and priests of unquestionable integrity. The numerous communications direct from the Almighty on their records, made such revelations appear to them, not



common-place or unimportant, but not very astonishing or extraordinary. They believed that God had condescended to honour their tabernacle with his presence. Not to speak of the cloud which by day covered it with its shadow, and of the light which illumined it by night, as by a fire, they doubted not that the Eternal had condescended to give answers to their High priest, so that his voice might be heard; and they held it to be a matter beyond all question, that fire descended from heaven to consume the holocausts on the brazen altar.

Minds thus imbued with a deep sense of their nation having been so singularly distinguished by divine favour, were well prepared, through the gloom which enveloped them, to welcome a new and glorious dispensation; and it was under these circumstances that the hearts of the afflicted Hebrews were suddenly cheered by the glad tidings that the long promised Messiah had actually appeared.

There was a man named Coziba, or Barcochab, as he is more generally called, who presented himself to his countrymen as the long looked for Deliverer of Israel. The Rabbinical traditions give this man a royal origin. They report him to have been the son of Coziba, who was at some period the acknowledged king of the Jews; but for this there appears no probable foundation. It has been remarked, that in these traditions, a disposition is universally manifested to give the greatest possible *éclat* to all the moderately celebrated men of the Hebrew nation; and the title of king has often been used to express some comparatively humble distinction, in the synagogue or the Sanhedrim. Whatever his birth, at a moment of great public calamity, Barcochab was announced as the Messiah, as the great deliverer of his countrymen, as the potent king, who was to subdue all rebellious nations. To sustain the character which he assumed, it was necessary that Coziba should possess, or at least be supposed to possess, extraordinary qualities, such as would indisputably indicate his celestial dignity. This was necessary to inspire his brother Israelites with confidence in his mission; and as a preliminary step, he gave up the name by which he had previously been known, that of Coziba, to assume the appellation of Barcochab, or "Son of the Star." This was to work out the prophecy of Balaam, who, in the language of inspiration, had exclaimed, "I shall see him, but not now; I shall see him, but not nigh; there shall come a star out of Jacob, and the sceptre shall rise out of Israel, to smite and conquer the Moabites." The "Son of the Star," besides claiming a heavenly origin, and regal dignity, and power to subdue all enemies, gave out that he was capable of distinguishing the wicked by the scent, (this being one of the peculiarities which the Talmud had declared would belong to the Messiah,) and living flame issued from his mouth. A personage so important was expected to be preceded by a herald, or envoy, of no inconsiderable dignity; and one of the earliest steps which the impostor thought essential to the success of his cheat, was to select a fitting precursor. As John the Baptist went before the true Saviour of mankind, some holy and important mortal was required to lead the way for Barcochab.

Not long did the false Messiah seek for a Hebrew whom he judged eminently qualified to undertake this task. He fixed his eyes on the aged Akiba, and that singular character embraced his cause with a degree of ardour which proved years had not deprived him of energy, or abated his enthusiasm. The learned Rabbins, one of that august body whose decisions were allowed to have the greatest weight with the community to which he belonged, as they were in possession of the unwritten law, which it was boldly affirmed came to them from the Deity, who to them had made known what in his wisdom he had concealed from Moses. Akiba was known to have passed a large portion of his life in prayer; and it was declared, had been favoured with special revelations from the Most High. Twenty-four thousand scholars sought knowledge from his lips; the academies of Tiberias and Jamnia had long resounded with praises of his wisdom; and his admired speeches and actions, if fairly written, it was asserted, would be more than sufficient to fill the temple. This man was now at the head of the Sanhedrim. Though not of the pure blood of Israel, being one of the descendants of Siser, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Hebrew woman, his romantic history, which has already been noticed, his great learning and holy life, gave him unbounded influence. He, if what is represented of him might be credited, was hardly less extraordinary for the triumphs he had already achieved by his genius and perseverance, than Barcochab was for the victories he proposed to gain. Tradition states, that after passing the twelve years in study, to satisfy the lady of his choice, by gaining knowledge, her father, though Akiba returned with twelve thousand disciples, disinherited his daughter for giving him her affections. The repulsed son-in-law was a philosopher; "Every thing which is ordained by Heaven is for the best," was a maxim constantly in his mouth; and again withdrawing himself, he in due time returned with twenty-four thousand disciples. Such a host the churlish father could no longer resist, and fairly yielded, it may be said, overpowered by numbers. This man, Akiba, was now looked up to by his countrymen as the perfection of learning and virtue, as the living fountain of divine truth; yet he did not hesitate to favour the designs, and embark in the daring schemes of Barcochab. That adventurer had doubtless been in communication with Akiba, before he presented himself to his countrymen in general. Akiba was well prepared to receive him; and without hesitation boldly hailed him as the true Messiah, whose coming the chose people had so fondly expected. The moment Barcochab appeared in Judea, Akiba called on his numerous disciples to honour their appointed chief and king; and, affecting inspiration, "Behold," he exclaimed, "that Star appears, which of old it was prophesied should arise out of Jacob." The drooping Israelites listened to the voice of the Rabbins they honoured. An announcement so agreeable to their wishes gained easy credence. The words which had fallen from his lips were rapturously repeated by all classes; Israel again learnt to hope, and multitudes presented themselves—ambitious only of marching to glory, under the banner of the conquering Messiah.



CHAP. IX.

*Akiba derives hope from the fallen state of Jerusalem.—Some doubt, and others deny, that Barcochab is the Messiah.—The Jewish revolvers establish themselves in Bithers.—Spies are sent among the Jews by the Romans.—Turnus Rufus marches against them.—The Romans experience reverses.—Barcochab is slain.*

WHEN Akiba came forward to rouse his countrymen against their oppressors, and to follow the enthusiast, Barcochab, he had numbered one hundred and twenty years. Every thing that he saw tended to strengthen the conviction he had avowed; and he had the ingenuity to derive hopes from the most discouraging circumstances. While he gazed on the fallen towers of Jerusalem, even the dreary desolation he beheld, carried comfort to his heart. Those who attended him were moved even to tears; but Akiba's maxim, "That whatever is ordained from Heaven is for the best," assuaged their sorrows, while he soothingly remarked, "That the proud triumphs of the enemies of Israel, seeing they proved to the world the truth and dignity of their prophets, were well calculated to raise their courage, and assure them of future happiness in fulfilment of the promises of God." The effect produced by his exhortations was infinitely greater than could reasonably have been anticipated. The Talmud states that no fewer than two hundred thousand warriors presented themselves ready to fight in the cause of Barcochab; and these were such mighty men, it is added, "that any one of them advancing on horseback at full speed, could have torn from the earth a cedar of Lebanon."

Great as the general enthusiasm was among the Hebrews, there were some reflecting persons who had their misgivings. The animated confidence of Akiba, judged by the many to be inspiration, was suspected by thinking individuals to be the mere dotage of senility. When Akiba proclaimed that the redemption of his brethren was at hand, and that the glorious Star announced in the days of the elder patriarchs had arisen, one of his companions had the boldness not simply to question, but flatly to deny that Coziba was the Messiah. "The grass, Akiba," said he, "shall spring from thy jawbone, yet the promised Star, the Son of David, the Light of all nations, shall not have appeared." It was in vain that such doubts were expressed by a few; it was in vain that sinister whispers were propagated; that Barcochab, instead of being a regal personage, or a heavenly envoy, was neither more nor less than a wretched earthly robber. The flames which he blew from his mouth, and which the multitude had been told would infallibly blast the enemies of Israel, it was suspected, was produced by the art of the juggler, or of the sorcerer, a name with which they were familiar, and proved him nothing more than an ordinary mortal. These things gave alarm only to those who could calmly muse on what was passing; the great body of the Jews had given themselves up to the agreeable but dangerous

delusion; and the masses now formed, impatient to combat the enemies of the Jewish name, were such, that the dispassionate observer might be pardoned for deeming them irresistible.

They took upon themselves forthwith to establish a government; the seat of it they resolved should be Bithers or Bethoron, a fortified city, within a moderate distance of Jerusalem. Having acted on this design, and commenced their settlement, they flattered themselves that no enemy would be in haste to venture on making war against them; but the Romans, though as yet they made no serious demonstration, were not inactive. Intelligent emissaries, whose business was not suspected, mingled with the Israelites, watched all their movements, and duly reported on the means they possessed, and the preparations they were making. To this day the place is called by the Rabbins, "The house of Spies;" not merely in reference to what has just been related, but because the Romans had previously placed guards there, to watch the Israelites who repaired to Jerusalem to offer their adoration in opposition to the Imperial edict. That city they believed to have been ceded as the dowry of a daughter whom Pharaoh, King of Egypt, had given to be one of the wives of Solomon, and had been bestowed by the latter on the Levites, when he undertook to provide for their maintenance. There, however, the false Messiah now established himself; there he caused himself to be anointed as king, and money was coined in his name, specimens of which still exist, and serve to prove that supreme authority was, for the moment, possessed by Barcochab. During some time, his dream of greatness, was undisturbed. While his mad ambition was confined within narrow limits, or seemed to evaporate in wild and boastful declarations, setting forth, that it was reserved for him to conquer all the world, Hadrian took no notice of his vagaries, expecting perhaps, from the extravagance of the folly, that it would die of itself a natural death. When news at length reached Rome that a formidable insurrection had broken out, which extended to all parts of Judea, and when intelligence arrived from day to day, which justified an apprehension that if it were not speedily checked, all Syria would be wrested from the empire, he ordered Turnus Rufus to march against the rebels, and effectually to chastise the Jewish nation. This was not so easily done as ordered. Barcochab had been afforded time to consolidate his power, and is believed to have been a commander of some talent. The force sent against him in the first instance could not check the rebels; the Romans had not their wonted success; and the enthusiastic followers of Coziba overpowered the veterans of Rome; but no detailed account of the various movements of the hostile armies has been handed down to us. It is, however, sufficiently clear that the votaries of the false Messiah were enabled for a time to maintain their ground; and Hadrian judged it expedient to order Julius Severus, the commander of the Legions in Britain, to repair to Palestine. Julius Severus was reputed to be one of the ablest captains of the time, but he could not immediately put down this formidable rebellion. The Jews, in various instances, gained triumphs of importance, and the Romans had to



deplorable severe reverses. The style in which Hadrian, being in the neighbourhood of the army, wrote to the Senate on the subject of these operations, was not that which had commonly been used with Roman commanders; the customary congratulations were spared. The form of addressing the Senate had been this, "I rejoice if all is well with you, and your children; with myself and the army, all is well." It is not exactly known how long the struggle was protracted; but Severus was obliged at first to confine himself to acting on the defensive. Instead of advancing to finish the contest with a brilliant victory, he tasked his ingenuity to find the means of cutting off the supplies of the revolvers, in order to reduce them by famine. According to the Jewish chroniclers a desperate resistance was made by the insurgents. With their usual intrepidity of language, they speak of four hundred academies, containing more than four hundred thousand students, and report that the pencil or the *stylus* which they ordinarily used to transcribe the law and the decisions of the Rabbins, sufficed to arrest the progress of the Romans. They had, while Hadrian disdained to move against them, possessed themselves of the heights, raised walls, and fortified caverns and other places of defence. They had also secured a large supply of arms, and these advantages enabled them to oppose the legions for a season, with such an appearance of success, as promised for their cause a brilliant result. Barcochab, brave by nature, or desperate from circumstances, shewed himself possessed of the most undaunted courage. Defying danger in every shape, he animated his votaries by his example; but a fatal blow was given to their faith in the second month of the siege, when they had the affliction to see their leader's career closed for ever. He was killed by a Roman dart; and the emperor having wished to examine the features of one who had made himself so conspicuous, caused the soldiers to bring the corpse of Barcochab to him. While obeying this command, they found that a serpent had wreathed itself round the head of the dead impostor, which, it was said, proved that great power had resided in that man, and that God alone had been able to overthrow the cedar of Lebanon.

## CHAP. X.

*Enormous slaughter of the Jews.—They are totally defeated.—The Roman victors act with great cruelty.—They sell the prisoners like cattle on the spot where Abraham received the angels.—Turnus sentences Akiba to be played alive.—The Jewish religion still survives. It is taught by Judah the son of Bavah.—He is found in his retreat and slain.*

AGAIN we are astonished at the enormous losses sustained by the Israelites. While this sedition continued, five hundred and eighty thousand men are said to have been killed in battle, and, according to Dion, numbers besides perished from hunger and misery. The Rabbins

had to mourn the loss of so many of their learned body, that through succeeding generations, scholars were required to study night and day, to gain a proper knowledge of the law. Lucius Quintus, the conqueror of the Jews at Mesopotamia, was no more; but Turnus Rufus, who had been unable to prevail when first sent against the Hebrews, came subsequently to the aid of Severus, and poured all the troops he could collect into Judea. He was soon enabled to revenge his former discomfiture. Though multitudes, in the day of Barcochab's success, had flocked to his standard, eager to prove that they belonged to that nation which they had repudiated before, they could not long make head against the disciplined forces now brought against them, and the consequence was, the Hebrews had again to mourn a total defeat. The name of Rufus was dreadful to Jewish ears. It was Terentius Rufus who completed the demolition of Jerusalem in the days of Titus, and Turnus Rufus, the wicked, as he is named by the Rabbins, was now to chastise their new effort to throw off the Roman yoke.

The tenth of Ab, (August,) was the day on which Bithers fell—that fatal date, which had twice witnessed the overthrow of Jerusalem. When men consider their enemies hostile to their faith, as well as to themselves, all that is good in their nature prompts but to evil; piety and devotion give a sterner more unrelenting aspect to ferocity, and the wretched zealot weakly persuades himself that duty to his God, forbids him to shew mercy to his fellow creature. Again the exasperated Romans punished with dreadful severity the vanquished Jews. The Rabbins describe them to have perpetrated atrocities too numerous and too horrible to relate. Their language, when on this dreary subject, must be regarded as hyperbolic. Thus, for instance, they tell of the conqueror's horses wading up to their necks in human gore, and a stream of blood drawn from Hebrew veins, rushing towards the sea in a flood or torrent which had such immense force, that it carried stones weighing four pounds a distance of more than forty miles to the ocean, while the lands, rendered unusually fertile from being so largely enriched with the decaying remains of men, gave abundant harvests in the succeeding seven years, without requiring the ploughshare. The recollection of these multiplied calamities is preserved in the Jewish liturgy by a hymn, in which Israel deprecates the fall of Bithers, and the loss of so many of her revered preceptors. Hadrian is compared to Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest persecutor of the race of Jacob, and the Lord God of armies is prayed to remember that he had destroyed four hundred and eighty synagogues in Judea alone. A strict fast was instituted to commemorate the mournful event.

Setting down as flights of extravagance which merit but passing notice much of what has been stated, it is not to be doubted that the carnage witnessed was terrific; yet dreadful as the scene was, the vengeful Romans demanded more victims; and when the heat of the battle, or of recent triumph, could no longer be pleaded as an excuse for violence, many of those who had escaped the sword of the warrior were handed over



to the executioner. Judea is described to have been made desolate. Thousands of the Israelites were sold to slavery, and one particular spot was selected for consummating their destiny, which while it sealed their doom, ingeniously outraged their faith. In that locality an aged Terebinth still flourished, which tradition reported was the identical tree under which the patriarch Abraham had pitched his tent. Here, at stated periods, thousands of Jews had been accustomed to resort, and a great fair was held for many years. Beneath this Terebinth it was, that the Israelites were now marched, or rather dragged, in multitudes to be sold to the highest bidder, like cattle. The prices paid for them were less than those ordinarily paid for the leanest horses of the desert. Some of the slaves, thus disposed of, were transferred to Gaza, some to Egypt. To this ignominy a Rabbin mournfully remarks were the children of Abraham subjected, on that spot where their progenitor was visited by the angels of the Lord.

Among those who were captured, was the Rabbin Akiba. He was peculiarly an object of hatred to Turnus Rufus. He is represented, before the revolt was quelled, to have solicited and obtained many conferences with Akiba. When he went to meet the Hebrew sage, his wife demanded to accompany him, in order to profit from the wisdom which she was taught must on all occasions issue from his lips. She no sooner saw Akiba than she conceived a violent passion for him. The Rabbin was soon acquainted with the state of her thoughts, and did not repulse her. In a conversation which he had with her, a commentator on the Mishna says, he spat, wept, and laughed all in the same moment. He spat because he remembered that she had sprung from a drop of impure water; he wept at the thought that such marvellous beauty was on the point of being sullied by adulterous love; and he laughed from the thought that the wanton female, committing herself with him, would become a Jewess, and would unite herself with him in the synagogue. This story offends probability as much as what has previously been related. Many profound critics, more especially Scaliger, remark that Akiba, at the time of the revolt of the Jews under Hadrian, must have been more than a hundred years of age; and it is incredible that a Roman lady, accustomed to the attentions of a young husband, should have conceived such a violent fondness for the white hairs of a Rabbin bending beneath the pressure of accumulated years. Whether Turnus believed that he had been wronged or not, when Akiba was in his favour, he caused him to be brought before him. The Rabbin knew that he had no favour to expect from the general; but thoughtful only of what he owed to religion, he made no effort to appease the indignation of his judge, or to save his life. While under examination it occurred to Akiba, that that was the hour of prayer, and instantly, without regard to the presence in which he stood, he fell on his knees, and calmly went through his devotions, as if he had been at that moment before the altar in the temple. In the same spirit he conducted himself while in prison. Though scantily supplied with water, the little granted to him he appropriated to perform the ablutions required by the law, regardless of the burning thirst which de-

voured him. A dreadful sentence was pronounced against Akiba; Turnus ordered him to be torn with an iron comb, flayed alive, and then put to death. In the same spirit Ishbad, one of the scribes; was doomed to suffer at the hour of prayer, and his remains, denied a grave, were exposed to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. Chanina the son of Thaxdion, and his numerous scholars, who had distinguished themselves by the zeal and courage with which they had united to defend Bithur, were bound up together with the book of the law, and committed to the flames, as an example to those who might presume to teach Judaism in defiance of the edict of Hadrian. All the Rabbins were pursued with unrelenting fury. After having subdued "the implacable nation of Jordan," as it is called by Dion, it was hoped by these examples of severity their hated religion would be totally extinguished; and with a view to this, it was forbidden to fill up the vacancies which late events had made in the Sanhedrim. In this, as in every other case where violence seeks to control the consciences of men, the victors were defeated. Before suffering his inhuman sentence, Akiba, faithful to his religion, had nominated five new members, and another bold Hebrew, flying to a mountain glen, still remained firm in his faith, and, though a hunted fugitive, named others. This man was Judah, the son of Bavah. His fate, though less dismal than that of Akiba, was a melancholy one. Chance or treachery betrayed the secret of his hiding place; a body of soldiers were dispatched to surprise him, commanded, at all events, to secure him alive or dead. Informed of their approach, Judah seriously prepared to die, and awaited their arrival with the calm dignity of innocence. Three hundred spears were soon levelled at one helpless man. He fell covered with wounds, to rise no more.

## CHAP. XI.

*Hadrian establishes a Roman colony on the site of the holy city, which is named Ælia Capitolina.—Christians are allowed to establish themselves there, but Jews are forbidden to enter.—Hadrian causes medals to be struck to commemorate the downfall of Christianity.—A statue of Venus is set up on Mount Calvary, and one of Jupiter on the tomb of Jesus Christ.—The Jews never cease to wish to return to Palestine.—Hadrian dies.—The Jews experience milder treatment under Antoninus.*

THE shedding of blood alone after past experience was not deemed sufficient to guard against future insurrections. Hadrian wished to crush even the Jewish name, and now worked out the plan which he had conceived for establishing a colony where Jerusalem had flourished. He formed a new city, from which the Jews were in perpetuity rigorously excluded, and gave it the name of Ælia Capitolina, Ælia in reference to the first name of the emperor Publius Ælius, and Capitolina, to indicate that it was commended to the



patronage and favour of the Jupiter of the capitol. Christians were allowed to establish themselves there; and the city soon became the seat of a well attended church, and eventually a bishopric.

The toleration granted to one sect which offended against Heathen piety, was not, even when years had elapsed, extended to the Hebrew race. An edict was promulgated which forbade a Jew even to look upon the city of his ancestors; his visiting the environs was made punishable by death; nor was even this dreadful penalty deemed sufficiently severe to give effect to the law. To mock the sufferers thus severely visited, and in derision of their habits and faith, over the gate leading to Bethlehem, the image of a hog was displayed. Hatred, not content with tragedy, closed its labours with this contemptible farce. Poverty and its attendant evils seem always to have produced on beholders' effects very different from those which reason and charity might claim. Instead of moving sympathy for the sufferers, they have caused them to be despised. The cruel exclusion from their native soil, which the Jews had to deplore, subjected them to additional insults; a visitation from which not even the mild tenets of Christianity shielded them, as these tenets were understood by some of their most renowned champions; and Tertullian, who lived in Jerusalem when he wrote his apology, could not refrain from speaking reproachfully of the Hebrews as a degraded race, because they were doomed to be wanderers in all countries, and forbidden to seek a home in the land of their forefathers!

Hadrian did not trust to the hatred which the Jews had for swine, so far as to expect the affronting device which he had used would effectually deter them from returning to their lost city. He established a chain of military posts in its vicinity, and if an Israelite attempted to enter, the offence was punished. "In those days," writes St. Jerome, "old men were seen in ragged habiliments, and women dressed in mourning, sadly moving towards the Mount of Olives; and thence beholding the growing grandeur of the city of Hadrian, their faces were suffused with tears; accompanied by sobs of heartfelt sorrow, and cries of anguish and despair. The soldier and the tribune extorted money as the price of being permitted to weep at the aspect of Jerusalem; and the descendants of those who purchased from Pilate the blood of Jesus Christ, were obliged to submit to a dreadful expiation, and to purchase from the avarice of the Romans the privilege of shedding bitter tears on the scene of their crime.

In the war which he had waged, and in the measures which he adopted after it had been brought to a conclusion, it was the policy of Hadrian utterly to put down the religion of the insurgents. He seems to have been persuaded that in this he had succeeded, and in honour of his imaginary triumph the emperor caused a medal to be struck, bearing an allegorical representation of it. It bore the inscription, "*Adventus aug. Judea.*" The subjugated nation was pictured in the form of a female, offering on her bended knees incense at the altar of the gods of Rome and of the empire, as if, her ancient faith forgotten, she at length consented to worship them, and acknowledged their power. Ascending from the tripod,

the smoke from the offering appeared in rolling clouds, carried towards Olympus. Humbly inclining her head, Judea carried two infants in her arms, which she appeared to consecrate to Jupiter and his brother deities. Another medal was ordered on the same occasion, in which Judea is seen addressing her prayers, and offering her incense to the image of the emperor, who, condescending to her supplications, seemed to raise her from the ground, with a view of again admitting her to rank with the faithful provinces of the empire.

The clemency thus indicated, he doubtless expected or hoped, would awaken gratitude; but the Jews had suffered too much from his wrath to appreciate his kindness. Denied the privilege of exercising their pleasure with regard to that ancient and peculiar rite, by which the Hebrew nation had been through many generations distinguished, and exasperated by the outrage which had profaned even the hallowed ground on which their temple stood, they felt deeply humbled, and sorely aggrieved. Their weakness, and not their will, yielded reluctant obedience to the laws of the empire, and prevented a new outbreak during the last years of Hadrian's reign. He seems to have wantonly persevered in doing what he knew must incessantly remind the malcontents of their misfortunes. Ambitious of profaning the places which they deemed most holy; tolerant as he was in some respects to the Christians, he was as ready to affront their religion, as to trample on the feelings of the Israelites. He caused a statue of Venus to be set up on Mount Calvary, on the spot where Jesus was crucified; and one of Jupiter over his tomb. In the grotto of Bethlehem, where the Saviour of the world was born, he caused the worship of Adonis to be celebrated.

Such outrages, offered to what had long been deemed sacred, could not but spread disaffection both among Christians and Jews. The Hebrew, from the reverential love he had been taught to bear to his native land, glowed with the fiercest hatred, while he prayed for the speedy arrival of the moment which should restore him to what he had never ceased to consider as his home. Though centuries have since passed away, the attachment to Palestine of Jews born in countries far removed from it has been thought unconquerable; and it is popularly believed, says Dr. Henderson, speaking of the Jews in Poland, "that die where they may their bodies will all be raised there at the end of the world. They believe, however, that such as breathe their last in foreign parts are doomed to perform the *Gilgal Meloth*, or trundling passage through subterranean caverns, till they reach the place of their fathers' sepulchres, on which account numbers sell all their effects and proceed thither in their lifetime, or remove to some of the adjacent countries, that they may either spare themselves this toil, or at least reduce the awkward and troublesome passage within the least possible limits. Instances have been known of their embalming the bodies of their dead, and sending them to Palestine by sea; and in such devotion do they hold the earth that was trodden by their ancient patriarchs, that many of the rich Jews procure a quantity of it, which they employ in consecrating the ground in which the bodies of their deceased ancestors are interred."



If such the feeling preserved among the Israelites at a period long subsequent to the time of Hadrian, it will easily be conceived that it was not less varied while the wounds inflicted during the recent struggle were still bleeding, and the excitement caused by extravagant hopes, but imperfectly quelled by melancholy disappointment. Hadrian little heeded their grief and their despair. Fear restrained the sufferers, till he was no more, when, under the milder sway of Antoninus Pius, a new rebellion was witnessed, and the Roman arms were again directed against the Israelites, whose chief object, according to Tertullian, in this case was to reconquer: "the sign of alliance." Again they were obliged to succumb; but the liberal mind of Antoninus prompted of his own free-will what they had in vain sought to obtain by an appeal to force. His object, it may safely be presumed, was by this indulgence to leave them without a pretence for again rebelling in opposition to his authority. The only condition he attached to the privilege, was the easy one, that they should not admit any foreign proselyte to be added to the number of the circumcised.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Jews become peaceable subjects.—The patriarchate of Tiberias increases in importance.—New concessions are made to the Jews.—Simon Ben Jochai gives offence to the Romans.—His life is thereby forfeited, which he saves by flight.—Trifling incidents cause the Romans to suspect the Jews of new attempts at rebellion.*

WHILE such the mild and healing policy of Antoninus, while in many respects the Jews were allowed to participate in the most valued privileges of Roman subjects, it is remarkable that the edict which excluded them from Jerusalem remained in force. Possibly it was supposed that the recollections it must awaken would excite them to a new revolt. Elsewhere, they were admitted to the freedom of Rome, and might aspire to municipal honours, while they were excepted from some of the burdens which citizens not of their nation were compelled to bear. At Tiberias the patriarch might appoint his ministers and apostles without dread of being molested by the heathen authorities; and among his countrymen, he exercised an extensive jurisdiction, and levied on them annually no inconsiderable contributions. This we have on the authority of Basnage, and other writers of good repute. In the principal cities of the empire, new synagogues were erected from time to time, and the sabbath fasts and festivals, as well those enjoined by the Mosaic law, as those instituted by the Rabbins, were duly celebrated, and that not in holes and corners, but in public with all the solemnity they conceived them to demand, and all the pomp which their money could supply to give them proper effect. Happy effects resulted from their moderation. "Such gentle treatment," writes Gibbon,

"insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom." It is hardly to be doubted that the Jews aimed at gaining an advantage in all their dealings with the Gentiles; but it is quite as certain that the latter were equally on the alert to impose on the race of Abraham.

The patriarchate of Tiberias grew into importance, and exercised a powerful influence over the Jewish nation; but there is much confusion in the fragmental accounts which remain extant; and the same fact is not unfrequently brought before us, with some variation, as connected with periods very remote from each other. Enough, however, is known of the patriarchate, and those who owned its authority, to justify those who regard the condition of a people exiled from the land of their birth, scattered by the power of a conqueror, but still united in feeling under one spiritual sovereign, as "a standing miracle." To uphold this sacred remnant of nationality, they voluntarily taxed themselves, and yielded willing obedience to his behests.

The Sanhedrim or school at Jamnia flourished for a series of years, but folly and intemperance caused its suppression. When the persecution to which the Jews were subjected abated, the Rabbins, who had sought concealment, reappeared, and schools and synagogues were rapidly multiplied. It was their anxious wish to obtain permission to celebrate the obsequies of their friends after the manner of their nation. They made a respectful application to the authorities, and were relieved from the interdict which had been laid upon them. Anxious to manifest their gratitude for the relief thus accorded, it became the subject of thanksgiving in their daily prayers. Successful in this instance, they determined to seek further indulgences; and a new mission was sent to Rome, consisting of two persons, one of whom was Simon Ben Jochai, and again they were so fortunate as to find favour in the sight of Antoninus: subsequently, Simon Ben Jochai being sent to Rome, was less happy. He, with Rabbin José, Rabbin Jehuda, and Rabbin Simon, were present at a meeting, where the national character of the Romans became the subject of discussion. Jehuda thought the opportunity favourable for administering a little flattery to those he sought to conciliate. He felt that the Romans, strangers as they were to the true religion, were in many respects superior to other nations; and he went so far as to express rapturous admiration of many objects which had met his eye in their city. "The Romans," he exclaimed, "are a great people! Wonderful are the works which they have accomplished! Noble market-places and splendid buildings have been erected here, and indeed in all the cities under their rule, for the convenience and amusement of the people. By throwing noble bridges over rapid streams, provinces are united which nature seemed to have ordained should



be separated for ever. Their superb baths at once promote cleanliness, health, and enjoyment." To hear such praises of the Romans from a Hebrew tongue was that which the fiery Simon Ben Jochai could ill endure, and, rising with ungovernable indignation, he angrily retorted, "Why this vain adulation? What is there to admire in all that Jehuda has thought fit to name? The works of which he speaks have a sordid origin, and are raised but to pamper pride, and favour miserable rapacity. Spacious market places, indeed, are formed; but what is the object of them? It is not honestly to exchange or supply the necessities of human life, but rather to afford harlots an opportunity of displaying their meretricious charms, to gratify the dissolute. In like manner, the baths have been prepared but to contribute to the pleasure of those, who, living in discreditable indolence, live but to the joys of the sensualist. The bridges which Jehuda so much admires, serve but to enable the publicans to pass with greater ease from land to land, to subject the inhabitants to their cruel impositions. Are these the things that a teacher of the Jewish nation should raise his voice to applaud, forgetful of the glories of the Hebrew race, and of his own high calling? Far nobler objects absorb the attention of the divine Rabbin, than building market-places, baths, or bridges! It is ours to teach our fellow-men the will of the Almighty. We content ourselves not with trifles, that at best can endure but for a season; we aim at that which is identified with immortal glory."

Carried away by his feelings at the moment, Simon Ben Jochai felt superior to fear, and nobly disdained all the Heathen could do, to the prejudice of himself or the chosen people. His courage abated when he found how serious the consequences which were likely to ensue. He was speedily accused before the authorities of libelling them, and of affronting the majesty of Rome; and so grave was the offence held to be, that the life of the aggressor was held to be forfeited. Prudence then came, not quite too late, to the aid of Simon; he wisely fled and escaped the death to which he was doomed; but had probably good reason to regret that he had so largely indulged in freedom of speech. Rabbin José had on this occasion refrained from speaking; but this was not enough to save him wholly from censure. For not having opposed or reproved the intemperate language of Simon, he was banished; but Jehuda, in consideration of the fervour with which he had lauded the magnificence of the city, was not only permitted to remain, but gratified with a general licence to teach, though the school was put down.

Experience of the past caused the Romans, in every respect, to keep a watchful eye on the Jews; to which every trivial incident gave cause for alarm. Many incidents occurred, in themselves utterly destitute of importance, which, for the moment, were regarded with suspicion and requited with menaces, if not with punishment. It was the custom of the Jews, derived from their remote ancestors, to cause the trumpet to sound at the commencement of the month Tisri. When the blast was heard, there were not wanting informers to report that the moment was come, at which the Israelites believed a new rising might safely be ventured upon;

and the trumpet blast was the signal for a general revolt. Ignorant of Hebrew usages, the governor was ready to listen to the alarmists, and took immediate steps to coerce the refractory, but timely explanations were offered; he was made acquainted with the fact that what had been heard was only part of a religious ceremonial, and, satisfactory proofs being at hand, he abstained from severity. To prevent like confusion on any future occasion, it was arranged that the trumpet, instead of being sounded at the commencement of the service, should be heard after some of the prayers, more clearly to shew that it formed a part of the service. This expedient was adopted at the suggestion of Simon, the son of Gamaliel.

### CHAP XIII.

*The emperor Antoninus Pius is praised by Jewish chroniclers.—His hostility to the Christians is mainly the cause of their favourable view of his character.—The Christians are not less intolerant than their enemies.—The Romans imitate the Greeks in their sacrifices.—They give great offence to the Christians, who are equally disliked by Jews and Romans.—Antoninus is believed to be a Jew.*

THE Jewish chroniclers speak favourably of Antoninus Pius; he alone of all the Roman emperors is thought worthy of their praise; but while the Roman people honoured him for the virtues of Titus and the wisdom of Numa, these writers laud him most, not for his benevolence to the Israelites, but because he punished the Christians. They also applaud him for identifying himself with both nations, by submitting to be circumcised. His great merit, however, was, that he gratified their malevolence. The persecuted in almost all cases have seemed happy when the power was theirs to persecute, eager themselves to perpetrate those crimes which, committed by others, they were persuaded deserved the vengeance of heaven. The Jews hated the Christians, as sincerely as the latter did the heathens; and these, it must be confessed, while claiming toleration for themselves, omitted nothing that could exasperate those who were their masters. Jupiter and his celestial colleagues were by them identified with the infernal powers; they proclaimed that the demons of darkness prompted the solemn observances of the Romans, their object being to accomplish the eternal perdition of mankind. Fallen angels, doomed by the Eternal to expiate their guilt in Hell, were believed to have obtained permission to infest the earth, and to corrupt the human heart. It was fancifully represented that they assumed the characters of Jupiter, Faunus, Venus, and Apollo; that they took part in public worship, and in all festivals shared the sacrifices and libations; and by their super-human capacity, from time to time wrought prodigies which confounded the weak and effectually seduced them from the true faith. Possessed of those convictions, they regarded with more than contempt



these solemn meetings which the Romans held to be sacred. The Kalends of January they were accustomed to greet with vows, and the expression of hopes or prayers for general prosperity and individual happiness. As the seasons revolved, at this period of the year they affectionately recalled the memory of those whom they had loved in life, but who had been numbered with the dead; they hailed with rational exultation the near approach of spring, and the expected fruitfulness of the earth, and they celebrated with public rejoicings some of the great events recorded in their national annals. Not only were these celebrations disapproved by the Christians, but they were regarded as dire abominations in the view of the Eternal.

It was the custom of the Romans to imitate the forms established among the Greeks when offerings were to be made. The sacrificer or officiating priest coming among the assembled worshippers, demanded with a loud voice "Who was there?" "Many of the good," was the response; and this was followed by a shout of "Away with the wicked." (*"Odi profanum vulgus et arceo."*) and the profane having retired, "*Favete linguis*" was called out, to bespeak general silence. The priest then took his seat, all beside him standing, and the first-fruits and victims were brought to the altar. Those who brought them washed their hands in a place set apart for that purpose within the building, before they advanced to the place of sacrifice. The victim was next perfumed with incense, and sprinkled with the lustral water. Then the priest, first washing his hands, raised his voice in prayer to the gods, whom the sacrifice was intended to honour. Humble as the offering might be, they were implored to view it with benevolence and favour, and to allow it to propitiate them, to bless the Roman people. Descending the steps of the altar, the sacrificer received from one of the attendant ministers the sacred paste, which was composed of barley and wheat flour mixed with salt; some of it was placed on the head of the victim, and sprinkled with wine. Morsels of the paste were also scattered about the altar, and attached to the sacrificer's knives by way of consecration. Wine was produced in a vessel, called the *simpulum*. It was tasted by the priest and his attendants to connect them with the sacrifices. The remainder was poured between the horns of the animal, and a few hairs were plucked from his forehead, which were thrown into the fire, and this was the last ceremony which preceded the slaying of the victim.

The victimarius now advanced to complete the ceremony. "Shall I strike?" he demanded; and, answered by a command to knock the victim on the head, he dealt a heavy blow with a hammer or axe; and, on the fall of the brute, an assistant hastened to cut his throat, and a second received the warm blood as it gushed forth, with which the altar was immediately sprinkled by the priest. In the case of a burnt-offering, the carcass was wholly consumed by fire; but, when other sacrifices were made, the flesh of the beast was attached to the pillars of the temple, adorned with garlands, and the animal flayed, the skin being preserved to form a bed for the priests in the temple, to procure favourable responses to their prayers in the

dreams which might come to them. The body was opened, the entrails closely inspected, and then presages were drawn of coming events, according to the art, real or pretended, of the aruspices. Floured with meal and sprinkled with wine, they were afterwards thrown into the fire, as a present to the gods of Rome, and reduced to ashes, when the ceremony concluded. Matters more inoffensive called forth Christian indignation. "On days of general festivity," says the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," "it was the custom of the ancients to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel, and to crown their heads with a garland of flowers. This innocent and elegant practice might, perhaps, have been tolerated as a mere civil institution. But it most unluckily happened that the doors were under the protection of the household gods; that the laurel was sacred to the lover of Daphne, and that garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol either of joy or mourning, had been dedicated, in their first origin, to the service of superstition. The trembling Christians, who were persuaded in this instance to comply with the fashion of their country, and the commands of the magistrate, laboured under the most gloomy apprehensions from the reproaches of their own conscience, the censures of the church, and the denunciations of divine vengeance." With minds thus disposed, thus easily inflamed, it is easy to imagine that those who possessed most integrity were little disposed to conciliate their neighbours; and little likely to appear amiable in the eyes of those who founded their piety on the dogmas of polytheism. The Jews, concurring with the latter in their hostility to Christianity, formed something like a bond of union till then unknown; and this is the cause of the favourable report made on their condition under Antoninus. "That emperor, however, the *schiaschelet hakkabela*, or chain of tradition," represents Antoninus the Pious to have been a Jew himself. When an infant, the story ran, he was exchanged for St. Jude, and nourished with Jewish milk, which had the blessed effect of securing him glory in this world and eternal felicity in the next. Having gained an age which opened his mind to reason, he was so fortunate as to have for his preceptor that same Jude against whom he had been exchanged; and it was in consequence of the lessons of the law which he received from the pious disciple, that he gave himself, with his own hands, the distinguishing mark of the Jewish race, in order to qualify himself to partake of the paschal lamb!

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Antoninus, though favourable to the Jewish worship, is still, from State policy, obliged to assist in pagan ceremonies.—He visits St. Jude in secret.—The Cabala.—Mysterious combinations of letters are supposed to produce the most astounding effects.—Signification of the word Jehovah.—The Teraphim.*

Though Antoninus was believed to be a Jew in faith, and almost by birth, placed in the eminent situation



which he occupied, as the chief of an idolatrous people, he could not outwardly manifest the sentiments he entertained. State policy forbade him to offer in the sight of men, the homage which he desired to render to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But if at public festivals in the temple, or in the circus, he countenanced the worship of false gods, and approved of the honours offered to the divinities of the capitol; alone in his private oratory, when his heart could rejoice in solitude, he loved to address his thoughts and supplications to the deity of the Israelites. Every night, in secrecy and silence, he repaired to the house of Jude; and, placing two confidential guards outside his residence, gave himself up, with his preceptor, to study the mysteries of the law; and, besides these, the mysterious combinations of the Cabala. Familiar as this word has become to modern ears, we have no knowledge of its original sense, but what we derive from Hebrew authorities. What has been called the cabalistic philosophy was known, not invented, by the Jews of Palestine. The written and oral traditions of the ancient Hebrew divines were restricted to comments on the law and explanations of the ritual. There is no appearance of the cabalistic science in Palestine till the time of the Essenians. We learn from Philo Judæus and Josephus, that this sect of dreaming fanatics preserved a superstitious secrecy on certain philosophical and religious mysteries. There are two divisions of the Cabala, the practical and the contemplative. The latter is the art of interpreting the Scriptures by the aid of a secret tradition, through which the sublimest truths concerning the nature of things, the Deity, and other spiritual essences, are laid open to sincere believers. It afforded, as it was pretended, the only means of acquiring a real knowledge of physics; and, as it explains the phenomena of matter by the theory of occult qualities, it is, doubtlessly, well adapted to the advancement of natural science.

The practical Cabala, by a judicious combination of the words and sentences of Holy Writ, enabled the adept to perform the most astounding prodigies. Those skilled in this science asserted that the names of objects have a certain reference to their secret qualities; and, in the case of men and women, are, in a manner, the reflection of their souls. They argued that "it was a fact not to be disputed, that, in music, sounds were produced which struck the senses so forcibly that they were known to generate or extinguish insanity, love, or valour; some they inspired with mad and extatic joy, and others they affected with despair. These notes must have been pregnant with a secret virtue, to have wrought such supernatural effects. Why then, they asked, deny a similar and more potent efficacy to the names of God, and the words of Scripture? The argument was by many deemed conclusive. In the spirit of ancient astrology, it was insisted the names even of men, are written on the face of heaven. Is it probable they would be there inscribed, unless they influenced the nominees by an occult and powerful agency? And it was asserted that Moses employed the Cabala in his contest with the Egyptian sorcerers. By the same art did Elias draw down the fire of heaven, and Daniel close the jaws of the ravenous lions.

The practical Cabalist affirmed that the mystical arrangement of certain characters give birth to supernatural events. The words best adapted to this purpose are those of the Hebrew, the holiest of the holy dialects; and the miracles are more stupendous when wrought in the very name of God. If the word express only a quality or emanation of the Deity, the miracle is proportionably smaller. On this account, the *Sephirots*, or the names of God, are commonly preferred. These are seventy-two, and are collected from three verses of the fourteenth chapter of Exodus. It is not always necessary to employ the name of the Deity; that of the devil may be used with considerable effect.

The contemplative Cabala was subdivided into the symbolical and philosophical. The former was a method of symbolical interpretation of Scripture, reputed to be of great antiquity. By the transposition of letters, syllables, and words, the adepts undertook to elicit from certain passages an interior and mystical meaning altogether different from the obvious one. That branch of the contemplative science which is termed philosophical, is also a traditional science, and teaches a sublime and mysterious metaphysic concerning spirit and matter, God, angels, and men. This again divides itself into two parts or branches; one of them, called the *mercava*, or the chariot, being an inquiry into the perfection and nature of the divine essence; so termed because it was reported the prophet Ezekiel had explained its mysteries under the type of the miraculous chariot. The *Bereschit*, or the beginning, treated of the mechanism of the world and its accidents. It was so called because *Bereschit* is the first word of the book of Genesis. So sacred were the mysteries of the Cabala, that it was not permitted to explain or to inquire into them on all occasions, but in the presence of adepts it was lawful to do so. One instance in which this was done is gravely recorded:—"A rabbi, driving the ass of his master, the Rabbi Jochanan, the son of Sauai, asked his permission to discuss the subject of the *mercava*. The son of Sauai dismounted, and took his station beneath a tree on the way-side; for it is particularly forbidden to expound the mysteries while sitting astride an ass. As soon as the disciple spoke, the fire of heaven descended, and the neighbouring trees and bushes became vocal with the hundredth psalm—"Make a joyful noise, all ye lands."

The name of Jehovah was held to be pregnant with the most awful meaning, and the cabalistic significations of the letter J or Jod, which corresponds with the Arabic Ya, were held to be such, that to comprehend their nature and essence was impossible; to pry into them by the aid of meditation, impious. From one end of heaven to the other may the thoughts of man expatiate; they may dive into the ocean and pervade the earth; but the light of the jod is inaccessible—the primitive existence of the jod defies investigation. Jod is supreme; but the remaining letters which compose the unspeakable *Jehovah*, are of infinite importance and dignity. They imply the unity of a creative Being, from which four mighty rivers take their rise—the sacred *Schetinah*, the quadruple majesty of God. So means Moses, when he says, that the river



which watered Eden was divided into four lesser branches. The whole word, *Jehovah*, comprises the universe itself, material and spiritual. He, therefore, who pronounces it, puts into his own mouth, amongst other things, the earthly world, beasts, birds, and fishes, and "all that it inherit." Hence it was inferred men could not be too cautious in uttering this terrible trisyllable—a precept inculcated in the third commandment.

Notwithstanding the teachers or guardians of the Cabala could obtain credit for promulgating notions like these, the Jews seem to have been convinced of their former folly in adopting the worship of idolatrous nations. Wanderers in lands not their own, they had abundant opportunities of finding how valueless were the teraphim which they once regarded with veneration. They are supposed to have been prized as talismans, as possessing mysterious powers or qualities, which would give safety or profit to their owners; but it has also been surmised, that they were merely images formed to perpetuate the likeness of departed friends. In some cases they appear to have been consulted as oracles. In the Old Testament we read that Rachael stole her father's teraphim, in the hope that his happiness, or a portion of it, would be transferred to her; and Jacob attached such importance to the images that he rested not till he had removed them. Various powers were assigned to them by different parties. Those who professed to hold communion with evil spirits, or beings of another world, familiarly used them. They may easily be conceived to have been useful tools in the juggler's trade. One Rabbin Eliezer describes them to have been formed by the Jews at certain periods of their history by a very abominable process. A first-born male child was to be killed. Having cloven his head, they sprinkled it with oil and salt, and wrote down the name of some devil (from its cabalistic power), on a golden plate, which they fixed under the murdered child's tongue, and then placed the head in some nich of the house wall, and converted it into a lamp. When the flame was kindled, they asked questions which superior intelligence only could resolve, and seem to have expected the ghastly object thus prepared would be able to make important revelations. Such folly it may be supposed soon died a natural death. In their dispersion, the Jews could no longer hope for comfort or protection from the teraphim.

## CHAP. XV.

*Ancient traditions of the Jews.—Jehuda Hakkedosh completes the Mishna.—It is divided into six parts, and treats of husbandry, of the Jewish festivals, of women, love, and matrimony, of commerce and the ordinary course of life, on sacrifices, and on things clean and unclean.—The oral law is believed to have been given to Moses on Mount Sinai.*

MYSTERIES like those of the Cabala were sufficient, added to the cares of empire, to occupy one imperial mind;

and, according to some of the Rabbins, Antoninus even assisted Jude in making that grand repertory of ancient traditions, which the Jews to this day revere under the name of the Mishna, or Mischna. In its narrative some striking anachronisms may be detected; and matters are stated as facts which serve to show the Rabbins were profoundly ignorant of that society in the midst of which they lived. Among other fanciful flights, they make the successor of the Cæsars a Rabbin controversialist, who disputes alternately with his preceptor on the immortality of the soul, on the destiny of the body, and on the nature of the starry host, who adore the Most High.

Besides Antoninus and St. Jude, other names have been connected with the preparation and preservation of the Mishna. The object in view was the embodying the various traditions of the children of Israel. It contained explanations of many important passages of scripture. The original substance of it was believed to have been communicated to Moses on the Mount, and by him imparted to Aaron, Eleazer, and Joshua, by whom they were transmitted to the seventy elders, and by them to the prophets, who handed them down to the chiefs of the great Sanhedrim, from whom they passed to the wise men of Jerusalem and Babylon. Thence they are said to have been conveyed to Baruch, to Ezra, and to the leading men of the principal synagogues, the last of whom was Simeon the just. According to some authorities, he delivered them to Antigonus of Socho, and from him they were handed to Simeon, who took the Saviour in his arms, and rejoiced that he had lived to behold the Salvation of Israel. He is understood to have confided them to Rabbin Judah the holy, who committed to writing what was but oral before. Generally it has been supposed to have assumed something like a complete form, between the years 190 and 220. Jehuda Hakkadosh, however, has the credit of having given the Mishna to the world. He was the son of Simeon the just. Born in Sephoris, a city established among the mountains of Galilee, it was his singular good fortune to live while three emperors presided over the destinies of Rome, who were favourable to his countrymen. These were Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus; and during forty-five years he remained undisturbed in his patriarchate. Tiberias resounded with his praises. His sanctity was such as to impress the Jews who looked up to him for instruction with admiring awe; but that for which he was most renowned was his vast learning. Knowledge must ultimately depend upon ignorance for its fame and recompense. The great body of the Hebrews, who could understand little about it, joined to laud the wonderful acquirements of the head of their academy; and the work which has been mentioned, being a recital of the law, or (a Deuteronomy, or second law, it is called by the Greeks), as it at length appeared, was the grand result of his long continued researches, and held to be the crowning work of his illustrious career.

Founded upon Scripture in aid of what is there taught, the Mishna brings before the reader every authority that the Hebrew community were most accustomed to revere. It contains much that might interest the general student,



but of course it had a peculiar interest for the Jews, recording and explaining as it did the customs of their ancestors, and proving, as it was supposed to do, their divine origin. It comprehended the maxims, or decisions, pronounced by their wise men, and the opinions of eminent individuals in their various schools. The religious and civil duties of the Jews were here explained; and, while they were taught what they owed to the Supreme Being, they were instructed in those arts which were essential to their present maintenance and comfort. Such a compilation, commanded to them by Jehuda the holy, might well be expected to command attention and renown. He, it may be remarked, was regarded by many, not merely as one of the successors of Akiba, but almost as a continuation, a renewal of the celebrated teacher, as Jehuda was born on the day of Akiba's death; as one star of Israel set, another was seen to arise. The Mishna was divided into six parts, to which as many titles were given. "Seder Zerahim," the first, treats of the works of the Creator, as bestowed in his Providence to decorate the world, or to gratify its inhabitants; and of all matters of husbandry, such as the ways of using and tending the seeds of the field, the trees of the forest, and the plants and flowers of the garden; "Seder Mohadim," the second part, conveys that instruction which might be looked for from a Rabbin, as to the manner in which the Jewish festivals should be observed. "Seder Nashim," the third part, is on a subject hardly less important—it relates to women, and matters connected with love and matrimony; "Seder Nezikim," the fourth part, comes down to the ordinary cases of every day life, in all civilised countries, to the occupations of men, to the losses they were liable to sustain in their traffic with their neighbours, to the differences which these might be expected to generate, and to the mode in which among the Israelites, such questions ought to be settled; "Seder Kedoshim," the fifth part, deals with matters of a higher character—it explains the sacrifices, which, from the commencement of their history, the Israelite had been enjoined to offer to the Almighty, and of all the various precautions that had been deemed necessary to save such offerings from being deteriorated or rendered other than holy; the sixth and last part treats of the various expiations judged to be acceptable in the sight of Heaven, of things deemed clean and unclean, and of every thing essential to the purification of the devout and penitent worshippers of Jehovah. To the fourth part an additional chapter was appended. It related to idolatry as practised by the heathens, and in some instances by the Jews themselves, and the punishment which it was likely to bring down on offenders. This part of the Mishna was entitled "Abodah Zarah."

It will thus be seen, the patriarch extended his cares to every thing that could affect the well-being of his scholars and countrymen in this world, or in that which is to come. The writings of Moses were descanted upon, and the reader was taught what inference it was allowed to draw from the Pentateuch. The great ordinances given to the Jewish leader on Mount Sinai for the government of the human race, appeared by the side of traditions said to be of equal authority, and called "The Oral Law." It was pretended that "the oral law was that

which was spoken to Moses, but not written down like the Decalogue. In short, it was a collection of every thing that its compiler thought might prove in some shape or other of value to the Jewish nation; and it was prized the more as much of the oral law had been lost sight of in the countless misfortunes which the Israelites had experienced. Carefully was it read, and much was it canvassed. The result was a decision greatly in favour of Jehuda, who was thought to have acquitted himself with such care and judgment; patient research and unwearied labour, as entitled him to the everlasting gratitude of the Jewish nation.

Modern critics will perhaps not very zealously support their decision; but from what it is now a correct judgment cannot be formed of what might be its value then. We must take into our contemplation what the state of the world had been, when "Fire and other elements of the earth,"—we quote an article from the Hebrew Review,—"*nay irrational brutes became objects of worship to degraded man. Throughout the whole earth there existed not at that time any people or family, (save the Hebrew race), that knew and adored the Creator. The scanty remains of primitive knowledge, faint gleams amidst the general gloom, were hidden by interested men, enveloped in mysteries, who held that it was needful to practise on the weakness of the multitude, and that it was dangerous to afford the common people a knowledge of the truth. The darkness of ignorance overspread the earth; despotism and priestcraft were the twin excrecences to which that darkness gave birth, and by which it was fed. A system of the most conflicted superstition invented by Meroe, and transplanted to Egypt, lauded it over Thebes with the hundred gates. The stately halls of Luxor owned its sway; and it reigned paramount throughout the wide domains of Zoar. Its fame spread far over the then known earth; Egyptian rites and Egyptian mysteries ranked high in the estimation of mankind. Egypt, itself the earliest seat, the teacher of civilization, of arts, and of sciences, became likewise the parent of idolatry among surrounding nations. The power of evil, of falsehood, of superstition, had reached its height. Human victims bled on its altars."* This, written of a period long anterior to that which saw the Mishna, too correctly images the wretched darkness in which mankind remained. The triumph of imposture was so great and so general, that the sorrowing beholder might have exclaimed with Milton, "Truth came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape, most glorious to look on; but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of truth, such as durst appear, imitating the merciful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down, gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them;" and assuredly he might have added, as indeed he might do now, "We have not yet found them all, nor



ever snail do, till her master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

CHAP. XVI.

*Antoninus affects popularity.—He dies.—Marcus Aurelius succeeds him.—The Jews again rebel, are quelled and punished.—The hostility felt towards them in part subsides.—They are regarded with some degree of respect by those who had most hated or despised them.*

WHATEVER doubts may be thrown on the character of the studies of Antoninus, or even on his Judaism, it is certain that he was averse to the severities which some of his predecessors had countenanced. He affected popularity and mildness in an extraordinary degree. To instruct his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, he sent for Apollonius, the Stoic philosopher; and, on his arrival in Rome, having directed him to attend at a certain time, he was rudely answered, that it was for the scholar to seek the master, not for the master to wait upon the scholar. Instead of resenting this with imperial wrath, Antoninus mildly but sarcastically remarked, that it was not very consistent for Apollonius, who had journeyed from Greece to Rome at his bidding, to make a difficulty of walking from one part of the city to another. Under such a monarch, the Jews felt in great measure consoled for the past; but the time soon came when the golden statue of Fortune, which was always kept in the chamber of the reigning emperor, was to be removed to the apartment of his successor; and, having reached his seventy-fifth year, Antoninus ceased to live.

Under Marcus Aurelius the Jews were no longer content, as they had been in the lifetime of Antoninus. That emperor found them refractory; and even in their most peaceable moments, suspected them of being eager to revolt. It was in his time that the false alarm, connected with the sounding of the trumpet at the opening of the month of Tisri, was given. During his reign the victories gained over the Parthians, and the fall of Ctesipha, had again brought Mesopotamia under the dominion of Rome. The conquest might be glorious, but it was stained by cruelty, and that cruelty pressed heavily on the Jews. At Selucia, a great number of their nation capitulated; but the favourable terms granted to them in words, were not made good in deeds, and from four to five thousand captives were perfidiously put to death. It was at this period that Cassus aspired to the purple in Syria; and probably the cruel treatment just described disposed them to favour his pretensions, and to range themselves under his standard, rather than under that of Aurelius. He did not fail to resent their disaffection; to the Romans he showed mercy, and soon overlooked their transgression; but for the unhappy Hebrews feeling no pity, he repealed the

laws which had been framed to favour them in the days of Antoninus Pius. He was so greatly exasperated by their conduct, that he declared they were fiercer and more untractable than the barbarous Sauromatæ and the Marcomanni. His fierce indignation did not long survive. The severity with which, in the first moment of resentment, he had resolved to visit them, was softened down. It is even doubtful whether the laws he enacted were ever brought fully into operation.

Without giving credit to the traditions which represent that all the pride, as well as all the reason of the Roman empire, humbled itself in the Cæsars of Rome, before some obscure teachers in the synagogue, it is certain that from the reign of Antoninus Pius, the situation of the Jews generally was considerably ameliorated. Rejecting the assigned causes for this important revolution, the fact must be regarded as indisputable. Some commentators have ascribed the happy change to the personal virtues and the philosophic indulgence of the emperors who reigned from the time of Antoninus to that of Dioclesian. But to advance this as probable is to turn aside from history, and to forget the vices which degraded the rulers of the Roman world, during that period. If some good princes consoled, while they shed lustre on humanity, there were others whose monstrous crimes doomed the people over whom they presided to feel little but the sad varieties of grief, hatred, and disgust. We must conclude that more enlightened ideas, more liberal principles, began generally to prevail, which acted on the people, and eventually on the emperors. A great change at this epocha came over the minds of men who were looked up to as philosophers. The spirit of reform was abroad; ancient prejudices were discarded; and that dire hostility gradually declined which had once been felt against the imperfectly understood religion and worship of the Israelites. The hateful rancour, which seeks not to convince, but to distress or to destroy those who are supposed to sin against Heaven, where it is not subdued by reason, has often subsided from weakness; but it is a fire which is too easily re-kindled; and many are the instances in which later generations have relapsed into all the madness and bigotry of their remote ancestors. Zealots set no bounds to their virulence, when pursuing fanaticism not their own.

The Romans, for a series of years in the course of this century, were divided by their principles into two classes. The multitude blindly adhered to the faith of their ancestors, and accepted the allegories of the poets as facts which it would be impious as well as vain to dispute. Powerful imaginations had rendered Olympus brilliant with deities, which the pencil of Apelles and the chisel of Phidias had ennobled by matchless talent; and it was complacently supposed that those represented by countenances so august could be no other than omnipotent and immortal. The pompous ceremonies in the temples led captive the understandings of the multitude; numerous offerings were heaped on the altars; and while the incense soared to Heaven, those by whom the victims were furnished waited in trembling anxiety to hear what the augurs reported. A second class, the philosophers, who avowed the scept-



ticism of Epicurus, rejected the fables of paganism and the idea of a spiritual world as a puerile fancy, only worthy to be entertained by children and old women. The solemn strains of poetry still were heard, in numbers which kindled enthusiasm in honour of Jupiter, the monarch of the gods and of men; and Virgil, Tibullus, and Propertius, had substantial reasons for not rejecting the agreeable fictions relative to the celestials of Olympus. Their histories gave colour and substance to the poet's composition, though sometimes the writers sported with things which they affected to regard as sacred. Horace pictures a workman deliberating whether he shall fashion a piece of wood into a seat or step, or make it a god. The sects just particularised, differing so widely from each other, were almost equally hostile to the Jew; the one received him with shuddering horror, the other with measureless contempt. But in the course of the second century a great and happy change was remarked. Whether it was that polytheism could no longer satisfy the religious wants of the multitude, or the scepticism of Epicurus those of the philosopher, or whether it was the necessity felt for opposing the progress of Christianity, which threatened speedily to over-run the whole Roman universe, at all events it is believed that a course of thinking arose out of the circumstances of the times, which had the effect of causing the opinions of the synagogue to be treated with more respect, and consequently those whom they most concerned to be regarded with kindlier feelings.

#### CHAP. XVII.

*The Emerobaptists, the Masbotheans, and other new sects divide the Jews.—The Hellenists have their sacred books written in the Greek language.—They are regarded as schismatics.—Hillel dies.—He orders his own funereal honours.—His son, grandson, and great grandson (Hillel II.) succeed him.—Hillel corrects the calendar.—He becomes a Christian.—Marcus Aurelius dies.*

AMONG the Jews differences as to forms proper to be observed in their religious ceremonies arose; and two sects, called the Emerobaptists and the Masbotheans, sprang into existence. The former claimed greater exemption from uncleanness than their neighbours, and distinguished themselves by washing their flesh many times in the course of the day. The Masbotheans seem to have been atheistical in their notions; they doubted or denied that the affairs of mankind were under the eye of a superintending Providence, and were accustomed to ascribe all the events they witnessed to chance alone. Other sects are spoken of, as the Genists and Merists; but their opinions are not so remarkable as to merit description, and their influence or movements were not important enough to claim attention. The Hellenists rose in opposition to them. These had been so long in Greece that they had adopted the manners as well as the language of the Greeks. The

sacred books which they used were written in Greek, and they declined having transcripts in the original Hebrew, which they are believed to have forgotten. They valued themselves on this distinction; and the use of the Hebrew was strictly prohibited in their synagogues. Justin Martyr, after a time, complained bitterly of this practice, as being most sinful and pernicious; and in consequence the Hellenists were regarded by their neighbours as men wandering from the path of salvation—as dangerous schismatics.

One great evil resulted from this. The sacred books appear to have been tampered with, and spurious versions were multiplied by the labours of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. They are charged with inventing new miracles to give superior interest to their works. The Greek copy had lost its credit in a great measure from its having been used, and very generally approved of, by the Christians.

It was the object of the holy Jehuda, by his great work, to remove every doubt that might have existed before his time on the subject of the unwritten law. Private interests interfered to prevent this design from being fully accomplished; and, though he finally triumphed over his rivals, his victory was not so perfect as to leave nothing for others to attempt. Among his brethren Jehuda appears to have enjoyed great consideration. By careful study he had been enabled to resolve many knotty points in the law, which entitled him to no inconsiderable distinction. His ambition was great, and the "ruling passion" was "strong in death."

When his last hour approached, after bestowing all the titles and places of profit to his relatives, naming Simeon, one of his sons, Kacham, or wise man, and Chanina, another of them, chief of the synagogue, while his eldest son, Gamaliel, he appointed chief or prince of the captivity in the west; he gave directions that his own funeral should be celebrated with great magnificence, his corpse carried in procession through the principal Jewish cities, and his death duly mourned. This weak, vain wish, was carefully attended to by his successor, the third Gamaliel, who did all in his power to establish and increase the importance of the Mishna. Though assailed by many learned sages, it was successfully defended under his filial care by the teraphim, or interpreters of the "Unwritten Law," as it had been called, who revered it as that which, besides explaining the old law, had in effect given a new constitution to the Jewish nation.

Gamaliel died about the year 229, and was succeeded by his son Judah, of whom nothing worthy of note is recorded; but he left behind him a son, named Hillel, whose capacity and disposition were not ill fitted to sustain the high character of the family. He devoted himself to various useful studies, and with great success. He calculated the age of the world on principles which were declared to be profound as they were accurate; and the cycle of nineteen years, named by him to reconcile the course of the sun with that of the moon by the help of seven intercalulations, was held to be most important. On this subject some explanation may be desirable.

Kepler has believed that the Jews had adopted the



calculation of the solar year like the Egyptians whom they had left, or the Asiatics by whom they had been vanquished, but that Jason, wishing to please the illustrious Antiochus, introduced into Judea the lunar months of the Syrians, and the cycle of four times fourscore years, composed of many septennial parts, after the manner of the Hebrews, to whom the number seven was especially recommended by their sabbatic years and their years of jubilee. Multiplying the number seven by twelve, gives eighty-four years. While occupied in war, the Jews thought little of the course of the stars; but Alcibus, or rather Simon Macabeus, restored the cycle of fourscore and four years. At a more remote period Calippus had assigned to the sun's annual course three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, during a period of seventy-six years, commencing from a year after the victory of Arbera, gained by Alexander over Darius. Hipparchus, who came after him, discovered that the solar year was shorter by thirty-four minutes forty-eight seconds. This fact he announced with great diffidence, and the former calculation was still generally preferred. The Jews borrowed from their masters the Calippic period. The Hebrew writers, however, report that Hillel II. was assisted in his astronomical labours by a very learned person, known as Rabbi Samuel, surnamed Jarkineus, or Lunatic, from his knowledge of the course of the sun and moon. He presided over an academy at Nahardea, A.D. 240, and assisted Hillel in making his correction, which was subsequently further improved. Rabbi Ada, Hillel's authority, caused the calendar as arranged by him to be greatly approved in his time; and he is celebrated for changing the equinoxes and solstice, which he brought back thirteen days, so that the vernal equinox, which had been fixed for the 7th of April, was made to stand for the 25th of March.

But his studies were not confined to matters of science. He studied the tenets of the Christians, and examined the proofs on which their faith rested with all the care due to a subject so momentous, and in consequence of this he became a convert. When he found himself in a declining state, he sent for the bishop of Tiberias, under pretence of consulting him as a physician of great experience, not deeming it prudent openly to avow himself; and when the prelate came, announced to him that he was a believer in Jesus of Nazareth, and desired to be forthwith baptized. It cannot be doubted that the bishop was too happy to admit with all convenient speed such a convert into his communion. The servants were ordered to bring in water, as if to be used with certain prescribed remedies, and Hillel was immediately made a Christian by the baptismal rite. He considered it necessary to conceal the step he had taken from the Jews, and they throw doubt on the whole story of his conversion; but Epiphanius reports, with much circumstantial detail, that he had the fact, after Hillel's death, from one of his most intimate friends.

Marcus Aurelius continued to govern with mildness, and the Jews seem to have been comparatively happy under his sway; but, being at Vienna, the Emperor was attacked by the plague, which was raging in that

city. He prepared to meet his fate with manly resignation and fortitude. In his dying moments he requested his friends to make his son sensible that no wealth and triumph would satisfy a tyrant; nor could he be defended by the strongest guards or the most formidable armies. To be safe and happy, he must gain by mildness and bounty the hearts of his people. He expired thus attempting to bequeath to his subjects, Jews and Christians, as well as heathens, a legacy of peace and mercy.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Hillel is said to have transcribed the Bible with his own hand.—Dying, he leaves a son, who is brought up in Christian principles.—Joseph is pursued by the enmity of the Jews for revealing Hillel's conversion.—He claims protection from Rome.—The patriarch has great power.—The Jewish law is administered with the concurrence of the Roman Emperor.—The Jews increase in numbers.*

As one proof of the conversion of Hillel, and of his ardour in the cause of Christianity, it is related that he transcribed the Bible with his own hand, and that the MS. was preserved till the sixteenth century. Kimki says that the Pentateuch as written by Hillel was deposited at Toledo in Spain; and one of the Jews who left Spain when the Israelites generally were ordered to withdraw, declared that he had seen a portion of it sold in Africa. Little attention, however, is due to his representations, as in many respects the writer contradicts himself, and seems to confound the Hillel in question with a person of the same name who lived some three or four centuries afterwards. That Hillel was a man of great capacity we may safely conclude, as Origen, to whom he was known, often went to him for counsel; but doubtless it was his conversion that gained him such unbounded admiration from his Christian enlogists.

When he sunk into the tomb, he left behind him a son, under the guardianship of two friends, who brought him up in the principles of his father's religion, whom he eventually succeeded in the patriarchate. One of his tutors, named Joseph, he requited with an important office; but this person was very unpopular among the Jews, as he it was who had revealed, or, as they insisted, had falsely reported, that Hillel in his latter days had sought and obtained admission into the Christian church. He had declared the facts described in the last chapter, stating that the baptism of the patriarch had been kept secret, from an apprehension on the part of Hillel, that if it transpired, the bishop would have been murdered by his domestics. In consequence of this, Joseph was so rancorously pursued by his Hebrew brethren, that he thought fit to repair to Rome, and lodge a complaint against them with the Emperor. Protection was promised, and a great benefit promptly conferred, as he was permitted to build a number of churches for the use of the Chris-



tians. By this privilege Joseph obtained great wealth, and erected many beautiful villas at Hythopolis.

The authority possessed by the Patriarch of the Jews, and the Nasi, or president of the Sanhedrim, was great. That rank was enjoyed by Simon the son and heir of Gamaliel, at the time when Rabbin Nathan was the Ab-beth-din, and Rabbin Meir the Hachim or Head of the Law. Throughout the western region, the legates of the spiritual potentate were received with honour, and his mandates were duly carried into effect. Though the judgments passed according to the Jewish law were not in accordance with that of Rome, the emperors conived at their being awarded and acted upon, where those they most immediately affected yielded cheerful submission. Doubtless there were cases in which the individual against whom heavy penalties were awarded advanced his claim to be protected by another jurisdiction as a Roman citizen; but for the most part no resistance was offered to the decisions of the patriarch. Notwithstanding the dreadful carnage which had distinguished the wars and rebellions carried on against them, and raised by them, their numbers, far from being visibly thinned, were found largely to have increased; and the race of Abraham was widely dispersed over the whole face of the world, so far as it was then known. Millman gives an instance of this, in a passage quoted from Philo in his letter of Agrippa, which says of the Jews, speaking it is supposed of the time of Caligula, "Jerusalem is the city of my ancestors, the metropolis not only of Judea, but of many other provinces, in consequence of the colonies which it has at different times sent out into the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœsyrina; and into more distant regions, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor, as far as Bythnia, and the remote shores of the Euxine; so also into Europe, into Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Etola, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and into most, and these the best, parts of the Peloponessus; and not only are the continents full of Jewish colonies, but the principal islands also, Eubœia, Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates; for all of them, except a small portion, particularly Babylon and the Satrapies of the rich and adjacent districts, have many Jewish inhabitants." If these remarks were justified in the time of Caligula, they unquestionably held good during the reigns of the early successors of Marcus Aurelius. Though many fell during the various outbreaks which occurred, the Israelites, as of old, continued to "increase and multiply." Proofs of this are furnished by the New Testament. In whatever direction the indefatigable Paul journeys, he finds a Jewish synagogue; he meets with many members of his nation, and among them persons who were both rich and influential. Important privileges were enjoyed by the Jews in many cities, and they were very generally established in Ephesus, in Laodicea, in Pergamos, in Thessalonica, in Athens, in Harlicarnassus and in Corinth. They are believed, in Asia Minor, to have adopted the habits, in commerce at least, of the native inhabitants. Those who settled in Alexandria soon had cause to lament the revival of the ancient hostility of the Egyptians; but in Ephesus, Miletus,

and elsewhere, they had no ground for complaint. They were no longer hated and despised, but, admitted as Roman citizens, were permitted to enjoy a considerable share of liberty. Into Rome itself they are believed to have been introduced by Pompey as slaves after the conquest of Jerusalem. Mention was made, in a former chapter, of the melancholy destiny of many of the captives taken when Jerusalem had fallen. Though sold like cattle, there is reason to believe that they obtained indulgent masters, who were soon induced to restore them to freedom; or, as it has been suggested, their opulent brethren previously established in that city, employed their wealth in buying up those who were made slaves, in order to give them emancipation. Several of the Latin writers speak of the riches of the Jews in Italy, and it is not doubted that a vast number of free Jewish slaves helped to people Rome. Their number was estimated by Tacitus at about four thousand; but Josephus speaks of double that number being present on one grand occasion, and they were allowed to share in the grants of corn made to the poorer inhabitants of Rome. Though occasionally sneered at, we find so much consideration was due to them, that, according to Horace, in his ninth Satire, it was not quite prudent to interrupt a Jewish holiday. In Davidson's edition the passage is thus rendered,—"You told me lately, Fuscus, that you wanted to communicate something to me in private. 'I remember it very well,' says he, 'but I'll tell it you at a more convenient time; for this is a grand holiday among the Jews; you would not surely affront the circumcised.' 'Oh!' said I, 'I have no scruple of that sort.' 'But I have,' says he, 'which you might reckon a weakness in me and many others: I'll talk to you another time.'" From other notices of them in the Latin writers, we find that they suffered much in the earlier reigns, were poor and despised. Juvenal laments that the grove of Egeria had been occupied by crowds of mendicant Jews, who there reposed with their wallets and bundles in the open air. By Martial they are described as neglecting cleanliness, and to have led a huxter's life, selling and buying broken glass and other trifles of small price.

## CHAP. XIX.

*The Jews are found in all the Roman dominions.*

*They claim to have first peopled Spain, Tubal the son of Japhet being their progenitor.—The synagogue is everywhere upheld.—Legates from the patriarch visit the synagogues.—Savage hostility divides Jews from Christians.—Commodus is assassinated.—Pertinax and Didius Julian meet with violent deaths.—The forms anciently observed in the temple are carefully preserved in Jewish worship.*

TIME ameliorated the condition of the Jews, and wherever Roman power extended, by conquest or colonisation, some of the Hebrew nation were found, pursuing the course of Roman triumph with various objects,



but for the most part commercially engaged, in seeking wealth generally, and seeking it with success. They found their way into France and into Spain. In the latter country some of them claimed to be located since the days of Solomon; nay, pretended to still greater antiquity. Tubal the son of Japhet, it was affirmed by their chroniclers, was the man that had first peopled Spain after the deluge. "The motive of his coming," says John de Mariana, "was this: In the year 131 (according to the best computation) after the deluge, the sons of Adam having, at the instigation of the haughty Nimrod, attempted to build the famous Tower of Babel, in contempt of God's omnipotence, were dispersed and scattered over the face of the earth. One language being before common to all, through the just judgment of the Almighty there arose among them such a confusion of tongues, that, not able longer to converse or understand one another, they were obliged to part companies, and spread abroad into several countries. The world was divided among the three sons of Noah after this manner: To Shem was allotted all Asia beyond the Euphrates eastward, as also the country of Syria and Palestine. To Ham was assigned from Babylon westward, the three Arabias, Egypt, and all Africa. The portion of Japhet and his posterity was that part of Asia which lies north of the mountains Taurus and Amanus, and all Europe." The earth being thus divided, the children of Japhet settled in several provinces; and Tubal, who was his fifth son, was sent to the "farthest regions westward,—that is, to Spain,—where he founded the Spanish monarchy." They had good reason for wishing, at various periods, that this legend should be credited; for Spanish bigotry often rose in vengeance against the unhappy Israelites, to punish them for putting the Saviour to death; and no better method of exculpating themselves occurred to the wanderers, than to prove that they had been located in Spain long before he had appeared in Judea. Some pretended that they had been sent there by Nebuchadnezzar; and many of the Spanish cities were shewn to have names derived from Hebrew words.

Among the multitudes found in the various parts of the Roman empire, there were many poor and many disreputable Jews; but there were some of a very superior order, and wherever they were allowed to establish themselves in peace, they were found a thriving, and, for the most part, an inoffensive race. Whatever the diversity of their habits, their means, or their origin, all were united in an earnest desire to uphold the system of the patriarchate, and to prove their attachment to the synagogue by deferentially listening to its ministers, the expounders of the law. Through them their homage and their contributions were forwarded to Hillel and his successors at Tiberias.

In every town a synagogue was established, which was duly, in its turn, visited by the legate or apostle of the patriarch. It was their office to receive the subscriptions offered for their chief, to regulate any differences which might occur, and to exhort all the children of Jacob to act in union, and to look forward with hope to the coming of their Deliverer. In each succeeding year, by sound of trumpet, every synagogue was called

on to prepare its tribute for the patriarch by the last day of May: and the legates, having performed this office, returned to Tiberias, and reported on the state in which they had found and left the various establishments.

In their hostility to the Jews, the early Christians assign another office to these legates. They declare the true object of their being sent from city to city was to anathematise the followers of Jesus Christ, and to breathe a curse on the Saviour's name. Whether this was so or not, of the dire hostility which existed between the Jews and the Christians we have more than sufficient evidence. Not content with differing from each other in opinion, they severally rejoiced in the persecutions of which each in turn became the victims. When the Christian was dragged to the stake, and the flames ascended to consume the living victim, the Jews, in the case of Polycarpus and others, are represented to have savagely howled, not in condemnation of the barbarous punishment they witnessed, but to indicate their approbation of the enormity, and their hatred of the sufferer; and with a kindred feeling the Christians were gratified when Hebrew blood was pitilessly shed.

The Roman empire, magnificent as it appeared to the world abroad, was anything but happy in itself at home. After the death of Marcus Aurelius, his degraded and incestuous son Commodus, seeking only sensual enjoyment, neglected his people till his crimes brought him to a bloody end, and Rome rejoiced that the assassin's hand had terminated the existence of their miscreant ruler. Elvius Pertinax was then proclaimed emperor; but he, though deserving of a better fate, after a brief reign of three months, was also put to death. The fall of the "Tennis-ball of Fortune," as he was called, subjected ancient Rome to the disgrace of being sold, and Didius Julian bought the dangerous dignity of emperor. He got the reward which he might have expected for his folly; the senate decreed that he should be deprived of the empire, and finally caused him to be decapitated. Septimus Severus was then called upon to assume the imperial purple; and he, an African by birth, was hailed by the senate as the deliverer of Rome.

The disorders attendant on such a state of things diverted public attention from the Jews, and they continued, though surrounded by heathens who mocked the faith of those who worshipped the God of Abraham, to uphold the forms of their ancient religion. In every synagogue the law was expounded, and lectures were given at stated periods. When ten were present, the ceremonies were commenced. If only a smaller number assembled, it was supposed the invincible Shechinah, the Divine Presence, would not condescend to be with them. The celestial spirit might demand, said the Rabbins, "Wherefore come I, seeing so few are here?" It was felt therefore, a matter of duty to take care that ten persons should generally be found, if we may imitate modern phraseology, to form a synagogue. That number of "men of leisure" were accordingly appointed, to be in attendance, that the homage due to the Eternal might not suffer from omission. The house in which these



persons met had no magnificence to commend it to the beholder. It was a simple edifice, which did not rise conspicuous above the adjacent buildings. It had been so in other days 'ere the freedom of Israel had been crushed by exulting enemies; but in this, the hour of their deep humiliation, the synagogue exemplified the fall of the nation, and was lowly and unadorned. What they wanted in splendour, however, the Hebrews strove to make up in numbers, as from four hundred and sixty to four hundred and eighty synagogues were established in Jerusalem alone. Jews from other countries appear each to have had a synagogue to themselves; and besides these which were commonly roofed, they had chapels or oratories, open above. From dread of persecution so frequently rife, or from wanton interruption from the populace, they were usually found in solitary and romantic situations; in a shady grove, or on some unfrequented part of the coast. Small as the place might be, humble as its means and appliances were, in the general arrangement, reference was made to happier times, when the temple of the Most High rose, with appropriate dignity and splendour, in the midst of a mighty and opulent city. It was uniformly entered from the east, and in the centre an elevated stage, or platform, took the place of the great altar. Here no struggling victim was dragged, that its blood might be shed by the sacrificial ministers; but thanksgivings and prayer were offered up to the Father of all mercies, and here the book of the law was read, and explained to the listening worshippers. A chest appeared at the western end of the synagogue, in which the book of the law was deposited, which thus humbly represented the Holy of Holies, though the protecting cherubim and the mercy-seat were wanting.

## CHAP. XX.

*Great solemnity marks the Jewish religious observances.*

*—The angel or bishop, with the elders of the synagogue, form a court.—Excommunication is often resorted to.—The punishment is greatly dreaded.—The Niddui, the Cherem, and the Shammata, are severally pronounced against offenders.—Fearful curses are put forth against sin.—The instruction of the Jewish youth is confided to the Rabbins.*

GREAT solemnity was observed on these occasions; and it may be doubted if, in the prouder days of the Jewish nation, with all the magnificence of Solomon, the Deity had been worshipped with more fervour and sincerity. The chief functionary was named the Angel, or Bishop. When he presented himself to the congregation, to render his appearance more striking, more in accordance, as it was thought, with the awful mysteries of religion, his head was veiled, and continued so, while, having taken his place on the rostrum, he sung or recited the prayers of the day. Profound silence reigned through the building while he summoned a reader, one of his officers, from his seat, and directed him to read a selected portion of the law. These readings extended

to some length; and it may cause some surprise when we mention that, on all ordinary occasions, three were required, five on festival days, and no fewer than seven on the sabbath day morning. These persons, selected from the best educated portion of the people, read the chapters of the law to which their attention was called, and twice the prayers were repeated in the Hebrew tongue. The sabbath, the second, and fifth days of the week, were the days on which public service was to be celebrated. An officer attended the synagogues out of Palestine, whose business it was to act as an interpreter, to transcribe the law into the vernacular tongue, into the Greek or Syro-Chaldaic, in most cases. His services must have been of great utility, where so many foreigners from time to time attended. The Jews of that day had not taken up the opinion which prevailed some centuries afterwards among those who professed to be the followers of Jesus Christ, that it was sinful to communicate to a mixed congregation expositions of the will of heaven, in a language which all could understand.

The angel, with the elders of the synagogue, besides instructing, could coerce. They formed a court, capable of taking cognizance of all offences, and of punishing the offender. It could subject the wrong-doer to the scourge; and in some cases the chief patriarch of Tiberias had claimed the right of inflicting capital punishment. If such power were possessed, it was rarely, if ever, exercised; but excommunications were not sparingly dealt with; and these gave the Rabbins immense power, as the consequences of excommunication were such as none could regard with indifference.

Melancholy was the position of that man against whom the anathemas of the synagogue had been levelled. Thrown aside as a withered limb; at once regarded with contempt and horror; as if in his person were embodied all that was despicable and atrocious; he was pointed at as one whom a righteous doom had cut off from "the Israel of God," and had rendered an outcast of society as a warning to mankind.

A punishment so severe was introduced with formalities designed to render it more striking; it approached by slow degrees, till at length it seemed for ever to crush the incorrigible. The preliminary step taken was to censure. The party against whom it was directed was publicly named, and the misconduct imputed to him described on four consecutive sabbaths. He was called upon during that period to do whatever might be in his power to wash away the stain which had fallen on him, and to make his peace with the congregation. If these things were not done; if the admonitions addressed to him proved unavailing; when a month had passed, the solemn "Niddui" was publicly read or issued. This was nothing less than an interdict. It deprived the backslider of all his privileges as an Israelite, and of all hope for the future till penitence should have atoned for the past. Such an attack few had courage to resist; and submission being made, a moderate penalty might at length restore the offender to his place in Hebrew society; but if, still negligent of the advice which was offered, or rather the sentence pronounced against him, he was judged contumacious, a still more awful visitation was in reserve for him.



Against the contumacious offender, the *cherem* was pronounced. This, by some, it is understood, was equivalent to a sentence of death; and it has been contended that it was under the *cherim* Jephtha's daughter was sacrificed. At all events a civil death was inflicted instantaneously. Severed from his friends and relatives, the offender was ordered for a certain period, commonly a month, to keep distant from them not less than four cubits. If his conduct were such that it was not taken off then, it might be prolonged for sixty, or even for ninety days. Still unreclaimed, the *shematta*, *shamatha*, or *shammata*, might be put in force against him. By some writers these terms are said to have been used indifferently, and that there were but two kinds of excommunications, the greater and the less. There was, however, an important difference between them, it is generally believed. Though the *cherim* inflicted civil death, it could be recalled. When the penitence of the culprit was ascertained, the *cherim* might be altogether revoked, and the hand of mercy extended to the sufferer. It was not so with the *shammata*. That, for all that was to be looked for on this side of the grave, made contrition useless, and certainly tended to render an outcast desperate, as the door of hope was closed against him for ever. The sentence, severe in itself, was aggravated by all that the dreadful pomp of language could supply, in the shape of curses and condemnation. Severed from his friends, banished from the synagogue, all the maledictions breathed by Joshua against Jericho, by the prophet against the children who outraged him, were accumulated against the excommunicated; and through all the fearful curses recorded in the Old Testament the tormentors laboriously passed, to appal the sinner whom they expelled from their community. The mysterious names of the spirits of darkness were solemnly invoked, to pursue the unhappy one. Heaven and earth, the seraphim and the heavenly orbs, and the depths of the lower world, were all put in requisition. It was declared that nothing good could come out of him; that his end should be sudden; that all breathing creatures should become his enemies. The fearful whirlwind was invoked to crush; the fever, and every torturing malady "that flesh is heir to," were invited to destroy; the sword was called upon to strike him with unexpected death; and all good and bad spirits, all heaven and hell, to cast him into utter darkness. With the exception of his wife and children, none might approach the excommunicated, but must keep from him the distance of a 'toise.' No one was permitted to enter his house for the purpose of giving burial to a corpse. If a child were born to him, the rite of circumcision must be performed by the father, for no priest might assist; and if life sunk under these multiplied inflictions, none dared to mourn for him; and a massy stone was to be placed on his remains, as a mark of lasting infamy, and to prevent him from rising with his brethren at the last great day.

Great was the influence exercised by the Rabbins who had means like these at command. Employed with a wise and temperate discretion, they might in many cases effectually have repressed immorality; but

sometimes used as the instruments of individual resentment, in the cause of jealousy or ambition, they inflicted intolerable suffering, where justice was not called upon to strike. To the Rabbins, it will be remembered, the care of the rising generation was confided; and care was taken to mark the most interesting periods of youthful life, by something that could inspire reverence for the venerable person of the Rabbin, deference for his high and august office, and unspeakable dread of his reproof or condemnation. The most important religious axioms, children were required to learn as soon as they could speak. Between four and seven years of age, they were taught their letters, and subsequently enabled to read the Pentateuch. They did not commence with the Mishnah till they had numbered ten years. When thirteen years and one day old, they were considered responsible agents, and as such, bound to observe the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the law. Not till they had completed their fifteenth year, were they required to study the Gemarrah and the Talmud.

The Talmud, or Thalmud, means doctrine, and is said to have been composed by a disciple of Jehuha Hakkadash. This is called the Jerusalem Talmud, and is more ancient than that of Babylon; but the latter is generally read. Tomlins, in his *Ancient History*, says, on the subject of the Talmud, "The Jews have two of that name and import, viz., this of Jerusalem, which is the shorter and more obscure of the two; as likewise the more ancient by nearly a century; and that of Babylon, of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the Mishnah of Jehudah; who had scarcely finished his own work, before he had the mortification to see a collection of traditions quite different from his, published by Rabbi Chua, with the Chaldee title of 'Bara-Zijetheth,' or Extravagants, which was afterwards inserted in the Mishnah, in order to make that work more complete. It had, indeed, two considerable defects. First, it only collected the various traditions and sentiments of the Jewish doctors, without inquiring which of them was most to be preferred. And, secondly, it was so concise, as to be in some measure useless, because it reached but a few doubtful cases, in comparison of the many questions that began by this time to be argued among the Jews. To remedy these defects these three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being compiled in Judea, in the Hebrew then in use, was styled the 'Gemarrah,' or Perfection; and this and the Mishnah together, made that which is called the Talmud of Jerusalem. Neither Jews nor Christians are agreed about the time of its being finished; some placing it about 150, others about 200, and Buxtorf 230 years after the destruction of Jerusalem; that is, about the 300th year of Christ."



## CHAP. XXI.

*Comment of Basnage on the Mishna and Gemara—Extravagant tradition contained in it.—Impressions supposed to be made on the mind by superior intelligence.—The Voice of the Daughter is used to further the views of the Rabbins.—It makes known events overcoming all difficulties ordinarily interposed by time and space.—The Jews are enjoined to refrain from pork.—Reasoning of ancient philosophers on such abstinence.*

SOME portions of this celebrated book are commenced in a spirit which renders it next to impossible to treat the subject with historical gravity. The learned persons who formed their repertoires of traditions, says Basnage, wrote whatever occurred to them, and he gives the following specimen of their extravagance.

"The historiette of Cæsar represents him as complaining to Gamaliel that the God of Israel was a robber. This was a jest; but ought it to have been placed in the repertory? Cæsar is made to ask Gamaliel why the Almighty had stolen one rib from Adam? The daughter of Gamaliel replies for her father, that certain persons had approached her house during the night, and had left a vase of gold in place of one of clay which they had carried away." The application was easy. God had given a female assistant to Adam in place of the rib he had removed, which was infinitely more valuable than what he had lost. The exchange was a beneficial one, for the man Cæsar approved of it; but still he censured the Most High, for having done it secretly and while Adam slept. The daughter, always ready, upon this brought a piece of meat which had been baked under ashes, and presented it to the emperor, who refused to eat, saying, "it goes against me." "Well," replied the young woman, "Eve would have offended the taste of the first man, had God given her to him rudely and without art, after first creating her while he looked on." "Que de bagatelles," exclaims the French writer. It is difficult to refrain from echoing him.

Some pretend that the sages who occupied themselves in collecting the traditions of the Jews were assisted in their labours by the "Voice of the Daughter." This was a superior intelligence, mysterious but unerring, which was supposed to guide holy men in their search after truth. At many periods a belief of this kind has more or less prevailed. It was thought to proceed from heaven; it did not always strike the outward senses; it did not sound in the ear, nor did it meet the eye, but it was supposed to make a deep, an irresistible impression on the heart. In later times we are reminded of it by "The Voices" which prompted Joan of Arc to the extraordinary labours which she took upon herself, and successfully accomplished; and coming nearer our own times, by the tokens and supposed answers to their prayers of which the Puritans boasted in the seventeenth century. The "Voice of the Daughter" is said to have announced that Akiba, when put to death by order of the emperor Hadrian, was very happy; and at another time a declaration was ascribed to it of great importance to the Rabbins Hillel

and Samuel, as it proclaimed, in the presence of their disciples, that "they were worthy to receive the holy spirit." On one occasion, God was supposed to intimate, through the "Voice of the Daughter," that "the universe was nourished on account of Hillel's son Chanina;" and it was believed to have reported to Hircan the defeat of Antiochus on the same day on which the battle was fought. The "Voice of the daughter" was supposed to be identified with several of the miracles recorded in the New Testament; with the loss of speech to Zachariah; and the transfiguration of our Saviour. "Tales of miracles however," says Basnage, "are not to be credited because they are often repeated. We ought to examine the nature of the miracle and the character of the witnesses on whose authority it has been promulgated." The modern Jews he assumes to have insisted upon it with a view of doing honour to their ancestors, and to have mixed this miracle with a series of fabulous stories, but only producing a single contemporary to countenance what is told of the "Voice of the Daughter." This name, however, they gave to any incident that favoured any strong presentiment that came over them. Thus Simeon and Joshua, on desiring to see Samuel, who taught at Babylon, resolved to consult the "Voice of the Daughter" on the subject of their journey; when happening to hear a child read from Scripture these words, "Samuel is dead," they at once came to the conclusion that the learned person they wished to see was no more; and this proved to be the fact. Two other Rabbins proposing to visit some distant friends, resolved first to consult the "Voice of the Daughter," and having heard a woman say, "The lamp is gone out," to which her friend replied, "Ah, but the light of Israel is not extinguished," considered that response to proceed from the superior intelligence which they invoked to direct them. A like opinion was adopted in the case of the Rabbin Acher, who, having committed many crimes, was compelled, as a punishment, to visit thirteen synagogues, in each of which one of the disciples were questioned as to the passage of Scripture which he had just read. The first school they entered, a scholar brought before them the words "God has said to the wicked, why takest thou my name in vain?" and in every synagogue they heard something which in like manner might be turned against Acher, from which they concluded that he was abhorred of the Lord, whose Providence had caused those sentences to present themselves at that moment, and these were regarded as being no other than the "Voice of the Daughter."

Among the observances which the Rabbins insisted upon, was abstinence from the flesh of swine. It was not prohibited on the ground that it was unwholesome; but it was considered a sacred duty to avoid it. In his book of abstinence from the flesh of animals, the enthusiast Porphyry, places the holy renouncement of pork among the virtues of the Egyptians and Jews. The Epicureans ranged around the table of Apicius of Rome, enjoying the delicate flavour of a pig stuffed with thrushes, yolks of eggs, and forced meat, a dish that Macrobius compares to the Trojan horse; but the philosophers of the new school, placed this animal among the unclean productions of matter. "The pious Egyptian," says Jamblicus, "very properly regards the hog as an unclean animal; and should he by accident happen to



touch one, he immediately flies to the holy waters of the Nile to purify himself. Those who tend them in the fields are excluded from the temples of Isis, and their alliance considered infamous, which compels them to marry only among themselves."

Plutarch says, "I know not whether it is in honour of pork, or from aversion to it, that the Jews practise this abstinence." Calistratus takes a different view of the subject, and is of opinion that to honour swine was the object they had in view. "The hog," he remarks, "is a hideously unclean animal; but what of that? It is not more ignoble than the griffin, the cat, and the crocodile, which receive the incense of the Egyptian priests! Other reasons," he adds, "may be given why this animal should be respected. In the first place, turning up the earth with its snout, it has suggested to man that he should seek his food from the soil, and thus prepared the way for the labours of the plough. The Egyptians possessing a land which it was easy to work, did not find it necessary to use the plough; but after the Nile had inundated its rich fields, swine were sent into them, and their habits sufficiently dispersed the seed to answer every purpose. The service thus rendered, was sufficient to suggest a motive for not using as food the flesh of the hog, when in barbarous nations so many animals were worshipped, which merited less consideration." He thence infers that the Jews had no aversion for pork; as had it been so they would have killed swine as other sects kill rats; but their religion prescribed to them respect for creatures which taught them to cultivate their fields.

Such were the comments which this usage of the Jews called forth from the polytheist philosophers. Other rites peculiar to the Hebrew nation were examined with like industry, and made the subject of frequent discussion.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Christians avail themselves of permission granted to them to visit Jerusalem, to make pilgrimages to the tomb of Christ.—Differences occur in the Sanhedrim.—The patriarch obtains a triumph over his Ab-beth-din and Hachim.—They are expelled the Sanhedrim, but after a time re-admitted.—Envoys are sent from the patriarch to Hananiah the prince of the captivity.—They are courteously received, and in return attack the character and authority of Hananiah.*

THE Christians being admitted into Jerusalem, and the Jews rigorously excluded, was a subject of great exultation to the former. While the Israelites were denied even a momentary sojourn in the land of their fathers, the new sectarians were permitted to visit Mount Calvary, and every hallowed spot which the sufferings or the miracles of the Saviour had consecrated to fame. Of this they largely availed themselves, moved by curiosity as well as devotion. Those who had the happiness to proclaim that they had gazed on the tomb of their Lord, were themselves regarded

as almost sacred; and the distinction so acquired made others who were the witnesses of it anxious to gain like merit and celebrity. Pilgrimages to the tomb rapidly increased, till at length Christians generally were as anxious once to visit Palestine while they lived, as Jews were to have their remains rest in that land after death. Every year saw crowds of worshippers repair to the holy city. They imposed upon themselves a blameless and interesting toil, which, while it gratified the individuals, seemed to threaten no evil consequences. The pious zealot, while journeying to look on scenes which had witnessed the exhibition of all that was meek and lowly in carriage, that was sublime in patience, and God-like in mercy, was disturbed by no dream of the future; he saw not that, in the fulness of time, his unpresuming devotion would be found the precursor of haughty defiance and of mournful strife, in which myriads would bleed; in a word, he could not for a moment imagine, that pilgrimages would serve to introduce crusades.

While Jews detested Christians, and Christians despised and hated the Jews, the leaders of the former were sometimes seen bitterly at variance. Pride in the individual survived the general ruin; and even into the Sanhedrim at Tiberias some very worldly and very foolish differences intruded. When Simon the son of Gamaliel was seated in the patriarchate, not content with holding that high office, he repined at seeing Rabbim Nathan, his Ab-beth-din, and Rabbim Meir, his Hachim, enjoy honours similar to his own. Though these consisted but of formal marks of respect, they moved his serious displeasure, and he determined to compel a reform. When Nathan and Meir entered the Sandedrim, all present were accustomed to rise, and to remain standing till they had taken their seats; a token of reverence which Simon thought was due to the patriarch alone. He therefore took occasion to reprehend the irregularity, insisting that it was only when he entered that all were to rise; for the Ab-beth-din that mark of respect from two rows would be sufficient; and one row only was to stand when the Hachim approached. Nathan and Meir were greatly hurt at this affront. It was in their judgment one which justified the bitterest resentment; and Meir invited Nathan to join with him to punish it. The Rabbim said, "He who is not prepared at all times to answer every question, which in any way relates to the word of God, is unfit to preside over the great Sanhedrim. Our superior knowledge will enable us to detect and expose the ignorance of the arrogant Simon. This will cause his downfall. The envious and tyrannical patriarch must withdraw; you will be made patriarch in his place; and I can become your Ab-beth-din." "There is reason, there is wisdom in thy speech," Nathan replied, "and we will commune together." They did so. The offended Rabbins laboured in concert to prepare a series of difficult questions, which being unexpectedly brought forward, they deemed it would be impossible for Simon satisfactorily to answer.

Their eagerness for revenge defeated its object. So incautiously did they conduct themselves, that their conversation was overheard, and their plot revealed to



the individual most nearly affected. Possessed of the course they meant to pursue, he duly prepared himself to sustain the attack.

When the Sanhedrim held its next sitting, the discontented Ab-beth-din and Hachim attended, with the most difficult and perplexing questions they were able to frame, and which they fondly hoped their patriarch would be in no condition to answer. Their confidence was not justified by the event; as he had so well employed his time that they failed on every point, and the triumph of Simon was complete. He perhaps did not enjoy his victory with all the modesty that would have become so eminent a personage. To him it appeared that an indignity offered to himself, was to detract from the high character of the office which he filled, and he required nothing less than the expulsion of his assailants from the Sanhedrim. Nathan and Meir, though defeated, were not silenced; and they tried to annoy the patriarch in various ways. Possibly it was the hope of terminating this petty warfare that caused Simon at last to act with some degree of magnanimity, and to forgive their misconduct. At all events a reconciliation was brought about; Nathan and Meir regained their offices, but it does not appear that the distinction for which they originally contended was granted to them on their re-appearance in the Sanhedrim. It is but reasonable to conclude that the victor in the contest received that exclusive homage, which before his authority was resisted he had claimed as his due.

Whether this success rendered him desirous of farther controversy, or whether wrong were offered to him by the head of the Babylonian Jews, may admit of some doubt; but, shortly afterwards, we find Simon at variance with the former, and using against him artifices which a highminded Rabbin would have disdained to employ. The prince of the captivity at Babylon was named Ahia, and under him Hananiah taught at Nahar-pakod, with Judah Ben Bethuriah, the most celebrated Jewish preceptors in the schools of Babylon. Simon complained that the Babylonians had presumed erroneously to fix the time at which Easter should be kept. This was deemed flat rebellion against the patriarch of Tiberias; and two envoys, or legates, were sent to settle with Hananiah this important question. They were provided with three letters; the first of which, inscribed, "To your Holiness," was to be given to Hananiah immediately after their arrival. The legates of Simon, acting on their instructions, presented the missive in due form; and Hananiah, gratified at the courtesy, if not at the reverence, indicated by such an address, graciously received the strangers, and desired to be more particularly informed of the object of their coming to Babylon. "To learn your system of instruction," was the flattering, but artful, reply. Such a compliment won the heart of the unsuspecting Hananiah, and he gave the legates a most cordial reception, and forthwith introduced them to the principal persons in his community, describing them to be worthy of every honour, as the lineal descendants of Aaron; so the patriarch was reputed to be, and his representatives were held to share the glorious distinction. He revered them for their origin, and not less for their merit, which he appeared

most anxious to exalt, little suspecting the ungrateful return his guests were about to make for it. No sooner had they gained, through his good offices, importance in the eyes of his followers, than the legates of Simon began to decry Hananiah. Of his talents and opinions they spoke with contempt, while they intimated that his presumption exposed the Jewish race to great evils, seeing he had taken upon himself to fix intercalations and new moons, by reason of his ignorance, at wrong periods; through which, a want of uniformity had arisen between the Hebrews of Babylon and those of Palestine.

Hananiah, thus outraged, endeavoured, by an assumption of great dignity and importance, to overcome the legates, or at least to baffle them, and vindicate his conduct to his own people. "I," said he, "have done no more than I have warrant for doing. Guided by precedent, I have only acted as Akiba did, when he was in Babylon." To this they answered, "Akiba was a man who left not his equal behind in Palestine." "Be it so," he proudly replied; "neither will Hananiah leave his equal behind in Babylon." Then the legates produced their second letter, which was intended to assert the superiority of the Sanhedrim at Tiberias, over the schools of Babylon. It ran thus: "That which thou left a kid, is grown up to be a strong horned goat." The awful mystery concealed in these words overpowered Hananiah, and he was unprepared, at the moment, with a suitable reply. His confidence failed him: he saw that a train had been laid for him, and that the envoys of Simon were about to employ weapons against him which he could not turn aside, and was in no condition to meet.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Hananiah denounces the legates from Tiberias, but in vain.—They condemn his arrangement of the calendar.—The legates triumph.—The followers of Hananiah declare in their favour.—The prince of the captivity maintains great state.—Vast ceremony is observed on the occasion of his inauguration.—It occupies several days.*

IN the first burst of his indignation, Hananiah had denounced his most unwelcome visitors as impostors, base ingrates, and vile pretenders; but he appealed to those whom he had previously commanded to receive them with honour, and look up to them with reverence. He was now reproachfully reminded of the language he had formerly used, when speaking of the strangers, and told, "That which thou hast once erected, thou canst not in a moment overthrow; the hedge which thou hast planted, and grown, thou canst not tear down again without injury to thyself." Confounded by the charge which had been preferred against him, as well as by the impression which it had made upon those to whom he looked for support, Hananiah remained silent. Rabbin Isaac upon this ascended the tribune, or rostrum,



from which the law was accustomed to be read, and calling attention to the recent arrangements of the calendar, pointed to the various dates, while he called to the people with a loud voice, "Behold, these be the holidays of God; but those," pointing to other dates, "be the holidays of Hananiah of Babylon." He was listened to with profound attention, and a murmur of amazement and disapprobation rose from his auditory. At this moment Simon, the second envoy, stood forth and read this passage from the prophet Isaiah, "Out of Sion goeth forth the law, and the word of God from Jerusalem." He stopt not there, but proceeded significantly to parody on the language just quoted, saying, "Out of Babylon goeth forth the law, the word of God from Nahar-ba-kod." The hearers were deeply impressed with what had been spoken; they considered Hananiah to be seriously inculpated, and they answered the appeal by a solemn, supplicating, but indignant cry of "Alter not the word of God."

The legates now felt that they were all but victorious, and that the power of Hananiah was virtually at an end, and they concluded that the time was come when they might fitly produce the third letter which had been confided to them. It was opened—it was read—and one of the Rabbins again addressed the people. He said, "From Tiberias we come. By the learned we are sent to Hananiah, and commanded to say, if he will promptly submit, it is well; if he dare to resist,—utter without hesitation the interdicts. In like manner let the choice be given to all the brethren in foreign parts. So they stand by the learned it shall be well; if they dare to oppose themselves to us let them ascend their high places. Ahia may build them an altar, and Hananiah, who boasts himself of the tribe of Levi, may sing at the sacrifice; and let them at once set themselves apart from the rest of the Jewish community, and say, 'We have no portion in the Israel of God.'" The people to whom this was addressed, who before listened in mute amazement, now believed that their peril would be great if they did not instantly approve of what had been suggested to them by the envoys from Tiberias; and in wild excitement they instantly responded, "Heaven preserve us evermore from heresy. It is our earnest desire still to retain a portion in the Israel of God." Nothing was wanting to complete the victory of Nathan and Isaac. The authority of the Sanhedrim of Tiberias was acknowledged by acclamation. Hananiah was compelled to make his submission, and from this time forward, till the restoration of the Persian monarchy, separated the Jews of Babylon from their western brethren. The supremacy of the patriarch of Tiberias was never resisted or questioned. He was regarded as the spiritual head; his mandates were received with reverence; and it seems to have been concluded that he alone could resolve the awful mysteries connected with religion, that to him alone it was given correctly to interpret the laws of the Deity. The justice or the expediency of what he willed might in some minds create rational doubt, but all affected to acquiesce.

Great as the power of the patriarch of Tiberias appears to have been, it has doubtless been remarked that he was constrained to extend and maintain that in-

fluence by artifice, which is commonly the symptom of conscious weakness. The prince of the captivity had in Babylon attained to a degree of grandeur, if not of power, which seemed not a little at variance with the title he was content to wear. From time to time his importance steadily increased. Rabbin Hona, a scion of the regal house of David, had enjoyed the proud distinction. His descent is reported to have been so clearly in proof, and so universally admitted, that the holy Jehuda scrupled not to declare, if Rabbin Hona condescended to visit Tiberias, he would do homage to him as his lawful sovereign. This is taken as evidence that the claim of Hona was clear beyond all dispute. It might, however, have been surmised that a prudent patriarch would think it not unwise to offer such a compliment to the possessor of power, however dubious his title to it might be. Such was the splendour in which the prince of captivity lived, that it recalled to the Israelites something of the gorgeous magnificence which their annals reported had been displayed by Solomon and his successors. This was especially exemplified in the ceremonial of his inauguration. On the day fixed for the celebration, the prince, seated on a lofty throne, and in a stately chamber, was waited upon by a vast throng of those who were ambitious of being regarded as his subjects. There were seen holy Rabbins, the spiritual heads of the Jewish nation, there the masters of the synagogues, and there the elders of Israel, as in days of old, were assembled; and multitudes of the humbler classes were collected together, to honour and mark their attachment to the representative of the house of David; at the right and left of the throne, the grave masters of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha were stationed; and their office was to display their eloquence in honour of the chief, and to render the ceremony more imposing and memorable. They addressed the prince; they spoke of his great exaltation, but reminded him that he ought never to forget he was subordinate to that great Being above the sky whom he was appointed to represent on earth. They called upon him, as he desired and hoped to command the obedience of his people, ever to hold himself subservient to the will of Heaven, and evermore to be on his guard not to abuse the power now given to him by the confidence of the Jewish nation. He was moreover exhorted to regard his elevation as a task imposed, as well as an honour conferred, and, in fact, to consider that duty called him to slavery as well as to sovereignty, since it would be his duty to labour incessantly in order to ameliorate the suffering and humiliation of a captive people. These admonitions listened to and acknowledged, on the next succeeding Thursday, another portion of the ceremonial took place. On the prince appearing among the Rabbins and their attendants, the imposition of hands took place; the trumpet sounded, and acclamations rent the air. To the people it seemed that their chains were broken, and that they were again free to choose a king to rule over them, and to fight their battles; and he was conducted to the palace prepared for his reception with great pomp, and amidst continuous rejoicings. Not the least agreeable part of the business remained to be performed. The prince was now to receive presents from those



over whom he was to preside. In this labour of love, all classes vied with each other to render the tribute worthy of the occasion: and many of the gifts were costly; some of them inconceivably magnificent.

The inauguration observances were concluded on the succeeding Sabbath; when the Rabbins, the elders, and other persons of consideration, assembled in front of the palace, and the prince coming forth, placed himself at their head—his face being carefully veiled—and he then advanced before them to the synagogue, where benedictions were pronounced and hymns of thanksgiving were chaunted. The book of the law was spread before him, and the prince read the first line in it and the first only. Taking that as the representative of the rest, he called on the assembly, in affectionately respectful terms, to do honour to themselves by yielding ready obedience to the law. Still addressing them, his eyes being closed, he instructed them in the duty which man owed to man, and called upon the affluent to assist those who were needy. Charity he commended to them, as one of the noblest features in the character of a pious Hebrew; and besides giving this wholesome counsel, he set them a good example, by giving liberally to the poor. These speeches and actions were acknowledged with shouts, and other testimonials of approbation. Prayers were offered to the Mighty God of Israel, that he would deign to have compassion on his chosen people; and, having punished their wanderings, to abate their calamities. After that, the prince of the captivity solemnly gave his benediction to all; and addressing himself to the Giver of all Good, prayed for each province, that it might then and for ever be spared the awful visitation of war and famine. His voice became less audible as he approached the conclusion of his prayer, not because he was exhausted—not because excessive feeling overpowered speech, but because the subject matter was that which could not be publicly spoken with perfect safety; as he prayed for the complete restoration of Israel which had been so mournfully humbled—a restoration which could not be witnessed but at the expense of that nation which now included the prince of the captivity and his followers among the number of its subjects. When this solemnity ended, the prince arose to depart from the synagogue. He returned in state to his palace, where a splendid banquet awaited those who had taken an active part in the proceedings of the day; and thenceforward he was expected to live in splendid retirement.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

*Pomp and humility exhibited by the Resch Glutha.—He visits the schools of learning and the sovereign of Babylon.—He maintains a splendid court.—Learning is cultivated by the Babylonian Jews, and civilization advances.—Alexander Severus favours the Hebrews.—A Jewish colony is settled in China.—Enduring character of the laws of Moses and the house of Jacob.*

THERE were occasions on which the Resch Glutha left his palace, to exhibit at the same moment the humility of the captive, and the pride of the prince. Sometimes

he honoured the schools of learning with his presence, where his coming was hailed with great demonstrations of joy, and at certain periods the prince visited the Babylonian monarch of Bagdad. The dates of these progresses have not been carefully preserved; but it has been supposed that they occurred at a somewhat later period than the close of the second century. When these princes met, the self-abasement of the prince of captivity was consistent enough with the condition of a captive, but it was that for which the reader, after what has been stated, can hardly be prepared. Though the sovereign of Babylon had the courtesy to send his own chariot for his guest, the prince declined to take his seat in it. He affected to consider the honour to be too great for acceptance; and modestly followed behind. But for thus seeming to humble himself, the prince was consoled by the grandeur of his own train which surrounded him, and which he did not consider it necessary to dispense with in honour of his imperial host. His attire was formed mainly of cloth of gold, enriched with jewels and costly ornaments. Fifty guards preceded him as he advanced; and all the Jews who met him on the road, and these, at such a time, were not few, fell into his cortege, having first obsequiously offered the tribute of their homage. On arriving at the palace of the Babylonian ruler, he was received with every mark of distinction. The eunuchs of the court attended to conduct him to the foot of the throne, while one of the prince's officers, as he slowly advanced, threw gold and silver to the multitude, through whom a passage was made for him. The most extravagant demonstration of confessed inferiority succeeded; the prince of the captivity, in token of vassalage, fell prostrate before the imperial throne. He was carefully raised by the eunuchs, and saluted by the sovereign, who then made him sit by his side. Friendly greetings were exchanged, and matters of state discussed; petitions or representations of grievances were duly made, and redress for the most part granted or promised.

It was not only on such occasions that the Resch Glutha was surrounded with magnificence. His court was splendid, and is said to have imitated, in its general features, the dazzling luxury and pomp of the Persian monarch. With his Rabbins and elders he had his officers of state, his councils, and cup-bearers. The other costly ornaments which proud monarchs love to exhibit, to astonish all beholders, were not forgotten. The different communities who owned his sway, were placed under the superintendence of the Rabbins. Many of his subjects were engaged in profitable commerce, and had succeeded in realising great wealth. The commerce carried on with neighbouring nations is believed to have been extensive. In the west, Babylonian garments were in great request; and one Hebrew merchant possessed such vast means, that he has said to have boasted he could command a thousand ships on the sea, and a thousand cities on the land. Civilization evidently made rapid progress among them. While riches were desired learning was not neglected. The Jews, at Palestine, indeed, affected to regard Babylonian wisdom with scorn; but this was in the spirit of envious rivalry, rather than in that of just discrimination; as the schools of Babylon are believed to have been little inferior to those which



any other Jewish community could boast. At Nahardea, at Pumbeditha, and at Sura, the law was as ably expounded as at Tiberias.

This state of things is represented to have existed at the close of the second and in the third century. During the reign of Alexander Severus, Jews and Christians escaped persecution. Though his son, Caracalla, before he had completed his fourteenth year, gained such honour at Antioch, in a war then carried on against the Hebrews, that he was rewarded by the senate with the title of command, the "Manly Robe," and a share of the consulship; the father of that prince seems not only to have tolerated, but to have favoured the Jews. It is even said he placed an image of Abraham in his private oratory or chapel, among the statues of those persons who were entitled to divine honours, for which he was sneeringly called "The Ruler of the Synagogue."

In this place it may not be improper to mention that, from a very remote period, the Jews had established many colonies. One of these was founded in China, where it was said to have been settled two centuries and a half before the coming of our Saviour. Of course, little reliance can be placed on this statement; but between fifty and eighty years after Christ, they are, on better authority, believed to have had a footing in the celestial empire. Towards the close of the reign of Mingti—a prince of the dynasty of Han, whose reign extended from A. D. 58 to 77—they established themselves there in considerable numbers; seventy families being located in Ningpo, Ninghin, Hamtchu, Pekin, and Kaifongfou. It is probable that their religion gave offence to the Chinese; for here, contrary to what happened almost everywhere else, their numbers, instead of increasing, seem very much to have diminished. The cause of this cannot be known. It may be conjectured that the ill treatment they received caused them to withdraw to less inhospitable shores. The supercilious natives could

not be expected easily to tolerate the followers of Moses Proud and unsociable as the Jews themselves, whatever respect the latter might profess for the name of Confucius, it would hardly satisfy those who regarded him as entitled to undivided homage.

This was almost a solitary exception. Everywhere else, in the face of persecution, and every imaginable obstacle, they proved a thriving race, where the strong hand of power was not stretched forth to crush or to banish. It must be seen that where the greatest efforts had been made by the most potent states to obliterate even the Jewish name, a spark of vitality still remained, which has survived the lapse of many centuries. The fact is so wonderful that, with the proof before our eyes, we almost doubt, and cannot but adopt the striking reflections of Mr. D'Israeli on this subject. "The Hebrew, a vagrant or a captive amidst the famed cities of Greece or Rome, could hardly, even in the luxuriant hope of the Israelitish faith, have imagined that, when their pomp and glories should be covered with sand and grass, the laws of Moses should govern races unborn, and in climates unknown. In the vision of their own Ezekiel, the Israelites had witnessed, or imagined they had witnessed, the subversion of empires, the apparition of the winged ministers of four great dominions moving amidst their wreath of fire, each by his terrible wheel, 'turning not when they went, for every one went straight forwards,' but 'the living spirit was in the wheels,' like 'a wheel in the middle of a wheel.' One monarchy crushed another. The Babylonians had been struck down by the Persians, the Persians had fallen to the Greeks, and the Greeks had bowed to the Romans. And now two thousand years have passed away, and 'wheels' not shadowed forth in the mystical vision of Ezekiel have also 'been lifted up from the earth,' yet the lone house of Jacob endureth, as the kindled bush where God lay, contemplated by the inspired legislator, 'burning with fire but not consumed.'"



## BOOK I.

COMPREHENDING EVENTS OF THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH CENTURIES,  
TO THE TIME OF MAHOMET.

## CHAP. I.

*Sapor makes war on the Romans.—He is checked by Gordian.—He makes peace.—The Jews are not made to form a part of the Roman army.—Valerian is defeated and made prisoner by Sapor.—Odenathus successfully opposes Sapor and dies.—Zenobia reigns as queen of the east.—She is conquered by Aurelian.—Her ministers are put to death.—She graces the triumph of Aurelian.—Paul of Samos, her instructor, is punished.*

ARTAXERXES the Great flourished in the third century, and is supposed to have died about the year 255, when his son Sapor ascended the throne. It was about this period that Jarkinæus was established at Nahardea. Remarkable events indirectly connect Sapor with Jewish history. This prince had the reputation of being brave, and was eager to gain renown in war. He soon determined to attack the Roman empire, and advanced into Mesopotamia and threatened Antioch. The younger Gordian opposed him; when Sapor deemed it prudent to withdraw into his own dominions. He was followed by Gordian, who, however, was precluded from giving him further annoyance, being assassinated by Philip, who then usurped the imperial purple. Crime seldom gives strength or safety. The murderer felt that he was not secure in his high station, and was glad to make peace with Sapor, ignominiously resigning to him the provinces which he had overrun. A peace so obtained was not likely to be lasting; and accordingly, we find that Sapor, after gaining a triumph over Chosroes, king of Armenia, and possessing himself of his dominions, again turned his arms against Rome. The Jews, at least their religion, occupied less attention than in more peaceable times, but they were regarded with little favour, as they could not be prevailed upon to fight in the Roman ranks. It was contrary to their religion to march on the Sabbath day, or to partake of the food prepared for the rest of the army; and this was so earnestly pleaded, and so resolutely insisted upon, that it was not judged consistent with prudence to drag them to the field. Valerian encountered Sapor, but only to experience a severe defeat, and to become himself a prisoner. The Persian took Antioch by surprise,

and sacked it; Tarsus and Cæsarea were next subjected; but he soon received a check from the Roman general Bastinatus, and shortly after he had the mortification to find himself threatened by a more terrible enemy in Odenathus, king of Palmyra, the husband of the celebrated Zenobia, who was a Jewess, or at least of Jewish extraction. He had been treated with great rudeness by Sapor, and enjoyed the luxury of revenging it. All the country between Palmyra and the Tigris he subdued. Shortly after their succession he died. Zenobia then assumed the sovereignty of the countries over which her husband had ruled. She was a person of matchless beauty and accomplishments. "She claimed her descent," says Gibbon, "from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity and valour. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of a dark complexion (for in speaking of a lady those trifles become important). Her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered with the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syrian, and the Egyptian languages: she had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus."

To the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bythnia, his widow added the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt. The emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit; and was content that while *he* pursued the Gothic war, *she* should assert the dignity of the empire in the east. Having assumed the proud title of Queen of the East, this incomparable Jewess governed her states with firmness and wisdom; but when Aurelian became emperor, as she refused to submit to Rome, he marched at the head of a powerful army into Asia. Near Antioch he defeated her general, Zabdus. Zenobia then retreated to Euroso, and under the walls of that place he was again victorious over Zenobia herself, who therefore shut herself up in the capital of Palmyra. Favourable terms were offered by the



emperor, but refused by Zenobia, and refused with scorn, and he then besieged the city.

It was defended with the most determined courage. A letter written by Aurelian is extant, which gives a singular account of the warfare in which he was engaged. In this he declares, "It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two or three *balista*, and artificial fires are thrown from her military engines."

Long she resisted, and resolved, in the last extremity, not to surrender; she mounted a swift dromedary and fled towards the Euphrates, with the intention of seeking a refuge in the Persian territory, but her motions being watched, or her person recognised, she was captured and brought before Aurelian. He haughtily demanded of the Israelitish princess, how she could presume to defy the power of Rome? The Queen of the East replied, "I could not honour Gallienus, and such as resembled him, but I can recognise Aurelian as emperor, because he is equally skilled to govern and to conquer." This well-timed flattery pleased. Zenobia's case was submitted to a tribunal, and though many of the Roman soldiers were clamorous for her death, she was spared, but is considered to have in some degree sullied her former high character, by throwing the blame of her own conduct on her ministers, some of whom, including the celebrated Longinus, her secretary, were put to death by the victor. He met his fate with surprising dignity. Disdaining to complain of the injustice of his doom, he serenely followed the executioner; he pitied the fallen Zenobia, and employed his last moments in soothing the bitter regrets of his friends. The Jewish queen herself was reserved to grace the triumph of Aurelian. Encumbered with chains of gold, and almost sinking beneath their weight, and that of the numerous jewels with which she was adorned, she walked before the magnificent chariot in which the emperor rode. A commodious retreat was assigned to her at Tibur, or Tivoli, about twenty miles distant from the capital, where she closed her life as a Roman matron.

The fame of Zenobia for beauty and talent, and the great power which she at one time possessed, is considered, by ancient writers, to have exalted in no small degree the Jewish name. She is said, in some histories of the Jews, to have been brought up in their religion, and a zealous professor of it. It is also said she built many stately synagogues. This is not very obvious. Her favourite instructor was Paul of Sammosato, a Christian prelate; and he, though he made himself obnoxious to his own church, does not appear to have very decidedly inclined towards the Jews. He became bishop of Antioch about the year 260, and gave offence to his Christian brethren by denying the pre-existence of Christ; and maintaining that he was a mere man, on whom the wisdom of God had descended from heaven, which had enabled him to perform miracles. In consequence of this, he was accused of heresy, and of leading an improper life, before a council which assembled at Antioch, in 264. Paul was ordered to be admonished. He again became the subject of an accusation; and a second council was held, five or six years after the

former one, at the same place, to inquire into his principles and conduct. Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, whose exertions were thought to have procured the former mild sentence, was now dead; and his enemies, being strengthened by that event, pronounced a sentence of deposition against him. He refused to submit to the decree of the council, and applied to queen Zenobia for her protection. It was granted; and, favoured by the sovereign, and applauded by the people, he lived several years in peace, till the overthrow of his fair protectress, when Aurelian was prevailed upon to order his expulsion. His end is not known, but he is believed to have suffered martyrdom. He entertained some hopes of effecting an union between the Jewish and Christian sects. Had he effected it, he might have been entitled to rank among the noblest benefactors of humanity. But, if such were his object, he had no means of giving effect to his wish; and the Hebrew people were but little benefited by him, or by her, who, though descended from the kings of Macedon, has been spoken of as their countrywoman, the beautiful queen Zenobia.

## CHAP. II.

*Religion, instead of promoting brotherly love, has been a source of discord.—Idolatry attempted to be defended.—Reign of Caracalla.—Heliogabalus succeeds him.—He gives himself up to sensuality.—Insanity marks his conduct.—The Jews know happier days under the emperor Alexander.—He favours both Jews and Christians.—The former are charged with causing the persecution of the latter, under the emperor Decius.*

RELIGION, which should unite all in brotherly love, was a constant source of discord, which common sense and common moderation might have avoided. The pagans wished to convert the Jews, the Christians did the same, and all viewed each other with disgust.

The subjoined passages, from the "Curiosities of Literature," exhibit something of the feeling which prevailed:—

"The following extract from the Talmud exhibits a subtle mode of reasoning, which the Jews adopted when the learned of Rome sought to persuade them to conform to their idolatry. It forms an entire Mishna, entitled *Seder Nezikin*, *Avoda Zara*, iv. 7, on idolatrous worship, translated by Wotton.

'Some Roman senators examined the Jews in this manner:—If God hath no delight in the worship of idols, why did he not destroy them? The Jews made answer: 'If men had worshipped only things of which the world had had no need, he would have destroyed the object of their worship; but they also worship the sun and moon, stars and planets, and then he must have destroyed his world for the sake of these deluded men. But still, said the Romans, why does not God destroy the things which the world does not want, and leave those things which the world cannot be without?'



Because, replied the Jews, this would strengthen the hands of such as worship these necessary things, who would then say,—Ye allow now that these are gods, since they are not destroyed.”

When the world became comparatively enlightened, and when Christianity had made numerous converts, it might have been hoped that the madness and folly which had previously raged would have been restrained; but such was not the case. Perhaps no great reform was ever effected without, in the first instance, being the parent of many evils. The march of Christianity it is painful to trace. Instead of embodying in its action those benign principles which were ever and anon heard from the Redeemer's lips, during his earthly pilgrimage, we find those who should have been the promoters of peace and mercy, who should have taught men to do as they would be done by, and who, by their own example, ought to have impressed upon others the importance of disregarding worldly gain, did the opposite of all this. It will be shewn, in its proper place, that individuals who were deemed most eminent for piety rarely thought of coupling a propagation of faith with the exercise of benevolence.

During the reign of Caracalla, we have no very distinct view of the situation of the Jews. When we read that, such was his madness and depravity, whole nights were spent in the execution of his bloody decrees, and that the dead bodies of people of all ranks were carried out in carts, and burnt in heaps, without receiving the usual honours of a pagan funeral, we cannot suppose they knew much peaceable enjoyment. Though his indiscriminating rage would seem to have been impartially ferocious, the same thirst of blood, which caused him to assail at one moment the frequenters of a theatre, was not unlikely at another to have directed his vengeance against all the supporters of a synagogue.

When the vengeance of Martial had dismissed the parricide Caracalla to his grave, the short reign of Macrinus succeeded, and after him the natural son of Caracalla, Heliogabalus, was chosen by the army to be the head of the Roman empire. He was admired for the graces of his person; and the soldiers, the instruments of Caracalla's brutal vengeance, who were liberally requited for the massacre they had perpetrated, named him emperor, and they hoped the son would emulate the father in his partiality to them, if not in his hatred to the rest of the species. Heliogabalus was then a youth, and had been one of the assistant priests in a temple dedicated to the sun. His grandmother Mæsa, who was very wealthy, by costly presents to those who had most influence with the military, paved the way for his advancement. He proved as great a monster as his father, and immediately gave himself up to the most disgusting sensuality. In four years he married six wives, and was divorced from them all, and then caused himself to be married to one of his officers, and subsequently to the slave Hierocles, whom he suffered to beat him when he in any way offended, and welcomed the punishment with the remark that it was the duty of a good wife to be content with a husband's acts. He could not be other than

insane. Among his vagaries he resolved that his god, the sun, should have a consort, and pretended to marry him to Pallas. After that, presuming that polygamy would find favour in the eyes of celestials, he affected with less absurdity what he regarded as a matrimonial alliance between the sun and moon. Whether or not these extravagances resulted from what he had been taught in the temple where he was educated, we have no exact information; but we know that many wild notions, which prevailed in the earlier ages, were still held to be worthy of attention. A belief in the eternity of matter was one of the most common doctrines of the ancient speculators. Pythagoras had been a cock,—so he declared, and also a human hero, Euporbus, one of those who fought at the siege of Troy. Epicurus, to avoid the danger of an unqualified avowal of his sentiments, but unable to reconcile the doctrine of a superintending providence with his atomic theory, admitted the existence of the gods, in obedience to the law, but despoiled them of every attribute by which the divine character was distinguished, even among the pagans, from that of weak or dissolute mortals. His deities, absorbed in easy indolence, dozed away a dreamy immortality, in the most felicitious indifference to the vices or virtues, the well-being or the misery of mankind. Every possible variety in opinion on the most important subjects—every conceivable difference in belief concerning the world, the Deity, the soul, the past, the future—was indulged in by the philosophers of Rome. But we know of no system or principle of worship that could be identified with the abominable doings to which the despicable Heliogabalus gave himself up. They seem to have been the mad freaks of an ill-taught lad, intoxicated with power. At one time he was seen not content with the most costly dresses, but actually throwing away gold and silver dust, to form a path from his apartment to where he was to mount his horse; at another, driving elephants, lions or dogs in his chariot; sometimes entertaining those admitted to his society with the most valued luxuries; and at others sacrificing the handsomest youths of Italy, that from inspecting their entrails he might read the future decrees of heaven.

The course of madness of Heliogabalus at one period run in favour of the Jews. He professed to be a convert to Judaism, and submitted to be circumcised; but this had not the effect of making him stanch to the faith he had thought proper to adopt. To make all his subjects worship the god, in whose temple he had ministered, was his next whim. This, if persisted in, would have subjected the Jews to new persecutions; but from such an evil they were happily spared, by the death of the contemptible savage who had degraded the imperial purple.

Happier days were known in the time of the next emperor, Alexander. Polytheism was in its wane; he had been led to look with an eye of favour on the Hebrews, and was so well inclined to their religion, that the satirists of the day designated him “the Archi Synagogue.” This was undeserved, as, awake to the absurdities of paganism, he was tolerant to all who abjured it, and equally well disposed to protect the Christians as the Jews. The mild spirit of the Saviour



had fixed his admiration; and the principle, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," justly claimed his entire admiration. This he often repeated to temper the virulence of those about his person. The names of Abraham and Christ were revered by him, and both he regarded as entitled to divine honours. The example of mildness which he set, was not wholly lost upon his successors. They were content that their Jewish subjects should live in peace under their sway. Philip in particular is mentioned as treading in Alexander's steps, so far as to favour both Jews and Christians. He, indeed, having caused the secular games to be celebrated with unwonted magnificence, on the completion of a thousand years from the building of the city, was together with his son converted to Christianity. St. Cyprian wrote in his time; and in his "Treatise on Testimonies," declared a multitude of prophecies to have been fulfilled by the coming of Jesus Christ. Then, or shortly after, the famous Rabbin Schesiah, a learned Jewish doctor, who, though blind, obtained vast reputation as a controversialist. He was strongly opposed by the Christians, and attacked with great warmth their practices of turning towards the east when engaged in prayer. To him is ascribed a cabalistical exposition of the Sephiroth, the manuscript of which was preserved till modern times, in the library of Heidelberg, and also a Targum, or paraphrase on the Scriptures. It has been surmised that the great persecution to which the Christians were exposed, in the time of his successor Decius, and which originated in the hatred he bore to the late emperor, was prompted by the Jews. There is, however, no proof that they were the cause of the relentless butchery then witnessed. But the differences between the sects had been so great, that any measure of hostility directed against the one, suspicion was ready to conclude had been urged by the other. In the reign of Gallus, the Christians were pursued with great bitterness, but the Jews appear to be no more answerable for it than for the general pestilence which followed. The same remark holds good as to the hardships the Christians endured in the time of Valerian. All that we know is, that Christians and Jews continued miserably at variance; and it is natural for men to view with complacency visitations, however unjust, which fall on the immediate object of their hatred. Minute details cannot be supplied. We are indeed forced to say with Capefigue, admitting the retrospect we have hazarded to be imperfect, "that, up to the accession of Constantine, and the triumph of Christianity, we have but a few isolated facts on which we can rely, to assist us in tracing the history of the Jews."

### CHAP. III.

*The Manichean sect attracts attention.—It is founded by Manes.—He, originally a servant or slave, marries his mistress, and becomes affluent.—Manes proclaims himself the apostle, or envoy, of Christ.—He is flayed alive.—His doctrines ascribed to the Saviour the acts given by the Persians to their god Mithras.—Two principles are established, those of light and darkness, from which all things proceed.—The crucifixion of Christ they hold to be unreal.—They denounce the Scriptures and the law of Moses.—To the Jews the Manichæans are irreconcilably opposed.—The Christians they regard with some degree of kindness.*

THE Manichean sect sprang up towards the close of the third century. It was so called after Manes, Mani, or Manichæus, who was its founder. He was a Persian, and one of the Magi; but, having embraced Christianity, he thought it right, or expected to find it profitable, to originate that heresy, which rapidly spread over a great portion of Arabia, Egypt, and the adjoining lands. Manes (a word which signifies, in the Persian or Babylonian language, *vessel*,) was originally in such humble circumstances, that he appears to have had no better resource than servitude; and some even say that he was a slave. He was engaged, at all events, to serve a rich widow, who subsequently became his wife, and dying without issue, left him the possessor of great wealth. Manes soon acquired influence proportionate to his means; and then it was, his ambition prompted him to establish a new religious community; and he assumed the title of apostle, or envoy, of Jesus Christ. The widow is reported to have given him education; and certain eastern authors pretend that he was a painter and engraver, and had a hand so steady as to draw lines and make circles without rule or compass. It is added, he was skilled in astronomy, and that, having successfully studied astrology, he could foretell coming events, and read the future histories of men and of nations in the stars. According to Beausobre, he believed this earth to have two hemispheres, an upper and a lower one, and both to be inhabited. He wrote a system of philosophy, and invented a musical instrument, called by the Arabians the Oud.

The quality of apostle was not sufficient for Manes; he also declared that he was the Paraclete, or Comforter, whom Christ had promised to send to the world. Augustine tells that he strove to persuade his followers that the Holy Ghost dwelt in him personally with full authority. Among his disciples were Abbas, Thomas, and Hermas, whom he sent into various provinces to preach his doctrines. His skill in astrology, however, seems to have failed, both with regard to others and to himself; for having, according to certain writers, rashly undertaken to cure the king of Persia's son, his patient, contrary to any thing he had foreseen, died under his hands. Manes knew that this unfortunate event was likely to subject him to a terrible punishment, and he accordingly endeavoured to save himself by flight; but had the misfortune to be overtaken,



when he was ordered to be flayed alive. Beausobre throws discredit on part of the story of Manes. The account given by D'Herbelot and Hyde is, that Manes, having gained considerable reputation and many followers, opposed the worship of the religion of Zoroaster; and the discontents hence arising disposed Sapor to punish him; but Manes, timely warned of the danger, fled into Turkistan, where he disseminated his opinions with such effect, that he was not merely regarded as an extraordinary man, but even looked up to as a god. In Turkistan he took up his abode in a cave, and his manner of life attracted general notice. After the death of Sapor, Manes was favoured by his successor, Hormizd; but he was not capable of effectually defending him from the hatred of the Christians, the pagans, the Jews, and the Magi; and he was compelled to shut himself up in a castle, in order to baffle their resentment. Subsequently, we are told, Varanes I. gave him up to the Magi, who were exasperated against him for having avowed the principles of the Sadducees. He was not surrendered avowedly and openly, but meanly, enticed from his strong hold by Varanes, in order that he might dispute with the doctors of the Zoroasterian sect, who, instead of confuting him by argument, overpowered him by force, flayed him alive, and filled his skin with chaff, and then caused his remains to be hung up on a high post or gibbet, as a warning to future heretics. Ancient writers are agreed as to the manner of his punishment, but do not mention his failing to cure a Persian prince as the cause. The Manichæans solemnly commemorated the anniversary of his death, which is supposed to have taken place in the year 278.

His doctrine, Mosheim says, was a motly mixture of the tenets of Christianity with the ancient philosophy of the Persians. He applied to the Saviour the attributes and actions attributed by them to their god Mithras.

Manes established two principles—a good and an evil one; the first, a pure and subtle matter, which he designated *Light*, and which tended to nothing but good; the second, a gross and corrupt substance, which he named *Darkness*, and which led to nothing but evil. In this there was no novelty. The supposed dual character of man had been advanced and discussed centuries before, in connexion with the names of Isis and Osiris. But Manes gave it an air of originality, by connecting it with the tenets of Christianity. According to him, the immortal soul was created by the good principle, and our bodies by the evil one; those principles being in his view co-eternal, but independent of each other. To his followers this seemed clearly to account for the origin of evil. Both principles were supposed to be under a superintending Deity, who had existed from all eternity. The Being who presided over light was named God: he who ruled over darkness had for his title the Hyle, or Demon. These two great Beings were distinguished from each other as they are in most religions; the God of light was represented to be supremely happy, and glorious, and benevolent; the prince of darkness, wretched, malignant, and only anxious to gain partakers in his misery. From each of these two great sources an infinite number of crea-

tures had proceeded resembling themselves; and a contest ensued between the powers of light and darkness, in which light being victorious, the demon of darkness retreated to earth, and there created the progenitors of the human race. Mortals, so produced, consist of a body formed of the corrupt matter of darkness, and of two souls—one sensitive and lustful, emanating from the evil principle; the other, rational and immortal, coming from a ray of Divine light, which had been carried away by the army of the prince of darkness after his defeat. The earth was created by God out of corrupt matter, to be a dwelling for the human race, that their captive souls might be gradually liberated from their corporeal prisons, and their celestial elements abstracted from the gross substances with which they were involved. In furtherance of this view, the Manichæans held, that the Eternal had imparted from his own substance Christ and the Holy Ghost. This Christ, or the glorious Intelligence, which partakes of the character of the Mithras of the Persians, subsisting in and by himself, and residing in the sun, had come down to this world and appeared among the Jews, in the shadow of a human form, to disengage the part of the soul which sprung from the divine light, from the corrupt body and the more corrupt spirit. The divine envoy, it was added while performing this great task, to prove his high mission, had performed the most astounding miracles. Then it was the Jews, moved by the malice of the prince of darkness, put the Son of God to an ignominious death; which, however, after all, he suffered not in reality, but only in appearance, to furnish, for wise purposes, a memorable spectacle for mankind. When the mission of Christ concluded, he returned to his throne in the sun, having first established his disciples to preach his religion in all parts of the world, and assuring them that the Paraclete, or Comforter, should be sent to them, who had accordingly presented himself in the person of Manes.

The Manichæans were as hostile to the Jews as the Christians had been. They called upon all who believed Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, to renounce the worship of the God of the Jews, who is the prince of darkness, and to believe only in what had been taught by Christ, and illustrated by Manes the Paraclete. Doing this, by degrees, they would be wholly cleansed from the contagion of matter, and, their purification completed, after having passed through two states of trial, by water and by fire, first in the moon and then in the sun, their spirits were to return to their original source—the bodies were to sink to the earth. In the resurrection of the bodies, the Manichæans did not believe, but they held that their souls would ascend to the regions of light. It was not laid down that those who neglected the worship enjoined would be consigned to everlasting fire, but they taught, that men who omitted duly to perform the work of purification, would have their spirits after death compelled to reside in the bodies of animals, till they should have worked out their salvation. A still more severe punishment was in store for those who were obstinately refractory; and they were to be delivered over for a time to the spirits



of darkness, who would malignantly and wantonly subject them to various torments. The whole system had a sort of dramatic conclusion; a mighty fire was to burst forth with intolerable splendour, to consume the whole frame of the world; the demon of darkness, and the spirits emanating from him, were to return to darkness and misery which would know no end; and remain encompassed on every side by an invincible guard, to prevent their escaping to the regions of light, or attempting again to make war on its glorious monarch.

The Manichæans made use of amulets, and believed in astrology. Many things in their system were derived from the Gnostics. They hated the Jews as impostors; and maintained that the law of Moses was a fabrication, which did not come from the good, and was therefore derived from the evil spirit. The Scriptures they rejected as springing from the same polluted source, maintaining that it had been substituted by the Jews for the work of God. Further, the Manichæans adopting the practice of Pythagoras, abstained from using the flesh of any animal as food; and besides this, they condemned marriage as an abridgment of human liberty, and as an institution not sanctioned by religion, or calculated to promote the happiness of mankind. From the New Testament they adopted portions which accorded with their notions. To these they adjusted the Gospels, and contended that those writings of the apostles which were at variance with the principles of Manichæism had been surreptitiously introduced. In imitation of the Rabbinical writers, they put forth allegories and apocryphal books, as matters proceeding from divine inspiration.

One circumstance would seem to render the rapid progress of the Manichæans unaccountable; but it is well calculated to explain its ultimate failure. While living in his cave in Turkistan, Manes learnt for himself to despise the comforts of life, and failed not to claim importance from the privations he had known; and the consequence was, he laid down rules of conduct for his followers, which were extravagantly severe. He formed them into two classes—the perfect Christians, or elect, and the imperfect Christians, or the hearers. With a view to their purification, the perfect Christians were denied almost every thing that could render existence comfortable. They were not allowed to eat flesh or eggs, or to use milk or fish; wine and all intoxicating drinks were forbidden; as were marriage and any amorous commerce with the other sex. They were to live in poverty, and to subsist on bread, herbs, pulse, and fruit. It was only by such observances that the elect could qualify themselves for happiness. The auditors were better off, as they were allowed the enjoyments of wealth. They might be proprietors of houses and lands; were not to refrain from meat; and they were free, under certain limitations, to marry. One of their body acted as president, and was considered the representative of Jesus Christ: twelve rulers, or masters, were associated with him, who in like manner personated the twelve apostles, and to these were added seventy-two bishops, being the number of the disciples of the Saviour. Presbyters and deacons were appointed by the bishops, who were chosen out of the

body of the elect. In their mode of worship there was nothing very striking. Prayers were offered; parts of the Scriptures were read, and parts of their own allegories and other writings. The practice of baptism was adopted, as well as the Lord's Supper.

The followers of Manes would admit of no reconciliation with the Jews. They insisted that the Most High had been foully misrepresented by Moses when he was described as bestowing his favour on one nation alone, and when he was said to command that nation to attack and extirpate those whose lands they approached. The Christians, though they were held to have unguardedly adopted parts of the Jewish system, which they ought not to have retained, they affected to consider more amiable; as acting more clearly in accordance with the divine will, which obviously favoured a principle of universal love.

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Jewish Rabbins enjoy the general tranquillity.—Rabbin Zora is distinguished for his acquirements.—He goes to Palestine to end his days.—The Rabbins assume grand titles.—Christianity makes progress, but the principles of the primitive Christians are not maintained.—Its general benevolence, however, commands admiration and respect.—The Empress Helena is converted.—She makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.—She discovers three crosses.—A miracle enables her to distinguish that on which the Saviour suffered.—A feat of enchantment is performed in her presence.—It is counteracted by a miracle.*

In the peaceful times of which we have spoken, the Jewish doctors seem to have had more than their share of the prosperity enjoyed by their nation. They had among them men of vast merit, and many pretenders to superior learning. Rabbin Zora, surnamed Katana, obtained vast distinction; having studied at Tiberias, he was invited to Sara, on account of his great acquirements, by the prince of the captivity, and installed in a professorship, which he held till the commencement of the fourth century. He then resigned, and, animated by the wish which the Jews have felt in all ages to sleep after death in Judea, he proceeded thither to end his days, to spare his survivors the trouble of transporting his remains to a distant land when he should be no more. It was during this time of prosperity, we are told, that the instructors of the Israelites began to assume pompous titles, among which are enumerated *Abba*, father; *Ram*, high; *Rab*, master; *Mor*, teacher; and *Resch*, chief, or head. These were supposed to give them more importance among their brethren, though they could not increase their merit or utility. One of their number, named Jeremiah, called himself "The master, or answerer of questions." Such was his arrogance, that he would not meet the Babylonian Rabbins himself, but put forward his wife to hold disputations with them



From time to time it was found that the Christian religion, whatever discouragement or persecution it might encounter in its progress, continued its onward course. The common, sordid, worldly feeling, however, soon intruded on the sublime principles with which it set out. "The community of goods," says the historian, "which had so agreeably amused the imagination of Plato, and which subsisted in some degree among the austere sect of the Essenians, was adopted for a short time in the primitive church. The fervour of the first proselytes prompted them to sell those worldly possessions which they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the apostles, and to content themselves with receiving an equal share out of the general distribution. The progress of the Christian religion relaxed, and gradually abolished this generous institution, which, in hands less pure than those of the apostles, would too soon have been corrupted and abused by the returning selfishness of human nature; and the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of the patrimony, to receive legacies and inheritances, and to increase their separate property by all lawful means of trade and industry. Instead of an absolute sacrifice, a moderate proportion was accepted by the ministers of the gospel; and in their weekly or monthly assemblies, every believer, according to the exigency of the occasion, and the measure of his wealth and piety, presented his voluntary offerings for the use of the common fund. Nothing, however inconsiderable, was refused; but it was diligently inculcated, that in the article of tithes, the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation; and that since the Jews, under a less perfect discipline, had been commanded to pay a tenth part of all they possessed, it would become the disciples of Christianity to distinguish themselves by a superior liberality, and to acquire some merit by resigning a superfluous treasure which must soon be annihilated with the world itself. In the time of the emperor Decius, it was the opinion of the magistrates that the Christians of Rome were possessed of very considerable wealth; that vessels of gold and silver were used in their religious worship, and that many among their proselytes had sold their lands and houses to increase the public riches of the sect at the expense indeed of their unfortunate children, who found themselves beggars, because their parents had been saints." But we have it on the same authority, that Christianity still presented some gloriously redeeming points. A decent portion being retained for the maintenance of the bishops and celebration of the Agapæ, or love-feasts, we are told, "The whole remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion. A generous intercourse of charity united the most distant provinces; and the smaller congregations were cheerfully assisted by the alms of their more opulent brethren. Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to

the distress of the object, very naturally conduced to the progress of Christianity. The pagans who were actuated by a sense of humanity, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence of the new sect."

The influence of the milder virtues, which the lapse of time caused to make a salutary impression on the admiring heathen, were assisted by other circumstances. Its growing reputation had caused those who sat in the high places to look on it with interest; and reflection or example produced conviction, that what had previously been regarded as wild inventions, were solemn and most important truths. Among these we find the name of the empress Helena, the mother of Constantine. Her conversion appears to have been perfect. Not only was she induced to abandon the gods of her country, which from infancy she had been taught to reverence, but her faith was so ardent that she adopted the resolution of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to view the scene of the Redeemer's mortal anguish, to visit mount Calvary, and to mark the spot which received his lifeless remains.

Helena executed this resolution, and it led to important consequences. The care with which relics were treasured up made Helena anxious to possess wealth of that description; and chance or Providence placed in her hands an object of such surpassing value, that all Christians thought it deserved to have an empress for its guardian. She was anxious, when near the spot on which the blood of Christ had been shed, to discover, if possible, some remains of the dread instrument of his punishment. With this purpose, she caused the ground to be opened, when her pious avarice was more than gratified. Three crosses were found; and it was concluded that on these Jesus and the two thieves who suffered with him had been crucified. The empress was greatly perplexed, from an apprehension that she might possibly prefer, to the sacred wood to which the Son of God had been nailed, the cross of a wretched malefactor. In this state of doubt, Helena raised her thoughts to the Most High, and prayed that she might be directed to distinguish the true cross from the other two, with which it had been confounded. She prayed not in vain; for a funeral procession passing almost immediately after she had preferred her supplication, it instantly struck her that the matter might at once be tested. With this feeling she approached the corpse, and touched it with one of the crosses. It produced no effect; but, continuing the experiment, when the second or third was applied, the dead man was immediately restored to life. No doubt then remained that that was the very cross which had sustained the bleeding form of the Saviour of mankind. The empress knew how to value it, and through her zeal and care it was preserved for the reverence of future ages.

It may be presumed that the empress Helena, when she entered on her pilgrimage, took care to be attended by those on whose fidelity and capacity she could place full reliance; and it is likely that some trustworthy Christians were in her suite. On the genuineness of the miracle which she had witnessed, all comment



may be spared; and it is not worth while now to speculate on the means by which it was effected. At this period, it should be remembered, miracles were the approved means of testing the truth of all religions. It was not the only one which the empress had the felicity to witness. The differences between the Jews and the Christians caused an appeal to be made to the emperor, her son Constantine. The Jews, vanquished in argument, by Sylvester, are reported, by their Christian opponents, to have had recourse to sorcery. By feats of magic they produced effects which were held to be miraculous, and insisted that they proved the truth and superiority of Judaism. That the great question which had been raised should be properly set at rest, the parties met in the presence of Constantine, and in that of the empress mother. One, who is said to have been well known as a sorcerer, ordered, on the part of the Jews, that an ox should be brought forward, which being done, the enchanter whispered in his ear some cabalistic words of awful moment, and the beast the next moment fell dead at the feet of the emperor. The Jews exulted in their supposed victory. It was the Ham-sem-pho-rash, the dread name of the God of Abraham, that had been breathed into the animal's ear, so they boasted, which had caused the brute to expire. At this scene Sylvester assisted, and he inquired why the whisperer of the name of the Eternal had not also fallen dead. The Jews did not feel it necessary to offer any explanation on their part, but contended that what had just been witnessed proved, more than could the most laboured argument, that theirs was the true faith, and it was for those who maintained the contrary to produce an equally startling miracle, in vindication of their creed. "Be it as you will," was the answer of Sylvester. "But say, men of Israel, should I revive this creature, by calling on it to rise, in the name of Christ, will ye then believe in him?" They had so little apprehension such a thing could be effected, that they did not scruple, as the narrator proceeds to relate, to declare that all of them, if this were accomplished, would adopt the Christian faith. Then Sylvester, raising his eyes to heaven, prayed aloud: "If the mighty and eternal Power be the true God, whom I preach in the name of Christ, arise, Oh ox! and stand on thy feet!" Scarcely were the words uttered, when the animal sprang up, and began to walk and to feed, as if the enchanter had not approached him. Confounded by this prodigy, all the Jews who were present, we are told, consented to be baptized, which was forthwith done.

## CHAP. V.

*Christianity is treated by the pagans with more contumely than Judaism.—They speak of Christ with impious contempt.—The emperor Constantine possesses great advantages from nature.—His father is made Cæsar.—Constantine is divorced from Helena.—Constantine is humbled and much depressed.—He serves under Diocletian.—Recalled by his father, he accompanies Constantine to Britain.—Constantine dies at York.—Constantine presides over the provinces beyond the Alps.—He causes two captive kings to be devoured by wild beasts.—He is converted to Christianity by a miraculous appearance.—Constantine gains a great victory.—Maxentius is slain.—The conqueror enters Rome in triumph.*

It was only by slow degrees that Christianity thus made its way. Before the time of Helena it had to struggle with even more contumely than the faith of the Jews. The latter, though humbled and dispersed, were still known as a nation, though Christians were but a sect. If liberal polytheists were disposed to think favourably of the Hebrew faith,—a faith essentially different from their own,—to the Christians, to those who were apostates from that faith, and still opposed to the gods of Rome, their toleration could hardly be extended. The laws of Moses, even by those who denied their divine authority, were at least confessed to have great antiquity; while the Christian church was regarded as a novelty, invented by folly or cupidity. "The pagan multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality, which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity of his life and character, were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success; and whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented the equivocal birth, wandering life, and ignominious death of the divine Author of Christianity." The historian we quote adds, in a note to the passage just transcribed, "In the first and second books of Origen, Celsus treats the birth and character of our Saviour with the most impious contempt. The orator Libanius praises Porphyry and Julian for confuting the folly of a sect which styles a dead man of Palestine God, and the Son of God."

A very different state of things was now to exist, when the son of Constantine exhibited to the world the first Christian emperor. This remarkable man, who has been represented by opposite parties as a saint and as a monster, was gifted by nature with many advantages. A commanding figure and a noble countenance were in him associated with more than ordinary strength and activity. His manner was distinguished by its elegance; and a dignified courtesy was seen in all he



did. His mind was enriched by studious observation ; and in business shrewdness and unconquerable perseverance gave him a most enviable distinction. Valiant as a soldier, his victories were ascribed to his conduct, rather than to fortune ; and the exaltation which he had gained by his successes, was justified and upheld by the renown he acquired for judgment and moderation. Like most men of that period, who felt equal to the task of commanding in the field, he was eager for glory, and in its ardent pursuit, like other conquerors, had not always leisure to attend to the claims of humanity. His mother, originally the daughter of an innkeeper, attracted the favourable notice of Constantius Chlorus, and subsequently became his wife. Constantine was eighteen years old when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar ; and in consequence of this, Constantius soon obtained a divorce from Helena, that he might marry a lady who belonged to the imperial family. From this and other instances of misconduct on the part of his father, Constantine was reduced to a state of great humiliation and poverty. Engaged in the service of Diocletian, he distinguished himself in the wars of Egypt and Persia. Jealousy of his growing fame caused him to be opposed by the envy of Galerius. In his declining days, he was sent for by his father ; and, secretly leaving Nicomedia, Constantine repaired to Boulogne, and thence passed with Constantius into Britain. They proved victorious in various conflicts with the Caledonians ; but Constantius died shortly afterwards at York, in the year 306, having received the title of Augustus, about a year before. Constantine never aspired to the throne, satisfied that from the disposition of Galerius, his father's colleague, he should encounter opposition. He was saluted emperor by the army at York. Galerius, though at first indignant at the assumption of Constantine, threatened to commit to the flames the letter which announced it, together with the bringer of news so unwelcome. He deemed it prudent, on reflection, to moderate his anger, and to consent that Constantine should preside over the provinces beyond the Alps, and enjoy the title of Cæsar. In this arrangement Constantine acquiesced, and during some years gave all his attention to improving the condition of the lands placed under his care. In a war with the Franks two of their monarchs became his prisoners, and on this occasion he forgot his former character for magnanimity and moderation, and barbarously doomed his unhappy prisoners to be devoured, or torn to pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Treves.

At this period possibly the light of Christianity had not dawned on his mind. That event, most important to him, but not less so to multitudes besides, was at hand. The history of his conversion as transmitted is eminently striking. Whether indeed it was the conviction of an immortal spirit, seeking mercy and protection from the Deity, or the skilful manœuvring of a bold commander to animate his troops on the eve of battle, the story is one of intense interest, as the resolution which in any case he then formed, produced an extraordinary change "in the politics as well as in the morals of mankind." On the authority of Eusebius, it is related, when the army of Constantine was on its way towards Rome, its com-

mander solemnly musing on the important crisis then at hand, and revolving in his mind the brief unsatisfactory and obviously evanescent character of all terrestrial greatness, while contemplating the perils by which he was at that moment encompassed, felt all the littleness of his nature—felt that in the hands of the supreme Being he was helpless, and fixing his eyes on heaven he craved assistance from above. Then turning his thoughts to the wild theories and strange differences which divided the family of mankind, he implored the Eternal mercifully to guide him into the path which he ought to pursue. The sun was fast retiring from his view, when suddenly, to his infinite astonishment, there appeared a pillar of light in the sky, which assumed the form of a cross ; and in addition, he saw, or thought he saw, this inscription on the same ample page, "In this overcome." A spectacle so unlooked for, an admonition so commanding, could not be looked upon without astonishment. It was visible not only to Constantine, but to all his army. The beholders universally regarded it as an omen of great import, but they differed very materially as to what it portended. The devout polytheists consulted the aruspices, who, overawed by an incident so startling, gave it as their opinion that it could only herald unheard of disasters. This was not the case with the emperor, nor was such the impression which he intended it to make on his army. He therefore repressed their disposition to propagate alarm, silenced their gloomy predictions, and on the following day reported what seemed to remove all ambiguity. He caused it to be announced that, in a vision, Christ had appeared to him bearing his cross, and had explained the signs at which they had previously marvelled, by assuring him that embracing Christianity and advancing under the banner of the Cross, he should assuredly conquer all opposition. The cross he then directed to be adopted as his ensign ; he sought instruction from several distinguished teachers of the Christian faith, and avowed himself thenceforward of that persuasion.

The miraculous spectacle presented to him in the heavens, did not mislead him. He boldly now advanced against Maxentius, who had reigned in conjunction with him, and who at this moment was at the head of an immense army, consisting of one hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse. The army of Constantine, comprehending but forty thousand men, is said to have encountered a host which exceeded their number four times over. His forces were in the highest state of discipline, and they were disposed by him with the most consummate skill. As for himself, he appeared everywhere in the hottest part of the fight, firmly resolved to conquer or die. In the midst of the carnage, he was distinguished not more by the splendour of his arms than by the dignity of his form and the impetuous courage which rendered all opposition unavailing. His triumph was most perfect ; Maxentius was overthrown ; and his discomfited followers, in the confusion which ensued, were precipitated by thousands into the Tiber. When Maxentius withdrew, he endeavoured to retire over the Milvian bridge into the city ; but the multitude that sought to escape by the same passage, in that



dreadful moment, when all distinctions of rank were confounded, forced him over the side of the bridge, where the weight of his armour caused him instantly to sink, and thus put a period to his existence. He was found on the following day, in the bed of the river, deep in the mud. The corpse was withdrawn from the Tiber and exposed to the view of the Roman people, who, satisfied that Maxentius was no more, now hastened to recognize Constantine as their emperor.

When in consequence of this victory the emperor approached Rome, he with great humility declared the panegyrics which the delighted people and obsequious senate were prepared to offer were due not to him but to the God of the Christians, who had blessed his arms in battle. The glorious emblem of his faith, which he had seen in the sky, he caused to appear at the right of all his statues, accompanied by an inscription which set forth that, under the sacred influence of the cross of Jesus Christ, Constantine had delivered the city from the yoke of tyranny, and restored freedom to Rome, and the senate to its ancient authority. It was subsequently ordered by the emperor that no criminal should thenceforward suffer death by the cross, which had been the instrument of punishment for slaves capitally convicted. Edicts favourable to the Christians soon after appeared, which relieved them from disabilities under which they had hitherto laboured, and rendered them eligible to situations of trust and authority. Paganism had now received a dreadful blow; but the parent religion, from which the new faith of the emperor was derived—Judaism—from the state of things which has been described in a former chapter, could expect no increase of favour from the countenance of those who had thus been withdrawn from idolatry.

Constantine made a triumphant entry, and Rome rejoiced in his presence: but the glorious victory he had gained through the cross had not taught him the exercise of those gentle virtues, which ought to adorn and dignify Christianity. He hastened to destroy all the members of the family of Maxentius, but he spared many of the instruments of the late tyrant, whom justice would have punished; thus proving that he shed blood with a view to his interest, and not in the performance of what he held to be a duty.

## CHAP. VI.

*Other defects in the character of Constantine.—He marries Minervina.—She dies, leaving him a son named Crispus.—Constantine marries Fausta.—Crispus is distinguished by his courage and noble qualities.—Constantine is jealous of his growing fame.—Crispus is neglected.—He resents the treatment he receives.—He suspects a conspiracy to have been formed against him.—Crispus is accused, he is arrested, condemned and put to death.—Fausta is believed to have falsely accused him.—She is proved faithless and put to death.—Constantine erects a statue to the memory of Crispus.—He becomes piteous and ridiculous in old age.*

THE exceptions already taken to the character of

Constantine do not point at the only incidents which detract from his fame. He had been twice married; first to Minervina, a humble beauty, the object of a youthful passion. She left him a son, who received the name of Crispus. By Zosimus and Zonaras Minervina is described to have been his mistress; but this calumny has been successfully refuted. He afterwards married Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, by whom he had three daughters and three sons. The son of Minervina was, according to the testimony of various historians, a youth of great promise, and he had the advantage of being instructed by Lactantius, celebrated among the Christians not only for his eloquence, but as one, who by his virtues as well as his talent, was eminently qualified to form the mind of a prince. When seventeen years of age, Crispus, with the title of Cæsar, was placed over the Gallic provinces. There he had opportunities of proving himself by his courage worthy of the name of Constantine, by successfully resisting the encroachments of the Germans. A civil war broke out shortly afterwards, and in this Crispus gained fame by the valour and prudence combined which marked the operations conducted by him when he forced the straits of the Hellespont, in defiance of the superior naval means of Licinius. The Roman people celebrated with enthusiastic praise the glory he had acquired, and they even made comparisons between him and Constantine, which were extremely favourable to the former. Their enthusiastic admiration proved fatal to its object. Constantine, accustomed to be idolized himself, could not brook a rival near the throne. Instead of applying himself to confirm the loyalty of Crispus by demonstrations of affection and esteem, he laboured to abate his importance in the eyes of those to whom he had become so dear. While a younger brother, the son of his second consort Fausta, was gratified with the title of Cæsar, and sent to preside over the Gallic provinces, Crispus, though of mature years, was reduced almost to the state of a prisoner in his father's court, and so far as this could be accomplished by studied neglect, made an object of contempt. It was natural for a high spirited youth to feel indignant at such treatment. Just resentment rising in his bosom was too freely committed to speech. By pretended friends he was insidiously drawn on to express himself more impetuously, and his incautious language was reported to Constantine. From the offspring of his first love his affection had been weaned by the charms of Fausta, who was celebrated as a woman of extraordinary beauty, and the claims of her children; and he was now easily inclined to suspect Crispus of at once conspiring against his authority and life. From an edict published about the year 325, we find that he thought it right to declare that he suspected a dangerous though secret conspiracy to have been formed against his person and government. In this document honours and rewards are held out to informers of every degree, to accuse without respect to persons those who were involved in the imputed guilt, whether they might be his ministers, his friends, or his nearest relatives, and a solemn protest is made that the emperor would hear the cause himself, in order to secure the rigorous administration of justice. The edict concluded by imploring



the supreme Being still to watch over the safety of the empire.

Not long had Constantine to wait, before candidates for the rewards which he had offered presented themselves. They pointed to Crispus and his friends as the true enemies of the emperor. He favourably listened to their representations, and believed them. While convinced of the guilt of his son, he thought proper to dissemble the indignation which he felt, and caused medals to be struck, and the vows which were customary to be made, for the long and auspicious reign of the young Cæsar. These things the emperor seemed to approve, while deadly hatred was nourished in his heart; for his conversion to Christianity had not taught him all the reverence that might have been expected for sincerity and truth. The twentieth year of his sway over the Roman people was now to be celebrated, and joy and happiness seemed universally to prevail, when Crispus was suddenly seized, by command of the emperor, and subjected to a rigorous private examination. He was condemned; but Constantine did not judge it prudent to execute the youth before the Roman people. He was sent with a strong escort to Pola, in Istria, where, shortly afterwards, his life was terminated by poison, by the executioner, or rather, by the assassin-parent. The Cæsar Licinius, the friend of Crispus, was also put to death, notwithstanding a favourite sister pleaded for his life, who died from grief for his cruel fate. The unhappy princes were privately buried, a circumstance which shews that Constantine felt some shame for the deed which he did not scruple to commit; and subsequently, he appears to have been deeply affected by remorse for the monstrous crime he had ordered to be perpetrated. The real cause of it is said to have been the stepmother of Crispus. Fausta, as already stated, was beautiful, but she was a most depraved woman, and is believed to have been struck with the manly graces of Crispus, and to have made immodest advances to him, which were scornfully repelled. Exasperated at this affront, the wretched wanton falsely accused Crispus of having attempted her virtue. With a mind previously poisoned against the youth, the emperor listened too readily to the accusation, and shed the blood of his unoffending son. The grandmother of the youth, the empress Helena, gave better evidence of a Christian spirit than had been manifested by Constantine. She endeavoured to save the accused, and deeply lamented his death. She did more; she caused the infamous cause of it to be brought to justice. Satisfied that the conduct of Fausta was regulated by no principle of truth or honour, she caused her steps to be secretly watched, and soon discovered that the traitress who pretended to have rejected the love of Crispus had not been proof against the solicitations of a slave, who was employed in the drudgery of the imperial stables. An inquiry, or trial, speedily followed, and she was condemned to be suffocated by the hot steam of a bath. When this discovery took place, Constantine is described to have felt all the grief which circumstances so mournful might be expected to originate. He could not restore the lost Crispus to life; but all that he could do he did to vin-

dicate his fame, by publishing an edict, which exposed the falsehood through which he had been so fatally misled, and proclaimed his repentance. Forty days he devoted to solemnly mourning for the son who had been thus sacrificed; and during that period he denied himself the use of the baths, and all the comforts and refreshments which he ordinarily enjoyed; and, finally, for the information of posterity, he set up a golden statue of Crispus, on which was placed the inscription, "To my Son, whom I unjustly condemned."

Apart from the melancholy falling off from virtue exhibited in the incidents above related, various facts are preserved, which, if they do not call forth abhorrence, move pity or contempt. In his declining years, the emperor is censured as having been at once rapacious and wasteful. The vast treasures which came into his possession were idly squandered on objects of no real value, which were sometimes worse than useless, though absurdly magnificent. He is charged with having enriched minions he ought to have despised and repelled, at the expense of a suffering people. While all about his court was affluent, of dazzling splendour, the national spirit declined, and its resources were seen hastening to rapid decay; and in the midst of the sinking edifice of Roman majesty, its once superb master was found disfigured by false hair, of various colours, artistically arranged, a new diadem, a multitude of jewels and costly ornaments, and attired in a variegated flowing robe of silk, curiously embroidered with flowers of gold!

## CHAP. VII.

*Christian teachers could not be expected to move Constantine to favour the Jews.—Severe edicts are issued against them.—They are not permitted to purchase Christian slaves.—Though converted to Christianity, Constantine favours pagan worshippers.—His wisdom is questionable.—He founds a new capital, and fixes his abode there.—It is dedicated to the God of martyrs.—Pitiable weakness is exhibited by Constantine.—He long defers the baptismal rite, but submits to it at the approach of death.*

FROM the facts we have stated, connected with the youth, the manhood, and the old age of Constantine, a more correct idea may be conceived of his true character, than could be gathered from an elaborate general description of it. The moment Christian teachers of that day gained their ascendancy over him, it was to be expected that they would apply themselves to direct his piety against the Israelites, the murderers of their Lord. He was probably found an apt pupil, ready to imbibe all they could suggest to the prejudice of the Hebrews. In one public document, admonishing the Christians, he very distinctly intimates the consideration he had for the Jews, by declaring that it was by no means consistent with the dignity of the Christian church that they should "tread in the footsteps of that



most hateful of all people, the Jews, with regard to the celebration of the passover." Among his statutes, one appears which has reference to Joseph, who had revealed the circumstances attending the conversion of one of his predecessors. Its object is good, but the punishment which it sanctions is excessive; yet, as it obviously grew out of the misconduct of the Jews, it is on that account the less to be complained of; it was fitting that they should be restrained and punished when they persecuted Christians by stoning them or otherwise, but it was hardly necessary to enact that the offender should be burned alive. It may, however, have been said in extenuation of such an enactment, that the intent was, by the magnitude of the penalty, wholly to prevent the offence. It is clear the Jews had committed great disorders to spite that individual, after he had obtained permission to build Christian churches. Having proposed to raise a place of worship on the site of a temple in which idol worship had in former ages been witnessed, he could not proceed, it is said, because the Jews had enchanted the lime which was to be converted into mortar, and rendered it useless. The Christian chronicler, however, adds, that the sign of the cross being made the spell, was at once dissolved, and the obstacle to mortar-making thus removed, the building went forward. It is more than probable that the violence of the Jews obstructed the work in the first instance, and that the sign of the cross, which broke the spell, was the timely exercise of the authority of government.

Another statute would seem to have been prompted by some of the most ferocious of the sect, who from their supposed sanctity were too frequently entrusted with the management of Christian affairs. It prohibited Christians from becoming Jews under pain of arbitrary punishment. Another law, which was promulgated only half a year before the death of Constantine, was directed against the wealth of the Jews; and though unjust in principle, it went to abate a strange, a dangerous anomaly. In Rome as elsewhere the thrifty habits of the Jews made them capitalists; and with their wealth they purchased slaves. The vices or the misfortunes of Christians of some note, or of their connexions, frequently placed them in the hands of a Jewish owner. It was therefore decreed, under colour of discouraging Judaism, that no Jew should be allowed to purchase or possess Christian slaves; as it was held that those who had been redeemed by the body and blood of Christ ought not to be the slaves of his murderers. This is only one specimen of that unjust legislation to which they were subjected for many centuries. In this case the Jews did not suffer alone. If they were prepared to buy, there were many who desired to sell, and felt aggrieved at not being permitted to deal with a Hebrew customer. They held that in a free country a slave ought to be permitted to be bought and sold by all the possessors of wealth; they argued that the right of a man to sell his freedom was not then to be questioned, and consequently that setting limits to slavery was opposed to the first principles of liberty!

Whatever symptoms of Christian piety might transpire in the discourses or actions of Constantine, he persevered till he was nearly forty years of age in the

practice of the established religion; and the same conduct which in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fears, could be ascribed only to the inclination or policy of the sovereign of Gaul. His liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods; the medals which issued from his imperial mint are impressed with the figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the solemn apotheosis of his father Constantius. But the devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the sun—the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was represented with the symbols of the god of light and poetry. The unerring shafts of that deity, the brightness of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accomplishments, seem to point him out as the patron of a young hero. The altars of Apollo were crowned with the votive offerings of Constantine; and the credulous multitude were taught to believe that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the visible majesty of their deity; and that either waking or in a vision, he was blessed with the auspicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The sun was universally celebrated as the invisible guide and protector of Constantine; and the pagans might reasonably, when they marked his change of faith in his latter years, expect that the insulted God would pursue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favourite.

Of the wisdom of Constantine we have but dubious evidence, when we find, that being disposed to build a city, which should be recognised as the capital of the world, he made choice of Chalcedon in Asia Minor, a place deemed so singularly unfit for the object in view, that it furnished a proverb to describe anything pre-eminently absurd. He was, however, saved by accident, if not by the interposition of superior intelligence, from the consequence of this great error; as, when laying out the ground plan of the intended city, an eagle suddenly descended, snatched up the line in its beak, and flew with it across the Bosphorus to Byzantium. There the eyes of those who followed the bird rested on a spot most eligibly situated, on a plain which, rising gently from the wave, commanded a view of that strait which connects the Mediterranean and Euxine seas. A genial climate and a fertile soil were among its natural advantages. Here it was finally resolved to build the new city; and the resolution was acted upon with all convenient speed. Divided into fourteen compartments, it was soon embellished with a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, and superb mansions. About the year 330, the emperor Constantine established his abode there, with his court, having previously dedicated it, with great solemnity, to the god of martyrs. His motive for taking this extraordinary step had been variously explained. By some it has been supposed, his object was more effectually to guard the eastern limits of the empire; others believe that it was to revenge affronts which he had received at Rome; possibly, the sight of that city which contained a monument of his own disgrace, raised by his command in honour of his son, was no longer agreeable to him; and the sad memorial could not be removed, without an open abandonment of the penitence he affected to feel.



With whatsoever favour we may view his late repentance and his Christian zeal, we cannot but mark pitiable weakness in what is recorded of his declining years. He affected to be not only a member of the Christian community, but a priest and hierophant of the mysteries of their church. When the congregation were dismissed, he remained to pray or to argue with the bishops. In his last visit to Rome, he ostentatiously avowed his conversion to Christianity, and insulted the pagan superstition by refusing to head the military procession of the Equestrian Order, and offer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline Hill. Among other marks of Christian zeal, we are told that he distributed, in the various provinces he visited, a variety of medals and pictures, in which he himself was represented, engaged as a humble suppliant in Christian worship.

The Jews beheld with envy and amazement the favour extended to Christians. They marvelled how those who had so long professed to honour Jupiter could now turn to favour, and to identify themselves with, a sect which they had heretofore viewed with such sovereign contempt. It was some consolation to them to know that Constantine had not submitted to baptism. The bishop, with his assistant clergy, during the fifty days between the festivals of Easter and Pentecost, admitted both infants and adults in great numbers, into the Christian church, but still the emperor delayed to offer himself at the font. It is indeed remarked, that "the sublime theory of the gospel had made a much fainter impression on the heart than on the understanding of Constantine himself. He pursued the great object of his ambition, through the dark and double paths of war and policy; and after the victory, he abandoned himself without moderation to the abuse of his fortune." It was not till the hand of death was almost upon him, that he desired to receive the sacrament of baptism. But in those dreary moments which fixed his thoughts on immediate dissolution, in his palace of Nicomedia he called upon the bishops who attended him to administer it; at the same time solemnly protesting that if his existence were prolonged, the remainder of his days should be passed in exercises worthy of a disciple of Christ. He is reported to have at last received the rite so long deferred, with manifestations of fervent piety; and to mark the humility which had taken possession of him, he could not be induced to resume the imperial purple, after he had been clothed in the white garment of a neophyte. It is added that after the innocence of Crispus had been established, he in vain sought from heathen priests that remission of sin which he obtained from Christian prelates. This might account for his flying to the latter in that dreaded hour, when every emperor stands in need of consolation, to sustain the shock which decaying mortality has to endure while on the verge of eternity.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Jews exempted from the army, are required to fill civil offices.—In many respects their usages are not interfered with.—From the time of Constantine, Christianity possessing the sword of power, assumes a new character.—Jews and Christians manifest equal intolerance.—The principles of Christianity must be traced to their source.—John the Baptist's announcement of the Messiah was not at variance with the Jewish faith.—His coming had long before been foretold by their prophets.*

THE JEWS were exempted from serving in the army; but they were compelled by law to take upon themselves certain offices connected with the public service. They were required to act as Decurions. Of this they complained as a grievance, and they pleaded that, under former emperors, they had been subjected to no such burden. In some respects, nevertheless, they were treated with indulgence. Their right to Roman citizenship was unequivocally admitted; their patriarchs and Rabbins were, in common with the Christian clergy, exempted from certain civil and military offices; their usages with regard to slaughtering cattle, and keeping fast days, were not interfered with; in the markets, the Jews appointed some of their number to regulate the rates at which commodities should be bought and sold among their own community; and they were not subjected to the usual superintendence of Roman functionaries.

From the time of Constantine, a picture presents itself to us, of Christianity, differing most widely from that which we have heretofore looked upon. The religion of the Saviour—of Him who was "led like a lamb to the slaughter"—"who was dumb, and opened not his mouth," and who enjoined men, "if they loved him, to love one another," was no longer controlled, in the persons of its professors, by scornful millions and overpowering armies; it had possessed itself of the sword of power; and the cross of the Messiah, which the scribes and Pharisees had mocked within the walls of Jerusalem, now, adorned with the proud trophies of victory, was seen side by side with the eagles of the Cæsars. The legislation of the Roman emperors was from that period governed by a new policy, and a tone religious and sincere, distinguished the governments of all Christian princes. To the various sentiments which the opinions and the doctrines of the Jews in pagan Rome had inspired, succeeded a sort of kindred jealousy between the two religions, which had long been known to each other, and which were mutually liberal of accusations: the one complaining of ingratitude for unknown benefits granted by a new revelation; the other of base apostasy towards the ancient and revered laws of their ancestors. Based on the same traditions, the religious controversialists on each side were provoked to fury. While the canons of councils, and the commands of pontiffs, upheld by public authority, strove to impose the law of the Christians on the children of Israel; in the synagogue, seven times a day, the solemn form of cursing Christ and the Christian church was regularly gone through. The sorrows both



had known in former years, had produced no kindly feeling or prudence to abstain from new outrages in the day of their strength, lest, in the revolutions of time, the day of retaliation should arrive. Possession of power and liberty was but the signal for one sect to assail the other, and to commence the work of persecution. Under Constantine, the Christians demolished the synagogues of the Jews, and left not one stone standing upon another of those seats of presumed impiety; and during the reign of Julian, the Jews with like animosity destroyed the churches of Antioch, Nicomedia, and of Egypt. The course pursued was such, that, in the words of Capefigue, "if the sword of persecution is seen more frequently in the hands of the Christians than in those of the Jews, the circumstance does not prove anything in honour of the greater moderation and humanity of the Israelites, as it only results from their being for a longer period in a state of weakness and political dependence."

The writer last quoted remarks, that for a long time the doctrines of the Christians and the Jews had been opposed to each other, when Constantine raised the standard of the Cross; and as the moral decline of Judaism dates, properly speaking, from the birth of Christ, and the preaching of his gospel, it may be desirable again to glance at that period, and trace the development of evangelical principles from their connexion with the synagogue, and to note the influence which they exercised over the general economy of Judaism.

At the time when the revelation of Christ was manifested in Judea, Israel was divided, as has already been seen, into different sects, each of which freely professed certain religious and philosophical doctrines. The unity of the principles, the fixity of the opinions, which alone had permitted the first movement towards Christianity to be recognised and established on ideas issuing from the bosom of the synagogue, no longer existed. Judaism was parcelled out, if the expression may be used, into a thousand persuasions, more or less bold, more or less novel; and the first symptoms of the birth of Christianity were scarcely to be perceived in a society comprehending so many various features, and governed at the same time by the doctrines of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Athenians, among whom it was easy to find favour for any novelty. Whence came it, then, that the opinions of the disciples of Christ inspired so much suspicion and hatred? What were the causes of the fierce rivalry to which they gave rise among the Hebrews, and to that fierce war which was the consequence of them? These are important questions, the solutions of which might give a useful explanation of one of the greatest religious revolutions which the world has witnessed.

The first germs of Christianity were sent abroad by the preaching of John in the desert. John was of the race of Abia, the eighth among the twenty-four classes which David had formed, and appointed alternately to discharge the sacerdotal functions. According to the traditions of Christianity, Elizabeth, his mother, was barren, and the birth of John had been announced to her by a divine revelation; and when Mary went to visit Elizabeth, her cousin, the former felt a movement within

her, and the aged Zachariah, moved by the spirit of prophecy, announced in the language of solemn thanksgiving the approaching birth of the Messiah. All these events which passed in the bosom of a sacerdotal family had not sufficient importance to fix the attention of the pontiffs of the temple, and they only asked, "What do you suppose this marvellous child will prove?" When he was fifteen years of age John withdrew to the desert to seek a quiet retreat: he drank no wine; he refused bread and wheaten cakes; and sustained life on the grasshoppers of the country, and the honey which the wild bees left in the hollows of the rocks; he was covered with the skin of a camel, and his loins were bound with a girdle of leather, which a workman's hand had never fashioned. Thus the son of Zachariah passed thirty years, acquiring by the purity of his life and his great abstinence high renown for sanctity in Israel. He preached to the multitude who thronged to hear him, to repent, because the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Seated on the banks of the Jordan, he offered purification by water to repentant Hebrews. When they enquired of him if he were the Messiah, or the prophet Elias, who was to precede him, he declared that he was not worthy to unloose the latchet of their sandals, and that he was but the voice of one that was heard to cry in the desert, "Prepare the way of the Lord." In the then state of public feeling the efforts of John the Baptist excited but little sensation in Judea. Individual austerities of life in the desert were common among the sect of the Essenians; it was not the first time that the voice of a prophet had been heard to announce the coming of the Messiah. It is also to be remarked, that the words of John the Baptist, far from subjecting him to persecution, procured him a great number of followers. Multitudes of pious Jews sought him in his retreat; and the priests and the Levites often absented themselves from the service of the temple to listen to him. His preaching in no respect interfered with the anciently established doctrines; he announced but the near arrival of the Messiah, which had long been expected, without indicating the character in which he would appear; he founded himself in every respect on the ancient laws and customs of Israel; his words only pointed to their necessary fulfilment. While preaching that the kingdom of God was at hand, and the advent of the Messiah would shortly be witnessed, he at the same time declared himself to be the precursor of the Christ announced in former ages by the prophets as the hope and the glory of the Jewish church.

Amidst the anarchy of the doctrines and the parties which divided Israel, one common sentiment seemed to prevail over religious divisions themselves—the idea of the coming of a Messiah, of a Christ, as he is called by Isaiah. Whether the Israelite recalled the words of Abraham, the songs of David, or the holy prophecies, or whether he made the more recent commentaries of the Rabbins the subject of his meditations, he found the advent of Christ announced as that which was approaching; and, in his proud impatience, he often menaced those who lorded it over him with the superb and universal reign of the conquering Messiah. The national annals preserved in the temple were full of



such promises, and they had been impressed upon the minds of the Hebrew youth, and all the generations of Israel remembered that Jacob on his death-bed exclaimed, "Judah is a lion's whelp; the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." David also in his psalms had sung of the Messiah. He spoke of one great in his glory as well as in wisdom, in whom all nations would be blessed; whom he had seen issuing from the bosom of his Father; God had given birth to him to make him reign over conquered nations.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Many scattered traditions of the Saviour are found in various books.—Some undisputed facts are preserved.—At the period of Christ's birth the coming of the Messiah was expected.—Jesus did not commence his preachings till he was thirty years of age.—His language commands attention and gives alarm to the Pharisees.—The Jews believed their nation to be exclusively favoured by the Most High.—Various circumstances give offence to the Pharisees.—Christ predicts the total destruction of Jerusalem.—The pride of the Rabbins is wounded by the effects of Christ's preaching.—He fell a victim to their resentment and that of the Pharisees.—The disciples are mocked.*

THE doctrines of Jesus Christ were introduced to the world under these circumstances. The way had been prepared for and by John the Baptist. Many traditions remain of the history of the life and mission of the Saviour, some written in a spirit of enthusiasm at once simple and sublime; and the works of the companions of Jesus and others are collected in the Talmud, which are believed to have been not unfrequently dictated by the resentment of a hostile sect. In the works of Josephus and others, many scattered facts are found written by those who were almost contemporary with the incidents which they relate. Whatever doubt may exist as to the authority of some of these, it appears certain that the virgin Mary was a daughter of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of David; she had been married to Joseph, who belonged to the same race, and who at that period followed the humble calling of a carpenter in the little town of Nazareth in Galilee. It is unnecessary here to recite the miraculous birth of Jesus, and the circumstances of his early infancy; it will suffice to say that on the eighth day he was subjected to the distinguishing rite of the Jews, and Mary, in common with all the mothers of Israel, repaired for purification to the temple. A belief in the near approach of the Messiah, and of his re-establishment on the throne of David, was then rife and very general; and various traditions mention the adoration of the Magi as an ancient legend of the east, and of the massacre of the infants of Galilee, whom the suspicious policy of Herod doomed to death, in order to cut off the dreaded though unknown scion of the house of

David. Though Jesus, at the early age of twelve, was found in the temple disputing with the doctors, he did not commence preaching his gospel till he was thirty years old, the age at which doctors were permitted to comment on the law in the public schools of the Hebrew nation.

The preaching of a doctor in the synagogue was nothing uncommon, and Jesus Christ was therefore suffered to raise his voice there to instruct the people. Thus every day the Rabbins taught the law in Jerusalem, and explained the writings of the prophets; and the same thing was done in each city of Judea. To sages and doctors the Jews were accustomed to listen; but the Pharisees very soon discovered that the man named Jesus advanced what he had to offer with an eloquence and a boldness which had till then been unknown; and asserted principles which threatened to shake the whole fabric of Judaism, such as it then existed, and the law on which it rested.

In fact, bold as the doctrines of the Essenians and the Sadducees might have been, when they appeared in the Hebrew nation no preceptor of their schools had as yet advanced opinions which overthrew the whole economy of the Jewish law; but a glance at the doctrines of Jesus Christ caused the startled Pharisees to perceive that the faith advocated with such energy was, in many respects, incompatible with the existing Israelitish society, as it went to establish a religious theory altogether different from what had, up to that period, been taught in the schools, and which, in a word, went to overthrow the fundamental doctrines of the theocracy of the temple.

The law and the custom of Israel, declared the Jewish nations to be a people by themselves peculiarly privileged, whom Jehovah had encouraged by his promises, and whom he had called, alone, to a splendid destiny. The Gentiles were repudiated by the law; alliances with them were proscribed; and severe observances were imposed upon the neophytes; all serving to prove what great care the legislator of Israel had taken to separate his people from foreigners. Very different was the doctrine of Jesus Christ. He called the attention of the whole universe to the marvellous promises of Scripture. "I say to you," so spoke the new doctor, "that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of Heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast into utter darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." It might be expected that those who were called in Scripture "the holy nation," and the children of promise, would feel wounded and irritated when such novel doctrines were propagated, which not only invited the whole human race to share in benefits which they had deemed exclusively their own, but also opened to them all the great promises which had been till then reserved for the faithful observer of the ancient law.

But other motives may be pointed at, to account for the hostility of the Pharisees to the teaching of Christ. On this subject, Basnage refers to the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, where a description is given of them, which could not have been other than most unpalatable. There we find the Saviour, addressing his disciples, says:—

"The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat:



"All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not.

"For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.

"But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments,

"And love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,

"And greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.

"But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren.

"And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.

"Neither be ye called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ.

"But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant.

"And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.

"But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves.

"Woe unto you, ye blind guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor!

"Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?

"And, whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty.

"Ye fools and blind, for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?

"Whoso therefore shall swear by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon.

"And whoso shall swear by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein.

"And he that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

"Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

"Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is

within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.

"Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous,

"And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

"Wherefore be ye witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets.

"Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers.

"Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"—Matthew, ch. xxiii, vs. 2—33.

The law itself, the object of the exclusive veneration of the doctors and the people, was boldly represented in the preaching of Jesus Christ to be incomplete, and, in a manner, abolished; he purified its morality and the ceremonial of its worship. "You know that it has been said in the old law," so spoke Jesus among the doctors, "that an eye should be claimed for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, but I tell you that you are not to render evil for evil. The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath. It is lawful to do good."

These principles were well calculated to offend popular prejudices, but Christ attacked still more seriously Israelitish society; he called in question not only the maxims of ancient law, the moral bond of alliance, but he attacked Jerusalem itself, the very existence of the Jewish nation, of which he predicted the total ruin. When his disciples, on his leaving the temple, called to him that he should look on the grand buildings of Jerusalem, his reply was, "See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not remain one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down." He added, that "a mournful time would come, when the enemies of Jerusalem should encompass it round about with trenches; when they should enclose and press upon it on all sides, because she had not known the time of her visitation."

He who spoke thus, as a prophet and a legislator, assumed the great and holy name of the Messiah. The general opinion among the Jews at that period, was, that the coming of the celestial conqueror might shortly be expected; but the doctors and the Rabbins of the Jewish nation; spoke of him, as the expected liberator of Israel, a prince and a conqueror, who should subdue all nations with his irresistible sword, and crush all oppositions beneath his feet. The gross minds of the Pharisees were incapable of understanding, in a moral and a figurative sense, the promises of Scripture, and of applying them to a legislator whose sublime reason should overthrow the edifice of antiquated superstition, which was the lofty-minded image meant to be conveyed by the prophets, when they spoke of the liberating Messiah. The pride of the Rabbins was wounded, when they saw



the supposed son of an obscure artisan, of Galilee, start of a sudden into the place of a prince of Israel, and promise the deliverance of a people reduced to an extremity of weakness and misery.

Jesus Christ had commenced to preach the Gospel. He had chosen for the place of his abode Capernaum, in Galilee, between the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali. On the sabbath he went to the synagogue, and mingled with the doctors, announcing to them the coming of the kingdom of God, and the remission of sins. Near the lake of Tiberias multitudes listened to his lessons; and two men of Canaan, in Galilee, named Philip and Nathaniel, immediately attached themselves to him, followed him wherever he went, and called him master, as it was customary to call the Rabbins, and the doctors in the schools. It is foreign to our purpose to trace the well known career of the Saviour; it is sufficient to say, the divine author of the gospel fell a victim, as a mortal man, to the furious jealousies of the Pharisee sect and the doctors of the temple, who could not endure the innovations of evangelical preaching.

But the death of the Saviour did not extinguish, or destroy, all the seeds which had in the first instance been sown in the bosom of the synagogue. Many in Galilee believed in the Saviour, and the spirit of Christianity was soon seen rapidly to spread over the whole territory of Palestine. Its ministers preached with such eloquent enthusiasm, that the Rabbins were confounded by their energy and talent, and could only account for it by supposing them to be mad, or excited, by strong liquor. Resisting conviction, this they pretended must be the case, while, mocking the apostles, they declared, "These men are full of new wine."

#### CHAP. IX.

*Christianity spreads far and wide.—Its principles are adopted by many who remain Jews in appearance.—Questions are agitated in the synagogue, as to whether the Gentiles ought to be required to conform in all respects to the customs of the Jews.—They are not insisted upon.—The Christian church separates itself more widely from the synagogue.—Causes of the hatred between Jews and Christians.—The Jewish customs are little interfered with by the Roman government.—Christians are treated with contumely, and in some instances with great severity.—St. Stephen is the first martyr.—James shares the same fate.*

THE interesting resumé of Capefigue in further explanation of the hostility of Christians to the Jews, shews that at an early period the success of the disciples had gained three thousand converts, who believed in him whom God had made Lord and Christ. These coveted nothing so much as to listen to the exhortations of the apostles; and all were fully persuaded that they should enter on a new life. They nevertheless made their appearance in the temple, and did nothing that could outwardly distinguish them from other Jews. They occasionally attended to the observances of the law; they celebrated the passover with their brethren, and submitted their children to be circumcised. They in fact were only

known by the purity of their manner, and by their indifference to worldly gain.

But the admission of Gentiles to participate in blessings claimed for ages, as vouchsafed to the Hebrew nation alone, caused grave questions to be raised in the synagogue. So long as the gospel was only preached to those who were Jews, or of Jewish origin, it was natural that the ancient prejudices and former habits of life should have no small influence over the neophyte, even after he had fully subscribed to the truths of Christianity. He continued to observe the ancient customs of the Jews, which, if they had not been imposed, had not been prohibited by Jesus Christ. The new Christians, as already stated, celebrated with the most fervent of the Israelites all the festivals of Judaism, and mingled with the crowds which thronged the portico of the temple, on every important holiday. Accustomed to holy lectures on themes selected from the Old Testament, the Hebrew entertained a profound veneration for the sainted traditions of antiquity, and it was only with extreme difficulty that he adopted the maxims which the apostles of Christ sought to inculcate, and to establish in his memory. When, however, the gospel was thrown open to all, ideas totally different began to prevail. The Gentile who adopted the observances of Christianity brought to that worship none of the habits of the Jew, and none of his prepossessions with regard to the Old Testament; and then a serious question suggested itself to the council of the apostles; and St. Peter demanded of the elders and the brethren assembled at Jerusalem, if it were necessary to subject the Gentile who might enter the bosom of their community, to all the observances of the law of Moses, to the rite of circumcision, to the celebration of the passover, and to attending prayers in the temple. The liberality which the apostle manifests while occupied with this subject we can only read to admire. He was not disposed to narrow the limits within which penitent sinners might find a path to salvation, but on the contrary, in the true spirit of the master he followed, was most anxious that every wanderer should if possible again be received and numbered with the fold. The decision of James was in the same spirit. We have in the Acts of the Apostles the following interesting report:

"The apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter.

"And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up, and said unto them, Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel and believe.

"And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us;

"And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.

"Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples; which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?

"But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.



"Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.

"And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me:

"Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name.

"And to this agree the words of the prophets as it is written,

"After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up:

"That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord who doeth all these things.

"Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.

"Wherefore my sentence is that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles all turned to God.—Acts xv. 6—19.

The brethren resolved that thenceforward those usages should be abolished, or with regard to converts not acted upon, as if the precepts of Christ did not condemn them as idolatrous, they were antiquated usages which had been insensibly impaired by the march of time, and with which it was necessary to deal tenderly from respect for human weakness. Thenceforward the Christians, who adhered with pertinacity to the practices of the synagogue, were considered as a private and imperfect church, which took the Nazarene title, while the orthodox church, aggrandising every day the bases of its belief, distanced itself more and more from the synagogue.

The slow and successive development of the Christian doctrines, the progressive separation of the two worships, could not take place without wakening the angry feelings of the religious rivals. It will be interesting to trace the march of the germs of this hatred, which was so conspicuously displayed in the first three centuries, animating the defenders of Judaism and the followers of Jesus.

The first resistance to the preaching of the gospel, it has been seen, was offered by the Jews. When the Saviour said to his disciples, "Go, and preach my word to all parts of the world," the apostles dispersed themselves in Judea, and Jerusalem even had resounded with their holy exhortations; and the little care which the disciples took to conceal their designs and their doctrines, the careful and inquiring surveillance of the Pharisees soon pointed out to the Sanhedrim the men who, beneath the portico of the temple, cured the sick by the imposition of hands, and endeavoured to seduce the people in the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Looking at the spirit and the opinions of the doctors and the Pharisees, it may be easy to imagine that persecution with all its furies would soon be directed against the new sect, against the apostates who dared to invite Israel to form a new alliance. In Scripture it was ordered that false prophets should be stoned, and those who offered sacrifices to strange

gods; and as in the times immediately succeeding the conquest by the Romans, under their kings, and under their tetrarchs, the Jews had preserved many of the privileges of domestic jurisdiction; and it seldom happened that in populous cities they were effectually restrained from giving themselves up to those movements of zeal, and those tumultuous risings, which Jehovah himself had commanded against apostates and false prophets. The indifference of successive Roman governments had seemed to lend itself to, or in a manner to encourage, those manifestations of hatred, and that thirst for vengeance, in which she had seen vanquished nations more often eager to indulge. The condescension of Pilate, when the Pharisees called for the death of the Messiah, proves that the magistrates, without occupying themselves with religious discussions, only used the supreme right of sanctioning capital punishments, to make it felt that the majesty of the empire and the authority of the Cæsars were always present. In each city of Judea, in Syria, in Antioch, in Tarsus, and in Nicomedia, the synagogues were moved to rise against the new sect as one man; and the apostles were dragged before the elders, or before the governor of the city, to give an account of the faith which they professed. At Jerusalem, Peter and his companions were thrown into the public prison, where the gaolers and the priests had subjected them to the scourge of the executioner. In every place the popular rage, and the superstition of the doctors of the law, had proscribed the preaching of the gospel, and often had the disciples of Jesus been obliged to shake the dust from their sandals on withdrawing from blind and thankless nations, who misconstrued the promises of Scripture. It was during the first year of the preaching of the apostles that the blood of the Messiah was shed. The impression which it immediately produced was most profound, in the Christian church; but it was regarded as the fulfilment of an inflexible decree of Providence, which the prophets had foretold, and as the only means of ransoming them. The death of Jesus Christ, therefore, was less calculated to excite the hatred of the Christians against the Jews, than to wake pity for the blindness of men who had fearfully misconstrued the language of the promises. But the conduct of the Israelites in some cases, and the stern perseverance with which they pursued the Christians, effaced by degrees, in the reformed sect, the principles of fraternity once recognised, and all the recollections of a common origin.

The first martyr who sealed with his blood the truth of the gospel and the divinity of the Saviour, sunk beneath the hatred of the synagogue. Saint Stephen, born in the bosom of the Jewish law, had been elected of the order of the Christian ministry. He was one of seven ministers appointed to carry alms to the faithful, and to break bread in their houses. Giving himself up wholly to the sacred office to which he had been appointed, he had traversed many cities and countries, when he was denounced before the tribunal of the elders. His words, full of mildness, and breathing the sublimest principles of morality, could not save him from the hands of the priests and the Pharisees. He was carried



outside the walls of Jerusalem, and stoned by the people, who called him false prophet and impostor. But a short time afterwards, James, the brother of John, and one of the tribe of Zebulun, was put to death at the call of the Jews, and thus became the second martyr of the Christian church.

## CHAP. X.

*The hostility of the Jews and Christians continues.—Pagans make a distinction between Jews and Christians.—The Romans order the Christians to make sacrifice to the gods of the empire.—At Carthage, the Jews parade an ass's head, in derision of the Christian faith.—Christian martyrs are mocked by Jewish spectators.—Pionus solemnly reproves their levity.—Rabbins invite him to curse Christ.—Pionus is mocked on his way to execution.—Martyrdom is witnessed in Alexandria.—There cruelties are reported to have been perpetrated by the Jews.—Hence the hatred manifested by the Christians in the time of Constantine.*

WHEN the power of the sword was taken from the Israelites, after the fall of Jerusalem, and when the sanhedrim and the tribunal of the ancients could no longer condemn of their own authority, and put the followers of the Messiah to death, still the Jews are charged with continuing to persecute the Christians, as much as they could in their then fallen state. Paganism had long since confounded the Nazarenes and the Jews, as meriting the same contempt; but in the sequel the governors of provinces, and especially those of Syria, Palestine, and Africa, discovered, as has been stated, that the sect known under the name of the Nazarenes, or Christians, distinguished themselves from the followers of the ancient Jewish religion, and that the ancient and national belief of the Hebrews, was not to be confounded with that of the reformers, which, in the plenitude of its novelty and boldness, attempted to take the place of the religious harmony of the ancient world. As soon as the edicts of persecution were launched against the Christians, and that the synagogue was sheltered, or secured, against all danger of being confounded with the proscribed sect, its hostility to the new church was indicated, by a multitude of acts of no equivocal character. When the pro-consuls, the superintendents of the provinces, had received an order from the Cæsars to discover the sectarians who claimed to be the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, and to compel them to offer incense on the altars of the gods of Rome, or to bind sacred fillets round their brows; the Hebrews of Syria and Egypt welcomed the announcement with loud acclamations, and reiterated shouts of joy. Well acquainted with the private habits and peculiar rites of Christianity, they denounced before the prefect the catechumen, who concealed his cherished faith in the solitary retreat, or in the sacred gloom of the *agapæ*, while they pointed out to the idle multitude assembled in circus, the pious bishop of the country, and the ministers who were engaged to travel to distant

parts to carry alms to the needy. Sometimes the sacrifice of a Christian was demanded as an addition to the entertainments of the theatre, and a helpless follower of Jesus was exposed to the ferocity of wild beasts; but more frequently they were held up to public scorn, and the mysteries of the Saviour were outrageously profaned. In one of his vehement orations, Tertullian describes the Jews of Carthage, as carrying in procession within the populous limits of that city an ass's head, while the insulted Christian had the mortification to see inscribed over it, the name of the crucified Messiah.

The church has preserved, in its traditions, a series of acts of martyrs in Syria and in Africa, where the Jews appear the active partisans of persecution. With the language of peace and mercy, and love for all mankind on their lips, furious zealots have always found excuses to urge in justification of ferocious cruelty to their spiritual adversaries.

Without repeating what has already been narrated, we may remark, that in the time of Marcus Aurelius a general cry was raised against the indulgent legislation as regarded the Christians. Christianity had rapidly extended, favoured by the philosophical indifference of princes, who had no desire to be celebrated for their severe measures. The cross of Christ had found its way to every part of the known world; and its apologist, Athenagoras, boldly declared in Rome, that his Christian brethren already peopled the most remote provinces of the empire, and extended from the shores of the Ganges to the limits of Britain. The progress of the new sect had awakened the fears of Paganism. Its pontiffs, solemnly invoking the voice of the oracles, threatened the empire with the greatest calamities, and the fearful and superstitious populace demanded that the Christian sectarians should be put to death, or be compelled to return to the established religion of the empire. In this manifestation of feeling, the Jews are said to have rejoiced. We have seen them exulting at the stake of Polycarpus. It is also told, on the authority of Eusebius, that in the city of Smyrna, a spectacle was witnessed, in the time of Decius, well calculated to exasperate the Christian mind against the Jews. Pionus, a minister, and the virgin Sabina, were conducted by the priests of Diana to their temple, in order to sacrifice them to the immortal gods. On this occasion, the ways by which the Christians were to pass were thronged with Jewesses, as it was the Jewish sabbath, and these women, immodest, and lightly attired, insulted, with immoderate laughter, the sufferings of the martyrs, as well as the apprehensions of those who, to escape punishment, wore wreaths of roses upon their heads, and threw some grains of incense on the sacred tripod. While the multitude raised this clamour, Polemon, the high priest of the heathen temple, exclaimed, "Impious wretches, sacrifice to the immortal gods, and to Diana, the protectress of the city." Pionus then raised his voice, and addressed the multitude in these words: "Inhabitants of Smyrna, illustrious city which glories in having given birth to Homer, and you, children of Israel, who hear my voice, why these insulting cries, and murmurs, which seem raised equally against those who have the weakness to sacrifice to vain idols, and those who have the courage to resist such



idoltrous folly. But especially you, daughters of Jerusalem, why do you mingle with this idoltrous multitude? Beholding our sufferings and our enemies' fury, you ought to remember and obey the injunction of Moses, who taught you to relieve the ass or the ox even of your enemy, who appeared to sink beneath his load. Why, then, these bursts of laughter, and shouts of cruel mockery? Ungrateful beings, is it thus you remember the promises made to your fathers?"

At these reproachful words the Jews are described to have gnashed their teeth with rage, and to have called for the execution of the intrepid minister and the virgin, his companion in suffering, who were then committed to prison, where they passed a day and a night, labouring to confirm weak Christians in their faith, and disputing with the Rabbins, who were sent to their cells to invite them to curse Jesus of Nazareth, and to make a public profession of Judaism, which was then tolerated in the Roman empire. Pionus was led out to suffer; and the Jews, again meeting him on his way to death, made the air resound with fierce shouts and exulting execrations.

In the city of Alexandria, the Jews were very numerous; and in the time of Decius many of them were dragged from their peaceful homes to be put to death. Many legends have been preserved on the subject of the cruelties practised by the Jews: unhappily, it has been seen that the Christians, in the day of their strength, knew but too well how to retaliate.

Their writers enlarged on the cruel perseverance with which the Jews pursued their ancient brethren to death. It was a rabbin who, with the elders of Israel, presided over the punishment of the virgin Apollinia, whom extreme old age did not save from a martyr's fate. From the summit of a lofty tower they threw the minister Serapion; and, outside the walls of Alexandria, an old man, named Miltna, was stoned to death by the doctors and the youths of the synagogue.

That these narratives are marked by many exaggerations there can be little doubt; but they prove, at least, it was generally believed in the Christian church, that the Israelites had been active in persecuting those who differed from them in matters of faith. Their bishops and teachers considered it an important duty imposed upon them, to use every precaution to guard against the impression being allowed to fade away with time. The Acts of the Martyrs, edited by ministers and by catechumens, were sent from one church to another, to be carefully preserved in their archives, as solemn reminiscences, to be referred to at all the great festivals of the year. They read them at the Agapæ and in the silence of the catacombs, by the pale light of the flambeau, in the darkness of night. Sometimes, in these dreary meetings, when the assembling brethren gave each other the kiss of peace, a bishop would arrive from Syria; he would report that he had lately visited Antioch or Alexandria, and that he had been a witness of the destroying fury of the Jews. He would recount, deeply sighing, the dreadful oppression which their brethren in Asia endured; the bloody games of the circus, and the outrages done to the Christian name. At this place, he would say, sacred things had been

given to the dogs, by the synagogue, in its fury; in another, denounced by the Israelites, holy bishops, dragged from their obscure retreats, had been condemned to the painful labours of the mines of Numidia; while pious fathers had been forced to fly to the deserts of Thebaide. They would then display, within sight of the listeners, as holy relics, torn vestments, and phials filled with precious blood. The churches of Ephesus, of Corinth, and of Alexandria, forwarded by these pious envoys lamentable epistles, in which all the circumstances of the persecution were carefully recounted. As the Jews had often been concerned in such outrages, the ministers and the catechumens believed all that was reported, and, recalling the past, gave themselves up to grief, wildly deploring the blindness and the crimes of Israel. The Jews had stoned their prophets; they had crucified the Messiah; and it was they who had given the signal for the persecution of infant Christianity, when St. Stephen and St. James fell victims to their ferocity. It was the remembrance of these things which had excited the resentment of the followers of Christ; it was difficult to incline them to imitate the meekness of the Messiah when pardoning his enemies—to calm their natural thirst for vengeance, which, in a cause so sacred, they identified with religion. These circumstances borne in mind, it will easily be conceived that, when Christianity flourished triumphantly, during the reign of Constantine—when it was able to strike in its turn, that it would not forget the alleged cruelty of the Jews in the days that were past.

## CHAP. XI.

*Exasperation of the Jews and Christians against each other at the close of the third century.—Opposition of Celsus, Lucien, and others, to Christianity.—Each sect regards the other with horror.—The Jews reproach the Christians with the obscurity and poverty of Christ.—The Christians scorn the Jews for their miserable dispersion.—Justin Martyr and Tryphon dispute.—Tryphon charges the disciples with misrepresentation.*

In this state of exasperation against each other, Jews and Christians were found at the end of the third century. Religious opinions connect themselves so closely with the natural sentiments of the human heart, that it frequently happens men are carried away by violent passion in the struggles which they believe themselves engaged in for the cause of God and truth. We have seen the Christian religion as it was gradually announced and introduced to the world; we have seen that it had to strive against all the established systems of antiquity, which it was destined to replace; but if the particular character of the controversies between Jews and Christians be examined, it will be found to bear an especial stamp of virulence and hatred.

The disputes between paganism and the doctrines of Jesus Christ were placed on broad and philosophic



ground. The polytheist and the Christian had no traditions common to them both; they had no God, no prophecies, which they could equally invoke. They could not accuse each other reciprocally of apostasy from a religion which they had never professed, nor of ingratitude for promises and a revelation which they had never recognised. When terrible persecution failed to throw the weight of the sword into the scale, all these differences resolved themselves into moral dissertations or philosophical discussions. The aged Roman raised his voice, in grave discourses or spiritual dialogues, to defend against a new form of worship the gods of the capitol, which had saved Rome from Hannibal and from the Gauls. Celsus, Pophvry, and Lucian, had disputed with regard to Christianity, its original nature, and its primitive constitution, and their arguments, adroit and flexible, sought alternately in the system of Plato, in the worship of Mythra, and in oriental ideas, examples and objections against the religion of the Galileans, while the noble friendship of Pliny complained of the blindness of those sectarians who refused to subscribe to the happiness of the human race, and to swear by the genius of Trajan. On their side the fathers of the church in their responses invoked against their adversaries the general laws of reason and humanity. Tertullian, Justin, and Athenagoras, without calling in question the traditions and the promises which the polytheist absolutely rejected, contented themselves with attacking the edifice of paganism by the general principles of philosophy and of universal morality, in such a manner, that none of their discussions had that spirit-stirring rancour which naturally finds its way into the controversy between the Christians and the expounders of the ancient law. In effect, it was difficult for the bishops and priests on the one hand to guard themselves against fierce excitement, when they saw the Jewish people still obstinately resisting what they believed to be the promises of God himself; while on the other, the Rabbin shuddered with indignation, satisfied that the Nazarenes had abandoned the ancient laws of the synagogue to follow an obscure person, whom the skill of the Magi had rendered an accomplished impostor. On each side insults the most offensive were levelled against its opponents. The Jews loved to recount the equivocal birth and mysterious genealogy of the Son of Mary; they spoke with contemptuous pity of His poor and obscure life, and of His ignominious death; while exalting their own faith, they magnified the brilliant destiny of the Messiah according to the promises, who was to conquer by the word all the nations and the kings of the earth. On their side, the Christians pointed to the misfortunes and the dispersion of the Jews, as the commencement of that terrible vengeance which it was reserved for the church to witness. "They are wanderers over the whole face of the earth," exclaimed the vehement Tertullian, "without tabernacle, without king, and without God, nor does there remain to them any vestige of a country." The hatred manifested in these disputes became so public and so generally known, that the philosopher Celsus places his strongest objections to Christianity in the mouth of a Jew.

To make the character of these impassioned controversies better known, it may be desirable to trace their progress, and to develop their principles, by an analysis of the monuments which remain to us connected with this subject.

Next to the Acts of the Apostles, the dialogue between Justin Martyr and the Jew Tryphon is the most ancient record of the proceedings of the synagogue and of the church. It was during the reign of Antoninus, in that moment when the outbreak of Akiba had set Judea in a flame, that a multitude of Jews took refuge in the Greek colonies of Asia, to avoid the vengeance of the Romans. Justin visited their schools, and vainly sought repose in the study of an enthusiastic philosopher. One day, attired in the black cloak of the Platonic sages, as he promenaded the vast galleries of Ephesus, a man, whose manners were polished, and whose air was respectful, approached him, saying, "I have learnt from the followers of Socrates always to honour the dress which you wear;" and when St. Justin enquired to what sect he belonged, Tryphon declared to him the truth, that he belonged to the synagogue. St. Justin confessed in his turn that he was a Christian. Immediately an animated conversation commenced. "How have you been able," exclaimed Tryphon, with a burst of satirical laughter, "to suffer yourself to be abused by men of no standing or importance; how could you attach yourself to an unfortunate person who was crucified? what hope can you thence derive? You imagine, I know not what, of Christ, which you only have upon hearsay, and for this you are lost and miserable. "May God pardon your blasphemy," replied St. Justin, "for you know not what you say. The synagogue follows the absurd doctrines of its Rabbins, and the Jews are lost through their mournful obstinacy." Loud bursts of laughter again interrupted St. Justin, and Tryphon said, "Go speedily and get yourself numbered among the circumcised; observe the Jewish festivals of the new moons; keep the sabbath-day holy. Truly we ought never to speak to men so miserable as you are—this we are incessantly told by our Rabbins; we do not understand the odious blasphemies which you utter, when you would persuade us that the offender crucified is now with Moses and Aaron, and that he has passed to heaven in the company of angels." "Man," exclaimed St. Justin, with indignation, "you are but superficially prudent and religious; you have despised the eternal law which God had promised by the mouth of his prophets; your ears are stopped that you may not hear; your eyes are shut that you may not see; your heart is hardened that you may not love; Jeremiah raised his voice in vain; you go widely astray to escape the reproach which his words would convey. You think to fulfil the law because you observe the sabbath and eat unleavened bread; but these are not the things which the Lord requires. If there is one among you who is perjured and a robber, let him cease to be so; if he have committed adultery, let him do penance, and then he shall observe the sabbath as ordained by the Almighty. But you have never shewn love or charity to your brethren, or for God himself; you have nailed His Son Jesus Christ to the cross; you are, as regards



Christians, like voracious flies which fatten upon ulcers. Be warned in time—God will judge you, for you are very culpable.”

The injurious and impassioned expressions occurred in a scene in which the actors were two men who wore the dignified costume of philosophy; and this language, coming from such persons, may give us an idea of the virulence which marked religious disputes at the moment when Christianity was turning aside altogether from the doctrines of the synagogue, and advancing towards its higher destiny. A more striking example still is furnished by the objections of the Jew whom Celsus introduced in his discourse of truth, to combat the growing faith of Jesus Christ.

The boldest work of the Epicurean philosopher, and the most ingenious of the productions directed against Christianity, has only reached posterity through the refutation given to it by the learned Origen. Invoking now the traditions of the human race, and now the particular books of the Jews, Celsus has put objections, drawn from the Old Testament, into the mouth of an Israelite. “Your Nazarene,” he says, “is no more than any other man, the Christ of the prophets. How can this be the Messiah, this the anointed of the Lord who was to appear in all the splendour of his glory, the sword in his hand to reign over the kings of the earth? Could he choose the dirty hovel of poor fishers for his palace, and greedy publicans for his disciples? Your Messiah was one who before he was born was condemned to a wandering life; and as if the fear of death could enter into the soul of a God, he flies into Egypt to escape the sword of Herod. It is to follow this vile impostor that you have abandoned your ancient law. Had he really been Christ, should we not have been eager to recognise him; we who had always predicted his coming? As to the infamous life of the Nazarene, that has been travestied and disguised by his disciples, what they have written was only to save the honour of their master.”

The books of the Rabbins, at the same time, were intended to crush Christianity by more outrageous misrepresentations of the birth and life of Jesus. It described the God of the Christians to be the offspring of adulterous intercourse. Brought up in the school of John the Baptist, they said Jesus had succeeded, by his adroit eloquence and the arts of the Magi, in seducing some of the people whom he had associated with the revelation of his iniquity. Tiberius, informed of his designs, and of the disorders arising from his bold preachings, had caused him to be nailed to the cross as a vile impostor, and his body had been drawn through the streets of Jerusalem amidst the acclamations of all Israel. Buried in the tomb to which the remains of criminals were ordinarily consigned, a sudden inundation had carried the corpse away; and his enthusiastic disciples, upon this, had published in all parts of the world that he had risen from the dead, to sit at the right hand of the Father.”

## CHAP. XII.

*Importance of attending to the festivals of the new moon according to the Rabbins.—News of its appearance is sent to distant parts.—Those who first see it are to forward the intelligence to the Rabbins.—Certain callings and habits disqualify parties to give evidence respecting it.—Fires on the mountains formerly announced the rising of the new moon.—Witnesses are strictly examined as to its appearance in the heavens.*

WHEN Tryphon counselled Justin Martyr to attend to the festival of the new moon, he directed his attention to that which among the Jews was of vast importance. Its first appearance was watched for with anxiety. When seen at Jerusalem information was immediately sent to Rabbins resident in other places, and those who first beheld it at a distance were required to hasten with the news to Jerusalem; and to do this, the occasion was thought such, that it was no profanation of the sabbath, in the estimation of the Rabbins, for the bearer of the coveted intelligence to journey on that day.

Many of the usages of the Israelites were regulated by astronomical observations. Some idea of the notions which prevailed in connection with the coming of the new moon, from the following passages taken from the Treatise Rach Hashanah, in the Mishna, as given in the translation of De Sola and M. J. Raphel:—

“For the new moons of two months [the witnesses] may profane the Sabbath: viz. for those of Nisan and of Tishri, because, on these months only, the messengers went to Syria, and the festivals are regulated by them; and during the existence of the Temple it was lawful to profane the Sabbath for any month, on account of the new regulation of the offerings [on the feast of new moon] in their proper day.

Whether the moon had been seen high on the horizon, or had not appeared thus high, the Sabbath may be profaned [by the witnesses]. R. José says, ‘If the moon appear high on the horizon the Sabbath may not be profaned by them [to announce it].’

It happened once, that more than forty pair of witnesses passed through on the Sabbath, when R. Akivah detained them at Lydda; Rabbin Gamaliel then sent word, saying, “If thou thus detainest the people, thou wilt be the cause of their straying in future” [they will refuse to come].

When father and son have seen the new moon, they must both go to the tribunal of judgment, not that they may be combined together to act as witnesses, but in order that, should the evidence of either of them be invalidated, the other may join to give evidence with another witness. R. Simeon says, ‘Father and son, and relatives in every degree, may be allowed as competent witnesses to give evidence as to the appearance of the new moon. R. José says, ‘It once happened that Tobias the physician, his son, and his freed slave, saw the new moon in Jerusalem, [and when they tendered their evidence] the priests accepted his evidence



and that of his son, but invalidated that of his freed slave; but when they appeared before the 'Beth Din,' they received his evidence, and that of his freed slave, but invalidated that of his son.'

The following are considered incompetent witnesses: gamblers with dice, usurers, pigeon-breeders, those who deal in the produce of the Sabbatical year, and also slaves. The rule is, that all evidence that cannot be received from a woman cannot be received from any of these.

A person who has seen the new moon, but is unable to go [to give evidence], must be brought [if unable to walk] mounted on an ass or even in a bed. Persons afraid of being waylaid by robbers may take sticks with them; and if they have a long way to go, it will be lawful for them to provide for themselves, and to carry their food. Whenever [witnesses] must be a day and a night on the road, it will be lawful to profane the Sabbath to travel thereon, to give their evidence as to the appearance of the new moon. For thus it is written (Lev. xiii. 4). 'These are the feasts of the Lord, the holy convocation, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed seasons.'

If a witness was unknown, others were sent with him to testify concerning his character. Formerly, evidence as to the appearance of the new moon was received from any one; but when the heretics corrupted [the witnesses], it was ordained, that evidence should be received only of those whose good character was well known.

Formerly fires were lighted on the tops of the mountains [to announce the appearance of the new moon]; but when the Samaritans led the nation into error, it was ordained that messengers should be sent out.

In what manner were these mountain fires lighted? They brought long staves of cedar wood, canes and sticks [or branches] of the olive tree, also the coarse threads, or refuse of flax, which were tied on the top of them with twine; with these they went to the top of the mountain, and lighted them; and kept waving them to and fro, upward and downward, till they could perceive the same repeated by another person on the next mountain, and thus on the third mountain, &c.

Whence did these mountain fires commence? From the mount of Olives to Saraba, from Sotaba to Grophinah, from Grophinah to Hoveran, from Hoveran to Beth Baltin: they did not cease to wave the flaming brands at Beth Baltin to and fro, upward and downward, until the whole country of the captivity appeared like a blazing fire.

There was a large court in Jerusalem called Beth Yangzek, where all the witnesses met, and where they were examined by the Beth Din. Great feasts [or treats] were made for them there, in order to induce them to come often. At first they did not stir from that place all day [on the Sabbath], till the elder Rabbon Gamaliel ordained that they might go 2000 cubits [amoth] on every side? and not only these, but also the midwife, going to give her professional assistance, and those who proceed to another place to assist the inhabitants in case of fire, attack of enemies, inundation, or to save people from under the ruin of fallen buildings, are

considered as inhabitants of that place, and may go from thence [on the Sabbath] two thousand [amoth] cubits on every side.

In what manner was the examination of the witnesses conducted? The first pair were always examined first. The eldest of them being introduced first, the following questions were put to him: 'Tell us in what form you saw the moon; was it with her horns turned towards the sun, or away from it? To the north or to the south [of the sun]? What was her elevation on the horizon? Towards which side was her inclination? What was the width of her disk?' If he said towards the sun, his evidence went for nothing. The second witness was then brought in, and examined; if the evidence was found to agree, their testimony was received as valid. The remaining pairs of witnesses were then superficially examined, not because there was any necessity for their evidence, but only not to disappoint them, and also to encourage them to come another time.

The chief of the tribunal then said, the feast of the new moon is mekoodash [consecrated]; and all the people said after him, 'Mekoodash, mekoodash.' Whether the new moon had been seen at the proper time or not it was consecrated. R. Eleazar, son of Zadok, said, 'If it had not been seen at its proper time, it was not consecrated, because it had already been consecrated in heaven.'

Rabbin Gamaliel had, on a tablet, and on the walls of his room, various delineations of the figure and aspect of the moon, which he showed to ignorant witnesses, asking them, 'Was it of this figure, or of that?' It happened once, that two witnesses came and said, 'We saw the moon in the eastern part of the heavens in the morning, and in the western part in the evening.' R. Johanan ben Nourri declared them to be false witnesses; but when they came to Jamnia, Rabbon Gamaliel received their evidence as valid. Two other witnesses came and said, 'We saw the moon on its proper day, but could not see it on the evening of the intercalary day;' and R. Gamaliel received them: when R. Dosah, son of R. Arkenaz, said, 'They are false witnesses; for how can they testify of a woman being delivered [on a certain day], when, on the next day, she appears yet with every sign of pregnancy?' Then R. Joshua said unto him, 'I approve your opinion.'

### CHAP. XIII.

*Tertullian bitterly rebukes the Jews.—The heresies which disturbed Christianity are supposed to spring from the synagogues.—Christian preaching instead of soothing provokes to violence.—St. John Chrysostom calls on Christians not to associate with the Jews.—The council of Nice is summoned.—It allows the clergy to keep their wives.—The council of Elvira.—Jews are forbidden to pray for an abundant harvest.—Intercourse between Christians and Jews is strictly prohibited by the councils of Laodicea and Carthage.*

At a period when the church produced so many powerful orators, blasphemous assertions like those of



Tryphon, could not be suffered to remain long unanswered. Tertullian, in his violent apology, fiercely attacks the scattered remnants of the Jewish nation. The law of Moses, he affirmed, had been given but for a time; the promise made to Abraham was completed, when a new people sprang from his race. Israel had been doomed to wither eternally. "The Parthian, skilled in the use of the bow," he scornfully exclaimed, "the sable inhabitant of Abyssinia, the inhabitant of Armenia, those of Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Egypt, and even the citizens of Rome themselves, have bowed the knee to adore the cross of Christ; and you, Israelites," he exclaimed, "can you still expect that that Christ will come out of Judea, who, according to your oracles, was to have been born in Jerusalem? Where is, at this moment, the royal family which was to reign over you, and bear on its front the dazzling diadem? What has become of that Bethlehem, in which he was first to see the light? You cannot yourselves any more even approach Jerusalem: Sion is destroyed; Bethlehem is but a mass of ruins; your land is desolate, as the prophet had foretold. Miserable people! you expect the Messiah; but where is he to receive the sacred unction of your kings? Your temple is destroyed, and your city is no more."

To the natural resentment which these frequent controversies called forth, and which necessarily acted on Christian legislation in the days of Constantine, we may add, an opinion prevailed among the faithful, that a greater part of the heresies which disturbed the cradle of the infant church, sprang from the bosom of the synagogue. After paganism, and the systems bound up with the religious harmony of the ancient world, nothing caused more alarm, nor excited more powerfully the holy wrath of the first Christians, than the opinions opposed to their orthodox maxims. The three first centuries of the church were full of those corruptions and heresies which, to use the expression of Tertullian, "threw its venom among the faithful like a scorpion on the humid earth." When, indeed, we contemplate the vast multitude of Christian heresies, it is easy to discover that all derive their principles from the two orders of opinions which issued from the synagogue. The first of these, for example, that which comprehends the Ebeonites, the Corinthians, and the Nazarenes, takes its rise from a too rigid attachment to the ancient law; while the second, which includes the Gnostics and other less important sectarians, borrowed their combinations of mysterious numbers. Simon, surnamed the Magician, his disciple, and Valentius, who enlarged their systems, were Jews or Samaritans. The opinions which divided the church were, for the greater part, the offspring of the synagogue; and when we reflect on the fierce hostility produced among Christians by the appearance of heresy, and the vehemence with which Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria pursued the offence, it will easily be conceived the belief, that Christianity owed this unfortunate discord to the corrupt doctrine of the synagogues, contributed largely to aggravate the Christian mind against the professors of Judaism.

Such too was the constitution of the Christian church,

such the spirit of the fraternity which connected the faithful, that these sentiments were rapidly communicated from one to the other; and hatred, like affection, was equally felt, equally shared, by the brethren of all churches. In every congregation, in the midst of the Agapæ, as in the bosom of a metropolis, the voices of Christian orators were heard; and justice requires that it should be stated that, instead of calming irritation, and setting discord at rest, they too often preached infuriated doctrines, and roused their hearers to acts of animosity by words of fire.

Let any one reflect, for instance, how prodigious the effect likely to be produced, in the midst of a Christian assembly piously meeting at the foot of the cross, by language like the following, which is quoted from St. John Chrysostom, as used by him, in one of his orations against the Jews:—"My brethren, I wish to continue to preach to you; but God's ways cannot be comprehended. This day a great calamity is forced on your attention; it grows on your relations with the Jews. Dismiss from your hearts the guilty practice of seeing and of associating with those men who were the adopted children of the Almighty, but who now have become worse than dogs. They have been guilty of repudiating Jesus Christ, and have exclaimed, 'We will have no other king than Cæsar!' The synagogue takes the form of a prostitute, who has ceased to blush; to us it has become a cavern of hyenas and wild beasts."

This angry feeling of the Christian church against the Jews was still farther manifested by the resolutions of its councils, a kind of legislative sentence, which obtained the greatest authority in the Christian world. At an earlier period there was found, in the canons of the apostles, a rule formally laid down, which forbade Christians to enter the synagogues, as well during the grand festivals of the year, such as the Purim and the Passover, as on the sabbath day. The clerk who should violate this rule was assimilated to those bishops of Jesus Christ who had the weakness to sacrifice to the gods of Rome on the sacred tripod. When a doubtful faith had carried a Christian to present his offering in the temple of the Gentiles, or to furnish oil to feed the lamp of the sabbath, the same sentence of excommunication was pronounced, and he could only merit pardon by retracing his steps, and by professing the most sincere penitence at the door of the church, where, dressed in the clothes of poverty, and his head covered with ashes, he received absolution from the hand of the minister.

It was under these circumstances that, with a view to settle differences, and terminate controversies, a general council was summoned, by letters despatched by Constantine to the various provinces of the empire, together with orders for furnishing the bishops with beasts or carriages, and for bearing the expenses of their journey. Two hundred and fifty bishops, besides presbyters, deacons, and acolythists, there assembled. Its numbers altogether amounted to three hundred and eighteen. By some it has been said it continued its sittings for two years; by others, that it kept together little more than two months, from the 19th of June to the 25th of



August. De Mariana says, "Nicaea, a city of Bythinia, was the place appointed by Constantine for the bishops to meet; and thither, by his order, repaired three hundred and eighteen, from all parts. In this council, Arius and his doctrine were condemned. Miletus was also deprived of his bishopric, because he too hotly reproved the easiness of Peter, bishop of Alexandria, in reconciling and admitting to the church such as had fallen from the faith, and by this his zealotry had bred divisions in the church of Egypt. There were great disputes about the time of celebrating the feast of Easter; that also was settled, and ordered to be kept at one and the same time throughout the world. The eastern clergy were grown very loose and disorderly in their lives, particularly in what related to living chastly; and it being thought hard to reduce them to the rule observed before, therefore, by the advice of Paphnucius, the fathers condescended to allow them to keep their wives. All persons were forbidden to keep the books of Arius, upon pain of death; and the said books were ordered to be burnt. Some say the manner of reckoning was first brought up in their council, and that it commenced in the year of grace 313."

The consequences which resulted from the sittings of the councils of Nice were the further extending of previously existing prohibitions. It was declared that clerks and the laity might no longer eat with the Jews. In the solemn feasts of antiquity it was often impossible for the Christian to preserve the purity of his faith, and the simplicity of his belief: whether it was that the faithful, luxuriously enjoying themselves at the table of the Gentile, were obliged to partake of the flesh of immolated victims, over which copious libations were poured, or whether invited to the more modest repast of the Jews, they were regaled with roots and the bitter herbs of the passover, his virtue was exposed to equal danger, and the solemn laws of the church often prohibited the dangerous familiarity of a repast common to Christians, Jews, and Pagans.

But even before this period, a council met at Elvira, in Spain, which propagated a severe decree against Jews. Their Rabbins had sometimes addressed a prayer to the Eternal in the shape of a grace before meat, in which they implored him, notwithstanding they were then wanderers in a strange land, to bestow his blessing, his rains, his dew, and his sunshine upon that land—to fertilise the soil, and to give an abundant harvest. The Hebrew cultivators of the soil had been accustomed to associate with Christian farmers, and shared the festive entertainments which marked the harvest home and other periods of rural and general rejoicing. That on these occasions the Jew should utter his wonted prayer, moved the jealousy of some of the Spanish prelates. Such a grievance they thought it necessary to check by a decree of the council, and accordingly it was ordered that these two races should meet no more at such festivals. The Jew was especially prohibited from so petitioning the Father of all, from an apprehension that his impious interference would render unavailing the benedictions and appeals of the orthodox Christian church, which would otherwise be all-sufficient.

The councils of Laodicea and of Carthage carried the spirit of intolerance and outrage still further. To effect a total separation between Jews and Christians seems to have been their object. The latter were strictly forbidden to receive the slightest present from the Jew, and from having the most innocent intercourse or connexion with that people. The bishops were so benevolent as not to close the doors of their church against the Israelites. This however was a concession by which the descendants of Jacob were not likely often to profit. It was formally announced that, when attending the Christian worship, some limitations were to be observed. They might be present at the reading of the gospel, and at the instructions given to the priests, but when the hour approached for performing the mass to the catechumens, and when preparations were made for celebrating other mysteries of the church, such as the Agapæ and the Lord's Supper, they were to withdraw, that their polluting presence might not detract from the pomp of the solemnity, or enable them to reveal its secret rites to the vulgar.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*New insurrections are attempted.—They are repressed, and call forth additional severity.—Constantine, though a Christian, seems to favour paganism.—Twelve thousand Jews are converted to Christianity.—Conversion of Eusebius.—In early life he was poor, but becomes rich.—He meets a holy monk in the desert and witnesses a miracle.—He connects himself with the Gnostics and Ascetics.—He differs from Origen.—He seeks to degrade him, fails, and dies.—Constantine makes fierce war on polytheism.—The mother of the empress Fausta complains of the sacrilegious doings of the Jews.—The cross, once an object of scorn, becomes a mark of honour.—It is associated with the arms, and in the Labarum with the standard of Rome.*

THE Jews in the east are reported to have risen with destroying fury against their Christian neighbours, to revenge the unfavourable edicts of Constantine. In the then state of the world such outbreaks were of frequent occurrence. The Magians are believed in this instance to have co-operated with the Jews. This probably only caused severer laws to be enacted by the Christian emperor. While the catholic church triumphantly hurled its thunders against the synagogue, the legislation of the rulers of Rome, taking its tone from the new spirit which prevailed, was slow to punish political offences with rigour.

The empire in the midst of which Constantine had erected the standard of the cross had not experienced a complete revolution; the conversion of the emperor had less imposed a law than it had offered an example to his subjects. The number of Christians was doubtless greatly augmented by the course taken by the son of Helena; but still the greater part of the provinces of the Roman empire professed to adhere to the manners and the



religion of their ancestors. When Constantine appeared in Rome his triumph was celebrated in the capitol, as in the brilliant days of Augustus, and in those consecrated to the great divinities of Olympus; and incense burned in honour of the prince on the ancient altar of victory. Till after the total ruin of Lycineus, the friend of his ill-fated son, and the foundation of Constantinople, the new disciple of Christ protected with equal benevolence all the subjects of his empire, whatever the faith which they professed. At a later period, when his power was more firmly established, he moved more unreservedly in the spirit of Christianity.

While Constantine accepted with grateful acknowledgements the title of chief-priest of the gods of the capitol—while the college of priests, the caverns of Mythra, the mysteries of Isis, and the temples of Cybele were protected in the empire, it was impossible that the synagogue should not participate in that general toleration which policy still imposed on the master of the Roman world.

The first legislative acts of Constantine had rather for their object to reward the Jews who embraced the Christian religion than to persecute those who persisted in the worship taught them by their ancestors. The Neophytes were allowed to enjoy many privileges in the state which were doubtless conceded to heighten their zeal. We find in the Theodosian code a law dated from the first years of the reign of Constantine, which punished the Israelites who violently opposed themselves to the conversion of their brethren. More than twelve thousand Jews are said to have been admitted within the pale of the Christian church during the reign of Constantine, and that of his immediate successor.

Among the most remarkable conversions of this period, the church has carefully recorded that of Epiphanius, the historian of the heretics, and of the priest Joseph, already noticed, whom Constantine dignified with the high sounding title of count. Some details of the history of Eusebius will not be out of place here, as mixed with the marvellous recitals the state of the two religious societies, then opposed to each other, will be the more clearly understood. Epiphanius was born in a village near Eleutheropolis, in Palestine, about the year 323. His parents were Hebrews, and at an early period of life his mother found herself a widow, and having exhausted her means, Epiphanius was put to study the law. When he had gained the age of discretion, her poverty was such, that she sent him to solicit charity from Tryphon, whom we have seen opposed to Justin Martyr. This zealous Rabbín was so pleased with the ardour of Epiphanius in the cause of Judaism, and with the progress he made in his studies, that he assisted him in various ways, and dying, left to him his daughter and his fortune. Placed in easy circumstances, Epiphanius led a tranquil life, occasionally visiting the public schools and the oratories of Israel. When it came to his knowledge that a holy monk had established himself in the desert, whose name was Lucius, and whose faith, long tried and proved, was such that it had been requited by Heaven with the gift of performing miracles, Epiphanius visited his solitude with interest. Around it he beheld a throng

of poor and diseased persons, who resorted to him to solicit relief from the various evils which they had to deplore. "One day," he writes, "when the Cenobite had given everything away but his coarse robe, he was on a sudden beheld miraculously attired in a celestial mantle, and my soul, which till then had been obstinate in error, from that moment opened itself to receive the lights of the gospel." He signified to the monk the profound impression which had been made on him. Lucius rejoiced to find that such a convert stood before him, and he speedily conducted the Israelite and his young sister, who shared his zeal, before the bishop, where they were added to the number of catechumens. After this he visited Egypt, where it appears his faith was not so firm, but he inclined to the sect of the Gnostics. From them he soon separated himself; and to give a further proof of his versatility, joined the Ascetics, imbibed their principles, and adopted their manners. After this, being but in his twentieth year, he returned to Palestine, and having renounced the opinions of the sects with which he had rashly connected himself, so far as they were at variance with Christianity, he became a disciple of Delarian, the father of a Palestine monastery. He founded a monastery at Bezanduce, his native village, over which he presided for the greatest part of his life. In 367, or 368, he was appointed bishop of Salamis. His piety was held in high estimation; but his intemperate zeal, and his opposition to the opinions of Origen, involved him in many difficulties. It produced a contest between him and John bishop of Jerusalem, which caused a schism between the eastern churches, marked by as fierce and as angry a spirit of persecution, as that which had so often prevailed between Christians and Jews. Epiphanius found an ally in Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; and a council was called in 399, at which the writings of Origen were condemned. This decree, and that of another council called in 401, failed to crush Origen; and, exasperated at this, Epiphanius determined on repairing to Constantinople, in order to move the bishops there to give force to the decrees which had been issued against Origen. On reaching Constantinople he refused to hold any intercourse with Chrisostom, bishop of that city, unless, as a preliminary, he sanctioned the condemnation of Origen. In this attempt he did not succeed; and he next resolved to present himself to the people in the church of the apostles, and openly to condemn the books of Origen and all who favoured him. He was persuaded to abandon this design; and he next sought to accomplish his object by court interest. The empress Eudoxia at that moment was afraid the younger Theodosius, who was ill, would not recover, and begged an interest in his prayers. Epiphanius did not scruple to promise that, if she would cause those heretics to be discarded who then enjoyed imperial favour, Theodosius should not die. This presumption on his part the empress and the Egyptian monks had the good sense severely to reprove; and, foiled and abashed, he at length withdrew, and died shortly afterwards.

Many circumstances prove, that in the early days of Constantine, the laws affecting the Jews were conceived in a spirit of moderation. The legionnaires who had been



accustomed forcibly to intrude themselves into the synagogues, were ordered, by a rescript of the emperor, to withdraw, and to avoid creating any disturbance in their temples or oratories on the Jewish holidays. A like indulgence, we may remark, had been conceded to them at a much earlier period, as may be collected from the sneer of Horace, quoted in a former chapter.

When the government of Constantine had gained more stability, he adopted a bolder policy against those religions, which resisted the imperious ascendancy of the followers of Jesus Christ. Twenty-two years had passed since the famous edict of Milan gave freedom to the church, when Constantine attended public worship in the basilicas of the Christians, to the great scandal of the pagan priests, and many old Romans at the celebrated vicenary feasts in honour of his accession to the throne. After he had founded the new capitol, which still bears his name, convinced that the Christians, and all who were not unfriendly to their worship, would unite to support his authority, while those who adhered to the ancient religion of Rome viewed it with jealousy, and might be disposed to attempt its overthrow, he resolved to destroy the decrepid edifice of polytheism, the ruins of which wore a threatening aspect towards him. Officers of the palace, by his orders, traversed the country in all directions; and while the pitiless axe respected neither gods nor temples, nor sacred groves, while Antioch deplored the voluptuous shades of Daphne, and Egypt the colossal majesty of Isis, the greater part of the synagogues of Alexandria, Rome, and Carthage, were given up to the fanatical zeal of the Christians; who, excited by the ferocious preachings of their bishops, threw down the walls of the oratories and temples which had for ages been witnesses of the prayers and the ceremonies of Israel.

A curious letter is still extant from Eutropia, the mother of the Empress Fausta, in which, with Christian piety, she denounces to St. Macaire and to the Bishops of Syria, the impious ceremonies and sacrilegious profanations of the Jews, to which she had been a witness. Devotion had conducted her to Palestine, to within a short distance of Jerusalem, when she was arrested near the terebinth already mentioned, in the valley of Mamre, where Abraham had received his celestial visitors. By the side of the ancient well, where the patriarch watered his flock, the oratories of the Hebrews, intermixed with the temples of the heathen, rose in honour of their favouring deities. That which had most especially struck the pious Eutropia, was the strange assembly the valley of the terebinth presented once in every year, when a market, or fair, was held on the spot. The Hebrew merchant and the Arab of the desert there dismounted from their camels, and on the spot where Abraham had once exercised the rights of hospitality, the Gentiles now made their libations of wine, and brought their oxen crowned with garlands, with the cock and the goat, symbols of impurity, as offerings. The crowd of Gentiles was great, and the confusion which prevailed such, that the Christians complained they could not perform their prescribed ablutions, as the waters of the well of Abraham were polluted by the perfumes thrown into them by the Gentiles, and the wheaten cakes which the rabbins and the pontiffs also contributed, in order to purify them.

This was about the period when Palestine was visited

by the Empress Helena. Gazing with reverential awe on places which the great events of former days had rendered sacred, and on the humbled remnant of that nation once so powerful, now so widely dispersed, her zeal was strengthened, and her devotion became more impassioned. Some passage of sacred story was recalled at each step as she advanced, and wakened in her mind solemn reflections on the ingratitude of the Israelites. She visited that mountain on which tradition reports Abraham prepared to offer his son Isaac, and she lingered near the well of Sichem, where Jesus Christ had asked water from the Samaritan woman. Its neighbouring source, shaded by plantains, was the well where Jacob watered his flocks; and an almond tree, planted by the hands of the patriarch, recalled the prophetic dream which told of the countless generations of his posterity. In Jerusalem itself, the Empress admired in their turns the vestiges of the palace of Solomon, the fountain of Siloam; and with deep interest her attention rested on Golgotha, where Jesus had been conducted to be crucified. Her memorable discovery at the tomb of the Saviour was celebrated by the erection of a splendid church. The same piety raised this durable monument of the sufferings of the son of God, which had converted the cross, viewed by the Rabbins and the Jewish doctors as the eternal witness of an impostor's shame, to be sought with anxious care, and preserved for ages as an invaluable treasure. The new master of the Roman world did not disdain to ornament the eagles of the Cæsars with the nails which the masters of the synagogue had used to crucify the Messiah. Constantine strove in every imaginable way to do honour to the cross. His statue was made to bear it in his right hand. "The same symbol," says Gibbon, on the authority of Eusebius and other ancient writers, "sanctified the arms of the soldiers of Constantine; the cross glittered on their helmets, or was engraved on their shields—was interwoven into their banners" and the consecrated emblems which adorned the person of the emperor himself were distinguished only by richer materials, and more exquisite workmanship. But the principal standard which displayed the triumph of the cross, was styled the *Labarum*, an obscure, though celebrated name, which has been vainly derived from almost all the languages of the world. It is described as a long pike, intersected by a transversal beam. The silken veil which hung down from the beam was curiously enwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold, which enclosed the mysterious monogram at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ. The safety of the *Labarum* was entrusted to fifty guards, of approved valour and fidelity; their station was marked by honours and emoluments; and some fortunate accidents soon introduced an opinion, that as long as the guards of the *Labarum* were engaged in the execution of their office, they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy."



CHAP. XV.

*The baptismal rite derives great importance from its being administered to Constantine when dying.—Constantius his successor favours Christianity.—Severe laws are made to restrain the Jews.—Christian virgins debate on celibacy, matrimony, and the wickedness of the Jews.—Julian is placed at the head of the Roman empire.—He seeks to restore paganism to its former importance.—He orders the temple to be rebuilt.—The attempt is made, but fails.—He wars against the Persians, is wounded, and dies.*

ENOUGH has been said to explain the causes which banished from Roman legislation those principles of benevolent consideration for the laws which had marked the early part of the reign of Constantine. If the Christians had experienced disappointment and sorrow at his long declining to submit to the baptismal ceremony, the importance which he attached to it in his last moments more than atoned for all previous neglect, and gave in the eyes of the Christian world, the most solemn sanction it could receive from a mortal.

When he was no more, and Constantius had succeeded to his throne, the effervescence previously excited among the Christians exhibited no signs of abatement. In the Theodosian code three rescripts appear, emanating from that prince, which mark a complete change in the spirit of legislation. The most ancient of them ratifies the prohibition imposed on Christians by the councils never to marry with Jewesses. Such unions were regarded by Constantius as criminal, and accordingly they were declared unsanctioned by authority, and denied all the rights of legitimacy. It must cause less surprise to find such a law framed when we recollect that it had been customary from a very remote period for the Israelites to make oath that "they would walk in God's law, and not intermarry with the people of the land." Another law now confirmed was, that which forbade the Israelites to acquire or possess Christian slaves. Confounding things which relate to civil order, with those which result from religious impressions, it was declared that the law could not tolerate the authority of a master being exercised, by those whom the oracles of religion condemned to perpetual servitude. The slave whom a Jew might subject to circumcision might instantly claim his freedom, and his master was liable to be punished capitally for the offence, and moreover, Constantius ordered the property of a freeman to be confiscated who quitted the altar of Christ to pray in the synagogue, and, besides, the apostate was to be denied the privilege of making his will, (after depriving him of all he had to leave, this visitation might have been spared,) and of bequeathing any possession to his children or relatives.

The severity of these laws caused several insurrections on the part of the Jews, which however met with no success, and only subjected those concerned in them to new hardships. Constantius, among the severities to

which he had recourse, is said to have renewed the law which forbade the Hebrews to approach Jerusalem.

To judge of the age from the spirit manifested by its writers, we should conclude it to have been animated by a spirit little in accordance with what, in happier times, have been recognised as the true principles of Christianity. During the reign of Constantius, violent declarations continued to be put forth from time to time by the rulers of the Christian church, addressed to the synagogues; and the obstinacy and ingratitude of the Jews were as loudly as ever insisted upon. Among the memorials which have escaped destruction, is one of a singular form, which gives a vivid picture of the opinions which then prevailed; it is a dialogue between ten Christian virgins, on matters connected with faith and morality. While Marcella, one of the pious spouses of Jesus Christ, celebrates the virtues and the glory of chastity, and Theophila, on the other hand, speaks in favour of marriage, as having been wisely and mercifully ordained to meet the necessities of human frailty, Thelicia, the most aged of the disputants, declaims against the hardened impiety of the Jews, and the persecutions to which they have subjected the Christian church. Though the style of the dialogue is somewhat oriental, the objections and reasons may be found in it which at all periods the Catholics have thought it becoming to urge against the refractory Israelites.

After the death of Constantius, a new and singular epoch commenced for the synagogue. His successor and cousin, the emperor Julian, had no predilection for the Jews or their religion. The cares of empire devolved upon him while he was yet a youth. About the year 355 he was recalled from his quiet retreat to court, was declared Cæsar, and married Helena the emperor's sister. He was employed in military enterprises, and in a short time conducted several expeditions, in which he humbled the pride of many kings, and recovered twenty thousand captives. The rising reputation of Julian was regarded with envy and jealousy by the emperor, who, to prevent him from becoming dangerous, deprived him of the principal part of his army. By this, Julian was reduced to great distress. He was, however, determined to submit: he accordingly made his soldiers a speech from the tribunal, exhorting them to loyalty and obedience, and gave the officers a farewell entertainment. Their reluctance to quit a commander to whom they were so much attached, was augmented by this interview; and, in the night, the soldiers encompassed the palace, and saluted Julian as emperor. The prince however strenuously rejected the proffered honour; and, by securing the doors, endeavoured to exclude his person from their tumultuary attachment. Till the third hour of the day he remained inflexible to their prayers, their reproaches, and menaces; when, being informed that, if he wished to live, he must consent to reign, he complied with their demands. He immediately addressed, in his own name and that of the army, a letter to Constantius, acquainting him with the event, and soliciting the confirmation of the dignity; but still acknowledging the supremacy of Constantius as the head of the empire, and offering to remain contented with the administration of the western provinces



of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Constantius received his communication like an offended sovereign, refused to admit his assumed title, and commanded him to return to his duty, with the rank he formerly possessed. Julian now set him at defiance, and dispersed manifestos justifying his conduct; of which one of the most characteristic, still extant, was an epistle to the senate and people of Athens, whom, as a philosopher, a scholar, and a worshipper of the gods of Greece, he seems to have regarded with peculiar respect. In his progress he was stopped by the resistance of Aquileia, which was held by the troops of Constantius; and the approach of that emperor, with his veteran legions, prepared a bloody conflict, which was happily prevented by the sudden death of Constantius, on the confines of Cilicia. Julian, now in the thirty-second year of his age, entered Constantinople amidst universal acclamations, and was acknowledged the sole sovereign of the Roman empire. His elevation to supreme power made no alteration in his character: he was a philosopher on the throne, so far as that title is merited by strict temperance, disregard of idle pomp and trifling amusements, the diligent employment of his time in active occupations, or the pursuit of mental improvement, and constant study to fulfil the duties of his station. The ruling passion of Julian was to restore the heathen religion in all its ancient splendour; and to this, in various instances, he sacrificed both policy and justice. He wrote an elaborate work against the truth of Christianity, of which some fragments only have come down to modern times. An edict of general toleration was his first measure, which produced the re-opening of all the heathen temples, and the return of Christian sectaries, who had been banished by the late emperor. He endeavoured to render paganism, more respectable in the eyes of the public, by certain regulations for securing the morals of the priesthood. He invited to his court all the eminent philosophers and men of learning of that persuasion; and he encouraged proselytes by tokens of imperial favour. The restoration of the ancient temple at Jerusalem attracted the ambitious mind of the emperor, who flattered himself that the completion of the undertaking would be at least a specious argument against the faith in prophecy and the truth of revelation. To accomplish it he employed one of his ablest generals, and ordered the governor of Palestine to lend his most strenuous support in restoring the building of Solomon to its pristine beauty. But neither the power of an emperor, the resources of an empire, nor the enthusiasm of a whole people, could effect the purpose. A commencement was made of this work; but the builders were interrupted by extraordinary irruptions of fire, which obliged them to abandon their undertaking. Though restrained either by prudence or temper from the violence of persecution, Julian systematically pursued measures calculated to degrade and depress the Christians. He treated them with the language of sarcastic contempt; deprived them of the management of charitable contributions; and levelled all the honours of sacerdotal rank. He forbade all Christians from acting as teachers of grammar and rhetoric or the liberal arts; thus compelling their youth to remain uneducated, or to receive with the rudiments of

learning impressions subversive of their faith. He excluded them from posts of trust and honour; and compelled them to make ample amends for the destruction of pagan temples in the preceding reigns, and restitution of lands and revenues which had been converted to the use of their own religion. The love of military glory was another passion by which Julian was actuated, and the field which he thought most worthy of its indulgence was the Persian empire, long the rival and formidable foe of the Romans. When he crossed the Tigris, he burned his ships, that his soldiers might proceed with firmness and resolution. He defeated the Persians drawn up to oppose him, and pushed on to the gates of the capital. Misled by treacherous guides, he was presently reduced to a scarcity of provisions; and he found that the only means of safety for his army consisted in retreat. In the mean time the whole force of the Persian empire was assembled, and clouds of light troops harrassed the Romans on every side, while the main body of the Persian host advanced in formidable array. Julian performed every duty of a soldier and a general, partook of every fatigue and hardship, and was present wherever danger was most urgent. The attacks of the enemy were several times repelled. At length Julian was mortally wounded, fell senseless from his horse, and was conveyed from the field in a state which announced approaching death. Sensible of his situation, he pronounced a farewell speech to the surrounding officers, and directed the disposal of his private property; after which he entered into a metaphysical discussion with regard to the nature of the soul. Exhausted by these efforts, he called for a draught of cold water; and, as soon as he had swallowed it, calmly expired, June 26th, 363.

This sketch, drawn from Gibbon and the Universal History, will suffice to give some idea of the character and career of Julian the apostate,

#### CHAP. XVI.

*The hostility of the emperor Julian to Christianity might have been caused by the depraved conduct of the bishops in the time of Constantine.—They degraded the Christian name.—He orders the rebuilding of the temple to falsify the prophecy of Christ.—The eagles of Jupiter are substituted for the Labarum.—Julian addresses a kind letter to the Jews.—They believe their deliverance at hand, and attack the Christian church.—Their prayers and sacrifices are solicited by the emperor.—The Christian world is thrown into a state of great alarm.*

GREATLY the Jews exulted at finding that the Christians had no longer a patron in the emperor. It however does not appear that the hostility he had manifested towards Christianity resulted from any disposition to favour them unduly. Truth demands the humiliating confession, that, in the reign of Constantine, those who were looked up to as the leaders of the Christian church had not conducted themselves so as to have any claim on the forbearance or even to the respect of any



sect opposed to them in principle. A disposition to abuse power is natural to man, and it can only properly be held in check by reflection and education; the former was not invited, and the latter was rarely possessed by the bishops of the period. The conduct of relentless and depraved prelates threw scandal on the whole sect. "Constantine embraced Christianity," says the writer of *Priestcraft in all Ages*, "and almost the whole world embraced it nominally with him. From a conversion of such a kind, the work of regal example and popular interested hopes, what effects were to be expected? The martial tyranny of ancient Rome, which had subdued the world, was coming to an end. The wealth of which a thousand states had been stripped, had turned to poison in her bosom, and brought upon the stern mistress of bloodshed and tears, that retribution from which national rapine and injustice never eventually escape. But as if the ghost of departed despotism hovered over the Seven Hills, and sought only a fresh body to arise in a worse shape, a new tyranny commenced in the form of priestcraft, ten times more terrible and hateful than the old,—because it was one which sought to subjugate not merely the persons of men, but to extinguish knowledge; to crush into everlasting childishness the human mind; and to rule it, in its fatuity, with mysteries and terrors. The times favoured the attempt. With the civil power of the Roman empire, science and literature were disappearing. A licentious army controlled the destiny of a debauched and effeminated people; and the Gothic and the Hunnish nations, rushing in immense torrents over the superannuated states of Europe, scattered, for a time, desolation, poverty, and ignorance. At this crisis, while it had to deal with hordes of rough warriors, who, strong in body and boisterous in manners, had yet minds not destitute of great energies, and many traditional maxims of moral and judicial excellence, but clothed in all the simple credulity of children,—up rose the spirit of priestcraft in Rome, and assumed all its ancient and inflated claims. As if the devil, stricken with malice at the promulgation of Christianity, which threatened to annihilate his power, had watched the opportunity to inflict on it the most fatal wound, and had found no instrument so favourable to his purpose as a priest,—such a glorious and signal triumph never yet was his from the creation of the world." It might be the manifestation of the persecuting spirit here described, which exasperated the imperial philosopher. The Christian's evil deeds were aggravated by the benevolence identified with the faith they put themselves forward to advocate. Julian, whatever the cause, was at all events most decidedly opposed to Christianity, and anxious to put a stop to the preaching of the gospel. Jesus of Nazareth had predicted the total destruction of Jerusalem; and the fathers of the church incessantly recalling the prophecy, pointed to the dispersion of the Jews as a living witness of the divine mission of Christ. Studious from his infancy, Julian was well acquainted with the history of their nation and with the scripture. He felt that an important blow might be struck against Christianity, from which it would probably never recover if the temple were re-built. Here at once would be achieved a great triumph for paganism, by overthrowing

that testimony of the truth of that Prophet, on which the Christians so confidently relied. It had been his policy to recall the Donatists from exile, and to substitute for the Labarum the eagle of Jupiter and the images of the gods of Rome; and he was, from the strong hatred he had conceived against the Christian religion, determined to bring together the scattered ruins of the Jewish nation. He felt that that once effected, would furnish a powerful argument against the advocates of Christianity in the future discussions of the sophists.

Among the memorials of this reign which have not been lost in the lapse of ages, a letter survives which he addressed to the community of the Jews, at the period when he dictated to the sophist Libanius the *Misopogon*, an ironical defence of himself, which the emperor caused to be affixed to the gates of his palace, in which he replied with argument and satire to his Christian assailants. "The late reign," wrote the emperor Julian to the Jews, "has been one of great hardship to you,—not so much on account of your political dependence, as because you were subjected to taxes which were never authorised by the emperor. I myself have been a witness of these exactions; and have consigned to the flames the ordinances which were only preserved to oppress your nation. Do not ascribe the evils of which you have had to complain to Constantius, but to the impious and foul-mouthed persecutors who were permitted to approach his table. I have seized them with my own hand, and cast them out, in order that no traces of the evil doers shall remain among us. As it is my object to bestow upon you great benefits, I have exhorted your patriarch Hillel no longer to exact contributions, in order that, living in peace and comfort you may address your vows to heaven, and solicit prosperity for my reign from that mighty God whose hand has placed a crown on my head. That which you ought to desire is, that after I have happily terminated the war with Persia, I may be enabled to restore the holy city of Jerusalem, which you have desired to inhabit so many years, and that there I may render my thanks to the Eternal with you."

The Israelites greatly rejoiced, when this communication from the emperor was made known to them. All the bright hopes which they had cherished in former days were immediately revived; and the synagogue exulted that the period was at length at hand when God would avenge his people and regenerate captive Sion. According to the promises of the Rabbins, it had been ordered that the Israelites, four hundred and eighty years after the dispersion, should reign over the Roman empire, and sell its inhabitants to the Sabeans; and then, when Jerusalem could be seen shining with new splendour, and elevated above surrounding nations, the great Liberator, the Messiah, would appear to overthrow kingdoms, and humble all the princes of the earth. These hopes, by themselves so potent in former days in the superstitious soul of the Israelite, were greatly encouraged and strengthened by the promises of Julian. They hailed the announcement made to them with tumultuous acclamations; and such was the impassioned character of joy manifested in the



the synagogue that it speedily burst forth in an attack on the temples of worship of the Christians. They stormed and demolished the recently established churches of Gaza and Ascalon. More than fifty years after this outbreak, St. Ambrose continued to deplore the fall of Christian churches, through the dreadful ravages perpetrated by Jews during the ephemeral reign of the apostate.

The favourable disposition thus evinced towards the Jews, grew out of the policy which Julian had adopted towards Persia, as he felt that if they could be induced to favour his views, the Hebrews of Mesopotamia, a numerous body, might in various ways render him important aid. While, therefore, he forwarded his preparations in Antioch for war, he made every effort in his power to conciliate the Jews. A deputation was sent to him, consisting of the chiefs of the synagogue and the elders of the Sanhedrim, to express the gratitude their community felt for the gracious communication he had been pleased to make. In the midst of warlike preparations and philosophical studies, Julian consented to receive the masters and the Rabbins, and the sovereign who had put down the cathedrals of the Christians of Antioch, and the schools of the churches, complained to the Jewish pontiffs of their negligence in omitting to give Him the benefit of their influence with heaven. "Wherefore," he asked, "have your sacrifices ceased at that precise moment, when the assistance of your God is so essential to my welfare?" The Jewish deputies reminded him with a sigh, that "their temple had been destroyed, and that the sacred law of Israel did not permit them to offer sacrifice anywhere but in the sanctuary." "Well," replied the emperor, "consult your prophets, and you will see that your woes are to terminate during my reign. Let the temple of Solomon rise from its ruins; and let, while the joyful songs of your Levites ascend to heaven, thousands of immolated oxen fall, as in the time of your great king."

The impatient Julian, intent upon this undertaking, could not delay its commencement till the war with Persia should reach its termination. A rescript was immediately issued, which ordered that the sanctuary of the Jews should forthwith be erected on Mount Moriah, opposite the church of the resurrection, erected on Calvary, and that a sovereign colony of Israelites, to be established in Jerusalem, should thenceforth give law to both Christians and Nazarenes. In one of his letters, Julian directs his friend and favourite, Alypius, to see his commands executed; and to further the design, he commanded, if necessary, that the ordinary works of the empire should be suspended; and he intreated his friend to forego some moments of delightful intercourse with the muses and with philosophy, to restore to a nation the ancient pomp of its ceremonies, and to multiply the number of sacrifices to the immortal gods.

The alarm now experienced in the Christian world was great, and equally great the joyous excitement of the Jews, when this important mandate of the emperor transpired. From distant provinces the Hebrews prepared to march to Jerusalem, each eager to take a part in the glorious, the national, the sacred, toil of rebuilding the temple. Those who from circumstances were unable to come in person, envied their happier brethren, whose

position and activity enabled them to repair to the holy city, and willingly contributed, from their means, to forward the object in view. He was held to be unworthy of the blood of Israel, and a dishonourer of its name, who hesitated to take from his store, in order to aid this great enterprise.

The Christians, while they expressed a hope that so daring an act of impiety as flying in the face of the Deity by attempting to rebuild Jerusalem, would not be hazarded; felt that if the project of the emperor should be successfully carried into execution, Christianity would be shaken to its foundation. "What victim, what Holocaust, has he not promised to his gods," exclaimed St. Gregory. "Yourself, Oh Christ! and all the faithful in Assyria, will then be subjected to the empire of the demon." "He must have had a very lively faith," adds St. John Chrysostom, "not to share the apprehension which so generally prevailed." In the midst of their pious assemblies they heard sighs and groans, and the priests and bishops could scarcely dissipate the doubts and fears which came over the timid and startled Christian.

#### CHAP. XVII.

*The Israelites joyfully prepare for rebuilding the temple.—They use implements of labour made of silver.—A tempest and an earthquake, wind and fire, arrest the progress of the building.—Many Jews lose their lives during the storm.—A bright cross is seen in the heavens.—Its image is stamped on the clothes of the beholders.—Various Pagan writers are quoted as authorities for the truth of the extraordinary events witnessed.*

BOUNDLESS was the joy which continued to swell every Hebrew bosom. It was not merely the gay vision of a day, but the children of Abraham rejoiced in sober, and, as they believed, well founded hope. The mandate of the emperor they likened to the command of God himself. That Israel was on the point of being restored to her place among the nations of the earth, was the cry which everywhere resounded from east to west. Thousands of men, women, and children, wearing their gayest attire, came forward to assist in the operations now to be commenced in the holy city. Scarcely had Alypius made known the orders of Julian, when the works were begun. "A vast mass of materials rose," St. Gregory writes, "mountains high, and the ruins were speedily removed from the spot where the temple stood in other days. There might be seen round the hallowed spot, still bearing signs of the celestial malediction, numerous Israelites bestowing their most anxious cares. Some turned up the earth with silver pickaxes and spades; mallets and baskets of the same costly material were used on this occasion, and cement and paving stones were carried in the latter to adorn the portico of the new temple. Women and children were seen with robes and mantles of fine linen or silk, participating in the severest and the humblest labour, even to sweeping away the dust from the soil. Age refused to permit lengthened years to plead his excuse; and the blind and the lame even came forward to participate in the work all were so anxious to forward, while



the multitude chaunted hymns of gratitude to praise the God of Israel, who had brought them out of Egypt, who had brought them out of Babylon, and who now put an end to another state of captivity not less galling than either of the former. But," continued the saint, "the God whom we adore knew how to accomplish his own object without the aid of man. The Jews insulted our Redeemer's holy name, and the friends of the apostate asked us, with a scornful smile, 'where now was the Galilean? where was Jesus of Nazareth?' But short was their triumph. One evening which followed a burning day, on a sudden an impetuous wind burst forth, and blew with such violence, that it dispersed, with a terrifying noise, the stones and the cement which the Jews had used for their building. The foundations which they had dug with immense labour were destroyed. An earthquake and a horrible crash succeeded, when, to increase the horror of this scene of desolation, the roof of a vast building, to which many Jews had fled, seeking shelter from the storm, fell, and buried multitudes of them in the ruins. The wretched Hebrews threw themselves into a church; devouring flames pursued them thither. Lightnings rent the air; the thunder, first heard at a distance, soon burst over the heads of the affrighted hearers in deafening peals, and the awful bolt fell among the trembling crowd. Unnatural fires calcined the stone which had been brought there, and fused the implements of iron—of silver, which had been left in the general consternation on the ground. How dismal was the spectacle offered on that vast scene, where lifeless bodies, and the shattered remains of all that human art had made, were strewn in every direction. Notwithstanding this, the perseverance of the Israelites did not suffer itself to be vanquished by such terrible obstacles; their zeal prompted them to renew their labours on the next day, but in vain. New convulsions of the earth were felt; the sides of the sun seemed to open, and fires issuing thence, displaced with violence the stones the workmen attempted to elevate one upon another. So often as human hands essayed to forward the work which had been attempted, so often did the outstretched arm of the Almighty render all their efforts nugatory, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Scripture, 'I will prevent the foolish undertakings of the wicked, and by my hand shall their works be overthrown.'"

This extraordinary recital, Gibbon remarks, excited the piety of the believer, and the astonishment of the incredulous. St. Cyril speaks of various other prodigies on the second day, in which these phenomena were seen. At the moment when earth and heaven seemed confounded, or involved in one appalling glare, a cross of dazzling brightness was suddenly perceived in the clouds, surrounded by an immense circle, which glowed with a thousand fires; and on the morning of the next day the astonished Hebrews found their clothes marked with the sign of this miraculous object, which, the saint adds, led to numerous conversions in Jerusalem.

It seems placed beyond all doubt, that under the auspices of Julian, an attempt was made to rebuild the temple, which, through certain extraordinary difficulties which occurred, was not persevered in.

The fathers of the Christian church, in relating these circumstances, refer not only to the testimony of contemporary Christians, but also to that of certain Gentiles.

St. Gregory who wrote at the end of the year in which it was witnessed, boldly asserts, that the most obstinate Pagans could not deny that such prodigies had been witnessed, and all the answer they could give, was to ascribe them to physical accidents, to sorcery, or to the malignant influence of demons. However strange this assertion may appear, it receives some confirmation from Ammianus Marcellinus. This philosophical historian, who manifests great impartiality in his writings, relates that insuperable obstacles prevented the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem. He writes, "While Alypius the officer of the governor of Judea urged on the difficult works at the temple, dreadful globes of fire burst from the middle of the foundations, and exploded with an astounding report among the masons, many of whom were severely wounded. These strange fires rendered the best efforts of the labourers unavailing. They often repeated the attempt, but without success, to approach the spot where the temple formerly stood. Julian himself, in one of his letters to the philosopher Libanius, says, that "he could have wished to restore the temple of Jerusalem;" and then retracing the history of that monument of antiquity, he mentions, that "it had been thrice destroyed since the death of its founder;" a statement which would have been incorrect if he had not reckoned as a third destruction, the catastrophe which happened during his reign. Millman, describing the abortive attempt of the Israelites, accounts for that which created such alarm and defeated the purpose of Julian from natural causes. He mentions that other remarkable appearances were noted, and that flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, fell on the garments of the workmen and the spectators. He proceeds, "It was even added that a horseman was seen careering among the flames, and that the workmen having fled to a neighbouring church, its doors, fastened by some preternatural force within, refused to admit them. These, however, may be embellishments, and are found only in later and rhetorical writers; but the main fact of the interruption of the work by some extraordinary, and, as it was supposed, preternatural interference, rests on the clear and unsuspicious testimony of the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus. But, in candour, one local circumstance must be mentioned, overlooked by those who impugn, as well as by those who maintain, the miracle—by Gibbon, Basnage, and Lardner—as well as by Warburton. It will be remembered, that the hills on which Jerusalem stood, were deeply and extensively undermined by subterranean passages. On the surprise of the Temple by John of Gischala, the whole party of Eleazar took refuge in these underground chambers. Numbers of the Zealots lay hid in similar caverns under Sion after the capture of the city by Titus, and the sudden rising of Simon on the hill of the temple, after having descended on that of Sion, sufficiently proves the vast range of these mines, which communicate with each other under both hills over which the city spread. The falling of the hill of Sion, during the rebellion under Barcochab, may also be adduced. In the long period of desolation, during which the hill of the temple, especially, lay waste, the outlets of these caverns would be choked with rubbish and ruin; and the air within become foul and inflammable. That these vapours, thus fermenting under the whole depth of the hill, should, as is often the case in



mines, become accidentally ignited during the work, kindle, and explode with violent combustion and terrific noise, resembling an earthquake, was by no means beyond the ordinary course of nature; though it might be far beyond the philosophy of a people excited to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, and already predisposed to consider the place as the chosen scene of miraculous interference. Even the fiery crosses on the garments might have been phosphoric exhalations, really seen, and easily wrought into that form by the awe-struck imagination of the Christians—and preternatural interference would hardly be called for to close the doors of a church against fugitives thus under the visible malediction of the Deity."

This event was of too great importance to the Jewish nation to be passed over in silence by the rabbins. The annalist, David Gann says, "Julian ordered the rebuilding of the holy temple, and provided for all the necessary expenditure out of his own treasury; but it was prevented from being carried out by the interposition of Heaven, for Cæsar was wounded in the war with Persia." "In the time of king Chanan," writes Gedaliah in his chain of tradition, "towards the year 4349, the books of annals relate that a great movement took place throughout the universe. The temple being ordered to be again erected, the Jews were reconstructing it at a great expence, by order of the emperor Julian, but flames burst from heaven, prevented the work from going on, and burnt a great many Jews." "On this subject," says Capefigue, "we have given with perfect impartiality all the evidence before us, and now leave it to be dealt with by just criticism. If the piety of the Christians can adore in it a superintending providence which thus points its vengeance against a proscribed sect, the philosopher can only see in it one of those terrible phenomena which are frequently witnessed in the east, and which at one almost contemporary epoch overthrew many of the most flourishing cities in Asia Minor." Whatever conclusion may be arrived at on this subject, it will be seen, that with the reign of Julian, the fondly cherished hopes of Israel were doomed once more to be lost in bitter disappointment.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

*The Jews appear grateful for the favour of Julian.—They expect from him the fulfilment of the prophecy of the psalmist.—The Polytheists view the Jews with scorn.—They regard with contempt the Jewish observances of the Sabbath.—The value of many of them they do not comprehend.—The Jews fail to support Julian in his Persian war.—Julian's fall is a subject of joy to the Christians.—Jovian is elected emperor.—He favours Christianity.*

ANCIENT and modern writers concur in ascribing the favour shewn to the Jews by the Emperor Julian, to have had for its main object the weakening of the Christians. In his eagerness to restore heathenism to its ancient undisputed supremacy, he regarded the Jews who turned with scorn from the gods of the empire with almost as

much horror and contempt as he could feel for the professors of the Christian faith, save that from the recent possession of power, the violence of the latter might have been more present to his memory than the intolerance of the former. The Jews professed unbounded gratitude to the emperor; and some of them were so enthusiastic as to call him their Messiah. His interference in their favour, they viewed as the forerunner of the prophecy which their instructors had often been in the habit of quoting from the psalmist—"The Lord will revenge his people, and rebuild the cities of Judah."

Though many of his subjects might share the feelings of the emperor, and be disposed to countenance the Jew from hatred to the Christians, they were still by the many regarded with profound contempt. The usages of the Hebrew religion, the Polytheists derided as utterly at variance with common sense. In the language of D'Israeli, "To them nothing seemed so joyless as the austerity of a Jewish Sabbath. It was a strange abandonment of all the avocations of life. They saw the fields of the Hebrew forsaken by the labourer; the ass unsaddled; the oar laid up in the boat; they marked a dead stillness pervading the habitation of the Israelite; the fires all extinguished; the accustomed meal unprepared; the man-servant and the maiden leave their work, and the trafficker, at least one day in the week, refusing the offered coin. The most scrupulous superstitions had long been superadded to the strict observance of the Mosaic institution, by the corrupting artificers of the rabbinical Pharisees. The female was not allowed to observe herself in a mirror, lest she might be tempted to pluck a hair; the Israelite might not even scrape off the dirt on his shoes, he must not lift a weight, nor touch money, nor ride, nor bathe, nor play on an instrument; the most trivial act of domestic life connected with labour or business, was a violation of the Sabbath. Even the distance of a Sabbath-walk was not to exceed that space which lies between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives; this was the distance between the temple and the tabernacle; it had been nicely measured, and the Hebrew in Rome on his Sabbath was still counting the steps of a Sabbath-day's journey. The Romans too might have heard that these Hebrews, when they had armies of their own, would halt in the midst of victory, on the eve of the Sabbath; and that on the Sabbath-day they ceased even to defend their walls from the incursions of an enemy."

Because they were thus despised, it does not follow that their observances were really objects of contempt. Though some of them may seem unnecessary, and indeed provoke risibility in the celebration, there was much to interest a pious mind. "But," as the writer last quoted adds, "the interior delights of the habitation of the Hebrew were invisible to the Polytheist. He heard not the domestic salutation which cheerfully announced 'the good Sabbath,' nor the paternal benediction for the sons, and that of the master for his pupils. He could not behold, in the twilight hour of the Sabbath, the female covering the fresh loaves, prepared for that sanctified day, with her whitest napkins, in perpetual remembrance of that miraculous food which had fallen from Heaven on every day, save the Sabbath. He could not behold the mistress of the house watching the sun set, and then lighting up the



seven wicks of the lamp of the Sabbath, suspended during its consecration; a servile office performed by her own hand in atonement of the great mother of mankind. For oil to fill the Sabbath-lamp the mendicant implored an alms, which was as religiously given as it was religiously used. But the more secret illumination of the law on the Sabbath eve, as the Rabbins expressed it, bestowed a supernumerary soul on every Israelite. The sanctity felt through the Jewish abode on that day, was an unfailing renewal of the religious emotions of this pious race. Thus, in the busy circle of life, was there one immoveable point, where the weary rested, and the wealthy enjoyed a heavenly repose; and it was not without some truth that Leo of Modena, a philosophical Hebrew, called this day 'the Festival of the Sabbath.' "

The Christians not only rejoiced that the re-building of the temple could not proceed, but they had the satisfaction to know the apostate emperor never derived the benefits on which he calculated from their gratitude. Instead of affording him the assistance he had expected to receive in his war against Persia, as he marched through Mesopotamia, he had the mortification to find that many of them fled before the Romans to join the foe. They failed not to represent this as the return which might be looked for from an ungrateful God-forsaken race; and the sudden termination of Julian's career, as narrated in a former chapter, was proclaimed to be a mark of divine vengeance directed against the apostate, who could regard them with favour, and seek to restore them to a position in the family of nations, which by flagrant unpardonable transgressions they had forfeited for ever.

The emperor Jovian succeeded Julian. He had been brought up a soldier, and was among the chief attendants of Julian, when he was suddenly called upon to preside over the destinies of Rome. He had been educated as a Christian, and had so little of the courtier in his nature, that while Julian laboured to establish paganism, he offered to retire rather than change his faith. Julian had a high opinion of his merit as a commander, and objected to his retirement on such grounds. He allowed him to retain his post without abandoning his religion. Having concluded a peace with Persia, he hastened to undo all that Julian had done against Christianity, and for a time shut up the heathen temples. The Christian clergy, who had been banished, were recalled; and on reaching Antioch, he further manifested his approbation of the orthodox doctrine by restoring the churches to all the adherents of the council of Nice. He nevertheless abstained from treating with undue severity those who differed from him in matters of faith; and when general tranquillity prevailed in the empire, he proved his love of toleration by issuing a decree which permitted, with some reasonable limitations, all the exercises of pagan worship.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Arius distinguishes himself by his eloquence and austere life.—He becomes a priest, is restored, and again excommunicated.—A schism is created, which the emperor Constantine in vain attempts to end. The Christian world is divided between the Homousians and the Homoiousians.—The followers of Arius are pursued with great severity.—He is recalled from banishment.—Preparations are made for readmitting him into the church.—He dies suddenly.—He leaves behind an exposition of his creed.—The Arians hold Christ to have been created, not begotten, and therefore a creature, but unlike all other creatures.—Confusion is excited, which leads to violence.*

It was in the earlier part of the fourth century, that Arius undertook to enlighten mankind with his opinions. This celebrated person was born in Lybia, or according to some writers, in Alexandria, and became a priest at a rather advanced period of life. His eloquence and austere manners caused him to be looked up to with admiration and reverence. In his earlier years he was probably of the school of Lucian of Antioch, who favoured the opinions of Paul of Samosata. He was appointed deacon by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, but subsequently excommunicated, because he expressed disapprobation of the treatment of Milletius and his adherents. After the martyrdom of Peter he was restored to his deaconry by Achillas, the next bishop, and also admitted to a presbytery. About the year 320, having engaged in a contest with Alexander, the successor of Achillas, who in the first instance had been very favourable to him, he was again excommunicated. He was even expelled from Alexandria. Such a violent schism arose that the emperor Constantine attempted to reconcile the controversialists, but in vain. Each had his party; and between these religionists claiming to be Christians, and only striving in the cause of truth, the utmost extravagances of "the madness of party" were witnessed and deplored. It was this caused the council of Nice to be assembled, in order to decide whether the Logos, or only begotten Son of God, was of the same substance with the Father. The council adopted a resolution, but could not settle the question. It decided that Christ was consubstantial with the Father, but doing so, the grave personages composing it left the case as much in doubt as ever. The Christians of that period did not share the satisfaction and admiration which Dryden proclaimed he felt for general councils while bursting into the apostrophe—

"Gracious God! how well dost thou provide  
For human weakness an unerring guide,"

The Christian world was, for a long period after the council had closed its labours, divided into two classes, the Homousians and Homoiousians. The doctrine of Arius being condemned, and he himself banished to Illyricum, all his books were ordered to be burnt; and those who preserved any of them, after the issuing of this edict, were liable to be punished with death. This



severity the emperor soon regarded as excessive. It is, indeed, said that his sister, in her last illness, was gained over to Arius, who was now declared to have been misrepresented by his enemies, and recalled from banishment; and on his declaring it to be his belief that "the Son was begotten of the Father before all ages," without making any acknowledgment of consubstantiality, he was recommended to, and received by, the bishops of the church of Jerusalem. Though readmitted into the Christian community, he did not long enjoy this change in his fortunes. Preparations were ordered to be made for re-admitting him into the church of Constantinople, when he died suddenly. His enemies represented this to have been a proof that his principles were offensive in the sight of Heaven. The editor of Mosheim, on viewing all the circumstances, comes to the conclusion that Arius was poisoned.

It will easily be conceived, that the Jews saw with pleasure the fatal divisions which were thus created in the Christian church. The sentiments really professed by Arius have come down to us in his own words. Writing to Eusebius of Nicomedia, he thus expresses himself. "We cannot assent to the expressions always Father always Son, at the same time Father and Son; that the Son always co-exists with the Father; that the Father has no pre-existence before the Son, not so much as in thought, or a moment. We think and teach that the Son is not unbegotten, nor a part of the unbegotten, by any means. Neither is he made out of any pre-existing things, but, by the will and pleasure of the Father, he existed before time the only begotten God unchangeable; and that before he was begotten, or made, or designed, or founded, he was not." But he proceeded, "We are persecuted because we say that the Son has a beginning, and that God has no beginning. For this we are persecuted, because we say that the Son is out of nothing, which we therefore say, because he is not a part of God, nor made out of any pre-existing thing." In a letter to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, he further says, "We believe that there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. God, the cause of all things, is alone without beginning, as he is without end. The Son, begotten of the Father before time, and made before ages commenced their course and were founded, was not before he was begotten. Nor is he eternal, or co-eternal, or begotten at the same time with the Father." A council sat in Jerusalem in the year 335, to which the creed of Arius was presented. It ran thus: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in the Lord Jesus Christ, his son, begotten by the most high before all ages; God, the word by whom all things were made which are in heaven and in earth, who came down and was incarnate, and suffered and rose again, and ascended to the heavens, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; the resurrections of the flesh; and life of the world to come and the kingdom of heaven; in one Catholic Church of God extending itself from one end of the earth to the other."

It would appear, "the Arians believed that Christ was the word of God, and was in the beginning with God; but was not the self-existent God, with whom he was in the beginning; but his son created by spirit, and thereby became his only son, by whom he created all other beings;

and that when he came down from heaven to inhabit the body which was prepared for him by means of the blessed virgin, this superangelical spirit was alone the soul that animated and informed it. The opinions of the Arians as rendered by Dr. Cave represent the sect to have believed the divine substance of the most High, to have been unbegotten, and to have existed from all eternity; they distinguished it from the Son, who was begotten, as they contended, and had a beginning. On the contrary, the antagonist sect, the Athenasians, proclaimed the Father and the Son to be of the same substance, meaning thereby of the same *generical* substance, as two men may be described to be of the same substance; they also believed the substance of the Father to be indivisible and uncompounded. They could not believe the son to be generated of or from it in any literal sense, either as compounded with it or divided from it; and hence they concluded that the generation of the Son was figurative, and not a participation of substance, but a creation, as the word creation is commonly used in the Bible with respect to mankind; and theory confirmed this by referring to the twenty-second verse, the eighth chapter of Proverbs: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning or ever the earth was." They believed it blasphemous to say that this generation was out of the indivisible substance of the Father, and that no other substance existed. He subsists not, they said, of or from the Father, but from nothing, and he is not of the Father's substance, for he is created and made. As the Arians believed the Father and the Son to be of a different substance, and separately existing as distinct beings, they agreed with Origen, Gregory, Nyssen, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus the Martyr, Damascus, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Alexander of Alexandria, while they differed from others of the fathers, who held the Son to be of the Father's substance, as the leaf may be of the substance of the tree. Holding Christ to be the only-begotten Son of God, because he only was created by the immediate act and power of God himself, and that all other beings, the Holy Ghost not excepted, were created by Christ. They called him a creature, but held that he was unlike all other creatures, as they believed him to have been created before all ages, and to have been the divine person spoken of in the Proverbs. They believed that the Son, descending from heaven, and born of the Virgin Mary, was the only intelligent spirit that animated the body of Christ, and that this divine being suffered on the cross. The orthodox Christians held that the spirit which animated the mortal form of Christ was incapable of suffering, and that it was only the human nature of Christ that really suffered. As the Arians believed Christ to be the son of the only true God, and not himself the only true God and father of that son, it was consistent with their belief to say he is not the true God. They were, however, careful to explain they meant not to deny that he was truly God the Son. The distinctions drawn by the rival teachers were such as to confuse their hearers; and they were soon moved in order to put an end to their own perplexity, to put down all who differed from them, not by argument and by persuasion, but by cruel compulsion and savage violence.



CHAP. XX.

*Jovian is succeeded by Valens and Valentinian.—Magicians are sought for, and those suspected of using magical arts are punished.—Judaism and paganism are tolerated by Valentinian.—The Jews are not exempted from serving certain offices.—St. Ambrose appears.—He is elected bishop of Milan, in consequence of a supposed miraculous interference from Heaven.—A council is assembled at Aquileia.—Symmachus defends paganism.—He is opposed by Ambrose, who boldly denounces idolatry.—He is accused of insubordination.—The people rise in his defence.*

JOVIAN'S brief reign reached its termination, and Valens and Valentinian succeeded jointly to his power. Valens had been converted to Christianity by Eudoxus, the Arian bishop of Constantinople. To prove sincere attachment to one creed, it was in those days judged necessary to persecute another. Valens accordingly, desiring to shew that he was a good Arian, pursued the Athanasians with unsparing rigour. He shared in the prevailing belief that magicians existed, and mingled with ordinary men, and visited with great severity those who were accused of resorting to the arts of divination to discover the name of the sovereign who should next ascend the throne. On slight grounds many persons were subjected to torture, and several were put to death. Valentinian was disposed to take a somewhat more liberal course. He, however, joined with his brother Valens to denounce magical rites, and punished those who were said to use them; but he was content to allow the pagans to worship their idols, and the Jews to regulate their conduct by the law of Moses. Avarice and luxury had already begun to prevail among the clergy: these evils Valentinian attempted, with a violent but not sufficiently powerful hand, to suppress. Among his peculiarities, it may be mentioned that he took to himself two wives, and issued an imperial edict allowing all his subjects to do the same.

The two emperors soon differed. Valentinian saw the importance of restoring the ancient constitution of the empire; but paganism, even with a view to revive the greatness of the empire, could not be recalled. Valentinian approved of the doctrine attempted to be established by the Council of Nice; while Valens favoured that of Arius. He gave the Jews liberty of conscience, and restored to their patriarchs privileges of which they had been deprived in former reigns; but, on the other hand, he refused to excuse them from serving certain offices, to exemption from which they laid claim, by issuing a decree to the following effect:—"The edict under which the Jews flatter themselves that they have a right to claim exemption from serving certain offices, is by these presents revoked and annulled; for the clergy are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God till they have first paid that which they owe to their country; and whoever desires to give himself up wholly to the worship

of the Almighty, is required to furnish a suitable person to act as his substitute in all public offices." While Valens made this show of liberality, his thoughts turned more to the extinction of paganism than to encouraging the worship of Jehovah. During the whole of his reign the Jews assembled in their synagogues, and, unmolested, raised their voices to solicit the favour of the God of their fathers. Idacius, a priest, born in Spain, who was bishop of Chaves, was careful to order that the feasts in honour of Jupiter and Ceres should be celebrated with all the accustomed pomp; while at Antioch and Alexandria the Jews united with the pagans in the orgies of Bacchus. Through the reign of this Christian emperor, men dressed in the skins of tigers from India traversed the populous cities of Asia to celebrate the rites of Bacchus, which certain philosophers of the reign of Julian had undertaken to identify with Moses and Joshua.

There nevertheless exists in the code of Justinian several laws said to have been framed in the time of Valens and Valentinian, and in that of Gratian, which sufficiently mark a spirit of impartiality, but, at the same time, of persecution, affecting the synagogue. We have quoted one requiring them to take upon themselves certain offices. Other proofs of the existence of the feeling we have described can be given. A military prefect, writing to the emperors Valens and Valentinian, to complain that the asylum of the synagogue had been violated, and that criminals had been there pursued; the writer calls for the right of asylum in temples to be vindicated and maintained as by law established. In the code of Justinian, the question having been asked how with respect to sacred largesses falling off, a person holding an office of importance shall be punished, in the event of his embracing Judaism? The reply is, confiscate his goods, and deprive him of his seals, or the insignia of his office, and let him thenceforth be incapable of willing property away, and of receiving a legacy under the will of another. The charge against the party, however, or rather against his will, was to be made within five years of his death, or it could not be pursued.

Valentinian still lived, when one of those commanding spirits which at various periods of history have given the Christian church immense authority, and its prelates such power, that sovereigns and their subjects have, with like humility, bowed before them, appeared in the person of St. Ambrose. He is reported to have sprung from a noble family of Roman origin, and was born about the year 335 or 340. His father resided at Arles, and was prætorian prefect of Gaul. Ambrose received a liberal education, and was taught by his mother to reverence the Christian religion. A dispute arising between the Arians and Catholics, the question being from which sect a bishop should be elected to fill the see of Milan, St. Ambrose stepped forward and proposed to settle the difference at once, by placing himself in the vacant chair. His eloquence commanded attention, and at the close an infant voice was heard to utter the words, "Ambrose is bishop." This was regarded as almost a miraculous interference of Heaven in his favour, and he was instantly elected by acclamation. The civil magistrate, who perhaps had reason to believe that the infant exclamation was neither miraculous nor even accidental, objected to the decision



which, however, Valentinian was prevailed upon to confirm, and Ambrose was duly ordained, his advancement being described as "a divine election," and as "the peculiar work of God."

Though his previous habits and education had little prepared him for the high office thus conferred upon him, careful study and a powerful mind soon gained fame as a prelate. He commenced by giving his money to the poor, and by settling the great bulk of his property on the church, while the care of his house and family he committed to a brother. Though Justina, the mother of Valentinian, had disposed him to favour Christianity, she was avowedly an Arian, and, consequently, her opinions were now at variance with those of the orthodox bishop. To settle the differences which divided the Catholics and the Arians, it was proposed to call a general council. This was postponed for some time through the influence of Ambrose; but one was at length summoned at his suggestion, and met at Aquileia. Here he attacked the Arians and Pagans with equal determination. On that occasion Symmachus, a rich and eloquent senator, stood forward as the champion of the ancient religion of Rome. This person had been instructed by his brother worshippers of Jupiter, in the year 384, to present a petition which prayed for the restoration of the altar of Victory to its ancient place in the hall of the senate, and that part of the public funds should be set apart for the support of the seven vestal virgins, and their religious ceremonies. To the eloquence of Symmachus, Ambrose opposed all his powers, insisting that it was the duty of Christians to resist every attempt to renew the observances of the heathen world, which it was then time to put away for ever. At this date the Arians seem to have been more powerful than the adherents of the ancient religion of the state, and they were supported by the Emperor Valentinian and his mother. They demanded from the bishop the use of two churches, one in the city and one in the suburbs, which he peremptorily refused, declaring that the palaces of the earth belonged to Cæsar, but the temples of religion to God, and within the limits of his diocese, he, as the successor of the apostles, was the only true minister of God.

The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the orthodox believers; and Ambrose appears to have been satisfied that his standard was that of truth. With an air of the most perfect devotion, he declared it to be his fixed resolve to die a martyr's death, rather than perpetrate the dreadful sacrilege of giving up the temple of the Almighty to heretics. The mother of Valentinian considered this refusal was an act, not merely of disobedience, but of rebellion; and as she wished to perform her devotions in public, at the approaching festival of Easter, according to the usages of the Arians, Ambrose was called upon to vindicate his conduct before the emperor and his council.

Ambrose fearlessly obeyed the summons. He had indeed little cause for alarm, for the people were so universally with him, that tumultuous crowds in a state of wild excitement followed his steps, with such manifestations of violence and determination, that the ministers

of Valentinian were alarmed, not only for the peace of the city, but for their master's safety and their own. In such a situation they did not think it beneath their dignity to ask the accused to use his influence in behalf of his sovereign. He probably stilled the tempest, and expected that his will would thenceforth be no longer resisted. But when the apprehensions were allayed, which had made his adversaries his suitors, they felt themselves at liberty to proceed according to their former views; and the officers of the household received directions to prepare for the followers of Arius the Portian church and the Basilica, which were immediately to be graced with the presence of Valentinian and Justina.

This was the cause of great disorders. The emperor and his mother when passing to church required a strong body-guard; and such of the Arian ecclesiastics as were recognised in the streets were attacked with fury, and narrowly escaped with their lives.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Affecting to soothe Ambrose keeps up the popular excitement.—In this he succeeds.—He declares himself ready to die as a martyr.—The people he affirms can only be restrained by the Almighty.—An attempt is made to seize a church for the Arians.—Ambrose repels the intruders.—By various acts he increases his popularity.—The skeletons of two saints Ambrose claims to have discovered.—Miracles are pretended to be performed by approaching them.—Ambrose, employed as an envoy, fails in his mission to Maximus, who enters Milan.—Ambrose boldly reproves the brutality of the invaders.—Valentinian is restored, by Theodosius.—A synagogue which had been destroyed is ordered to be re-built.—Ambrose opposes the emperor's will.—He causes severities which had been abated to be resumed against the Jews.—A tumultuary rising in Thessalonica causes many lives to be lost.—Ambrose condemns the cruelty of the emperor Theodosius.—Valentinian is assassinated.—St. Ambrose dies.—New disorders occur.—St. Jerome appears.*

AMBROSE might be eloquent in the pulpit, and as sincere as he was eloquent; but his conduct seems out of doors to have evinced all the artifice and address of an accomplished demagogue. While affecting the purest loyalty, and sharply rebuking the angry expressions of the crowd—while affecting to sooth their indignation, he sedulously laboured to sustain and inflame it. In the speeches he immediately addressed to the people, he exhorted them to render "obedience to the powers that be," but in his sermons he artfully touched on topics which he knew were well calculated to fan each latent spark of sedition into a flame. He directed their attention especially to the hostility of Justina, and descanted on the sins of Jezebel and other hateful female offenders mentioned in Scripture, and likened the ex-



atement now made to allow the Arians a free exercise of their worship, to the most abominable idolatry and diabolical persecution which the world had seen. The effect produced was that which he expected and desired; and again Valentinian and his court seemed at his mercy. He was solicited to comply with the will of his sovereign, and restore peace to his country. His reply was worthy of a stage martyr. "My duty," said he, "is to pursue a simple and straightforward course: do you claim my patrimony, which has been set apart for the poor? Take it. Do you demand my person to carry it to prison or to death? I unhesitatingly submit; but ask me not to betray the church of Christ, for to that I never will consent. Still obedient to my sovereign, I submit to your faith: I will not call upon the thousands who offer their homage to defend me, but rather than desert it I will die at the altar of God." He further declared that "he would not encourage violence among the people; but it was in the power of the Almighty alone to appease the tumult."

The insincerity of Ambrose was very well understood by those about Valentinian, and they resolved not to be thus held in check by an overbearing priest. They determined on seizing the Basilica; and a body of Arians as zealous and as infuriated as their opponent, put forward a party of ferocious Goths to advance against their building. Undaunted amidst the storm, Ambrose met them on the threshold. His manner overawed them, while he haughtily demanded by what authority they presumed to invade the house of God. At the same time he solemnly fulminated a threat of excommunication. Confounded by his daring attitude, and appalled by his menaces, the intruders shrunk back from the enterprise to which they had rashly committed themselves, almost expecting that vengeance from heaven would descend on the heads of those who had dared to affront its chosen minister. Under these circumstances Justina for the present abandoned her purpose; but she still bore in mind resentfully the conduct of Ambrose. It however led to the issue of an edict of general toleration in favour of the professors of Arianism. Ambrose was banished from Milan, but permitted to retire wherever he pleased, and to be accompanied by as many attendants as he thought proper to name. He deemed it a severe sentence, refused to submit to it, and was supported in this line of conduct by the people, who carefully guarded his palace by night and by day. He was studious by every means in his power to secure their attachment; his liberality caused the indigent to adhere to him, and some clever deceptions, passed off as miracles, succeeded with the wealthier class. Among other expedients to swell his own fame for sanctity, was the discovery of the remains of two illustrious martyrs. Beneath the floor of his church Gervasius and Protasius had slumbered for centuries. The industry of Ambrose brought their perfect skeletons before his congregation; their heads severed from their bodies, and exhibiting various stains of blood. Such a display at that period was well calculated to fall in with the humour of the crowd; and the relics thus unexpectedly produced were regarded with the most profound veneration. Soon it was reported and believed, that the sainted re-

mains were possessed of the most wonder-working powers, and those who were afflicted with mortal disease approaching them might be instantly healed. One man, it was said, recovered his sight by only touching the bier on which the skeletons rested. To these miracles, Ambrose failed not to refer in his sermons; and the credulous people were fully persuaded that the wonders of which they were told were founded in truth. At a later period of his life, Ambrose was sent to Maximus from Valentinian as an envoy, to dissuade him from crossing the Alps. He failed in his mission; shortly afterwards, Maximus triumphantly entered Milan, and Valentinian and his mother were compelled to seek for safety in flight. This brings us to the grandest scenes of the life of Ambrose. While his sovereign abandoned the country, Ambrose remained at his post; he feared not to meet and to reprove the disorders and brutality of the victors, and ordered the church plate to be sold to relieve the distressed. The friendship and success of Theodosius restored Valentinian to his throne; and shortly afterwards, in 388, intelligence was received that a rabble, encouraged and directed by a party of monks, had risen with great violence at Callinicum, a town in the frontier of Persia, and burnt to the ground a Jewish synagogue. The authorities of the province having learnt that the outrage was sanctioned by a bishop, ordered that he should rebuild it, or indemnify the Jews for the expense of its re-erection. Theodosius thought this but reasonable, and confirmed the order of the magistrate. Just and reasonable as his decision was, Ambrose considered it to involve the blackest guilt. A letter which he wrote to the emperor is preserved, in which he certainly does anything but dissemble the holy indignation which fired him. "The words of a priest," he writes to Theodosius, "cannot displease your Clemency; I therefore take upon myself to remark on the strange judgment which has sentenced a Christian bishop, and the pontiffs of the church, to contribute to the restoration of a synagogue. Have you reflected on the melancholy situation in which this places them? If they obey your orders, they forget the most sacred duties imposed by religion; if, on the other hand, they refuse obedience, they set themselves up in rebellion against your supreme decrees. Do you not remember that Marcus of Arethusa preferred submitting his sacred head to the executioner rather than contribute, in the time of the Emperor Julian, to the re-establishment of the temple of Apollo and the profane groves of Daphne? The imputed crimes of the bishop of Callinicum I take upon myself; I am guilty; strike. I loudly proclaim, if I have not pulled down the synagogues in Milan, it was only because it was the will of God to strike them himself. They are fallen, not one of them now remains in my diocese. A cry is raised against the disorders excited by monks, and the evils which follow in their train; but the duties of religion would speak still more loudly to devout minds. Do they in other places restore the temples of Christ, which were destroyed by the Jews during the reign of the apostate? Christian houses and Christian churches are still found in a ruinous state at Nazareth and Alexandria; and, while Jesus is not avenged, ought such



extreme care to be used to afford satisfaction to the synagogue? The Jews have burnt Christian altars with impunity; they have degraded the baptismal font, and have not been compelled to make reparation; yet it is determined to force a bishop, and with him a Christian people, to rebuild the synagogues of an obscure town on the extreme eastern frontier. This is one effect more of the malice of the Jews, which has pursued Christians to prison, and inflicted other punishments. Already we hear these incorrigible sinners against Heaven rejoicing in our woe. They will boast that their temples have been enriched by our spoils, as in former days the capitol was by the treasures of the Cymbrians and of the barbarians. Reflect on what is now submitted. These words, which are now solemnly addressed to you, will accuse your reign at the bar of posterity, and your soul at that of the eternal Judge, who disposes of crowns, and who will one day do justice on all the wrongdoers of the earth." Besides writing thus, Ambrose publicly addressed the emperor from the pulpit; nor would he consent to offer the oblation on the altar till Theodosius had made a solemn declaration, which secured impunity for the bishops and monks who were implicated in the riots at Callinicum.

The Jews had great reason to dread the resentment and the eloquence of Ambrose. Theodosius, when the saint was no longer near, was not inclined to molest them. They had been parted about five years, when the emperor deemed it politic to shew them greater toleration. He permitted the free exercise of their religion, and condemned the violence of those who had destroyed their synagogue. Ambrose returned, and severity was resumed.

In Thessalonica a rising of the populace took place, in which a commander named Botheric, and several principal officers of the Roman army, lost their lives. Incensed at this, the emperor, by the advice of Rusinus, his minister, issued an order for a general massacre of the inhabitants. The cruel mandate was obeyed; and for three hours an unarmed and defenceless people, without regard to age or sex, to innocence or guilt, were put to the sword. By some writers it is said fifteen thousand lives were in this way sacrificed; and the most moderate calculation is, that nearly half that number of victims were offered to the manes of Botheric. One touching feature of the scene deserves to be remembered, to shew what horrors are witnessed where the fury of an army is freed from the restraint of discipline. It is told that a foreign merchant, who was not proved to be in any way concerned in the outrage which had cost Botheric his life, offered his own person, and all his property, to ransom one of his sons. Those to whom he made this appeal permitted him for some moments to hope that his prayer would be granted, but while he hesitated which of two objects equally dear to him to save, the brutal soldiers who encompassed him plunged their daggers at the same moment in the bosoms of both the helpless youths, in the presence of their distracted father. Ambrose was in some instances sufficiently devoid of feeling; but this touching case awakened his pride and humanity in an extraordinary degree. He heard of the melancholy catastrophe with

sorrow; and hastening to the presence of Theodosius, boldly told his sovereign that the vengeance of Heaven would pursue the bloody deed. He warned him not to aggravate the guilt which was already his, by receiving the holy eucharist with hands stained with the blood of an innocent people; and when Theodosius would have approached the church of Milan, he stopped him on his way, and assuming the lofty tone of an accredited ambassador from Heaven, warned him against entering the sacred edifice till he had made a public acknowledgment of the crime he had committed, as private contrition, however sincere, was insufficient to appease a justly offended God. The emperor attempted to defend himself; "And why," said he, "am I thus restrained? was not David, the man after God's own heart, proved to have committed both murder and adultery." "Be it so," Ambrose fearlessly answered, "you have but too well imitated David in his crime, now imitate him in his repentance and humiliation." The commanding dignity of his manner seemed to invest his person with supernatural grandeur at that moment. His air was determined and sublime; and the proud emperor quailed before him. He consented to make every submission which the church could require, and Ambrose did not spare the imperial offender. Eight months elapsed before he was absolved and restored to the privileges of Christian communion; and during that period he was compelled to do penance in public.

Shorn of all the ornaments which belonged to his high office, the emperor presented himself in a melancholy and suppliant posture in the church of Milan, there to solicit pardon from the Most High, for the sin which he had committed; and he signed an edict, enjoining that a space of thirty days should pass before any sentence of death or confiscation and its execution should take effect. After the assassination of Valentinian, A. D. 392, the empire of the west was usurped by the ignoble Eugenius. Ambrose, with a laudable resolution, refused to enter into an alliance with the usurper, and withdrew from Milan; but when the empire was regained by Theodosius, he generously interceded with the emperor for the pardon of the adherents of Eugenius. Ambrose did not long survive Theodosius, whose funeral obsequies he performed; but after a short illness, in which his mind was perfectly composed, and which afforded him an opportunity of declaring to his friends "that he had not conducted himself so among them as to be either ashamed to live or afraid to die," he departed this life in April, A. D. 397.

More need not be said to prove that the ascendancy which this prelate gained over the minds of his contemporary Christians was sustained with courage worthy of his fame. When the emperor approached the sacred edifice, the bitter reproaches which he breathed, directed as they were to reprove the misconduct and sanguinary violence of Theodosius, filled every listener with awe. The emperor, standing like a culprit before him, presumed not to interrupt the daring preacher; and when the bishop had left his episcopal throne, he only ventured to say, and the latent meaning of his words was sufficiently sarcastic, that he "would willingly abate the severity of his edicts, if turbulent monks would



promise not to leave the desert, and consent to reside there in perpetual solitude."

The courageous deportment of St. Ambrose proves that the opinion of the great body of the Christians was still more on the side of impassioned zeal than the laws of Theodosius and the principles of his government. In a society containing few regular institutions, and in which a religion had sprung up and flourished, which exercised a powerful influence over the multitude, wise resolutions of monarchs were often overthrown by the tumultuous excitement of the populace. From this cause it results that the situation of the Jews was not always such as it ought to have been by law; and while the intolerant hand of some Christians spared neither the temples of the gods of Olympus nor their statues in gold and ivory, the modest synagogue of the Israelite was not judged entitled to greater respect or forbearance. Neither the rescripts of the sovereign nor the vigilance of the magistrates could always arrest in time the wild enthusiasm and the extravagant zeal of the bishops and the people.

But while that invincible irritation was kept up between Jews and Christians, some enlightened men, scorning the prejudices of the vulgar, refused to renounce the connexion which the origin and the traditions common to both religions often rendered necessary, if not unavoidable. In his commentaries on the prophet Jeremiah, St. Jerome proclaimed to the Christian world that he had invoked the light and the intelligence of a Rabbin, in order to obtain a proper knowledge of the Scriptures. On the character of this distinguished member of the Christian community it will be necessary somewhat to enlarge.

## CHAP. XXI.

*St. Jerome is born of Christian parents.—He studies at Rome, visits foreign parts, and returns to Italy.—He visits the east, and establishes himself in the deserts of Syria.—He proceeds to Antioch and Constantinople.—Jerome again resides in Rome, and superintends a religious sisterhood.—He revisits the East.—He proves a fierce disputant.—He gains an exact knowledge of the Scripture from a Jew.—Pursuing such a course, abates the hostility which had existed between Christians and Jews.—The fathers of the Christian church draw their arguments and examples from the Jewish history.—Ambrose opposes the rebuilding of Jewish places of worship.—He is more entitled to praise for his courage than for his benevolence.*

JEROME, or Saint Jerome, as he is generally called, was born of Christian parents, at Stridon, in the vicinity of Dalmatia and Panonina, about the year 340. Some writers date his birth ten years earlier, and others make it one or two later than that period. He studied grammar and literature generally, at Rome, and was living in that city when the Emperor Julian died. While there, he applied himself to rhetoric with success, and laid the foundation of that intimate knowledge of theology and ecclesiastical history, and also of the Hebrew language,

by which he was distinguished in after life. He visited Gaul and Aquileia. Thence he returned to Italy, having formed an extensive library. From Italy he went to the east, as was the fashion with the pious in that day. In humble imitation of John the Baptist, he established himself in the deserts of Syria, occasionally making his appearance at Antioch and Constantinople. In the year 378 he was ordained Presbyter by Paulinus; but in accepting that office he stipulated that he should not be confined to one church, nor be drawn away from the monastic life which he deemed so important to the successful prosecution of his studies. His mental labour, and the self-denial which he practised, impaired his constitution, and he returned to Antioch, for change of scene and needful repose to recruit his health. At this period he affected such moderation, that finding the church distracted by contending parties, he declined mixing himself up with their disputes till he had obtained a letter from Damasus, bishop of Rome, which determined him to espouse the cause of Paulinus. He was established for some time in Bethlehem, whence, having been ordained, he journeyed to Constantinople with a view of profiting from the lessons of Gregory Nazianzen. Great in his opinion were the advantages which he derived through this step, as from Gregory he gained, as he declared, the means of understanding the Scriptures. In the year 382 he went to Rome with Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, and Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in the island of Cyprus. He became secretary to Damasus, who was then Pope. In that situation he conducted various negociations which had for their object the extension of the papal power. Among other matters, he superintended a society of Roman ladies, the model, perhaps, of those associations, or sisterhoods, which afterwards spread all over Italy and through surrounding nations—ladies who desired to withdraw from the world that they might wholly devote themselves to God. His conduct gave Damasus perfect satisfaction; but he is believed to have incurred the ill-will of the connections of the females, many of whom, carried away by the enthusiasm of the hour, had descended from eminent stations, and withdrawn their wealth from their families, to bury themselves within the walls of a convent. Jerome also made himself enemies by criticising with severity the corrupt and dissipated lives of the clergy, which then, as in every age, offered a tempting theme to the eloquence of a sincere reformer. Nor was he sparing of the vices of the people at large. He reprov'd them with bitterness; and while this gave general offence, his opposing the opinions of Origen, which he had formerly applauded, and even translated into Latin, increased the clamour raised against him. He was assailed on all hands, and charged with leading an impure life himself, while he was severely denouncing the vices of others. At that time he resided in the house of a female, named Paula, a descendant of Paulus Æmilius, and with her he was reported to have formed an improper intimacy. No proof was ever given that this charge was well founded. She appears to have been attached to him from piety, or from love of learning, for which she herself was celebrated; and when he, to escape the annoyances to which he was exposed at Rome,



sailed for Antioch, and went to Jerusalem, Paula, with her daughter Eristochium, followed him to Cyprus, to Antioch, and to Egypt, and at Bethlehem presided over a religious establishment which Jerome had founded. Many of his former followers repaired to the place last mentioned, and here he became the head of a monastery, and in this retreat his days would have been passed in peace had not the habits of a controversialist, and his intemperate detestation of the opinions propagated by Origen, denied him that repose which his advanced age required.

Charity was one of the virtues which he revered. When the ravages of the Goths compelled multitudes to seek a refuge from their violence in the Holy Land, his monastery afforded many of them a hospitable shelter; but such was the rancorous feeling of this champion of the faith against a religious adversary, that he peremptorily refused all relief to those who favoured the doctrines of Origen. He is said, when once roused, to have treated his adversaries with the coarsest insolence; and no satire was too keen,—no abuse too virulent for the learned and pious tongue of this accomplished saint. His devotion to the acquisition of knowledge could not be surpassed. Of himself he reports that “he had been from the beginning diligent and inquisitive; that all his days he had been employed in the schools of rhetoricians and philosophers, or in reading the Scriptures, both the Old and New Testament; that besides Latin and Greek, he had endeavoured to make himself master of Hebrew; that he did not wholly rely upon his own judgment and understanding in interpreting the Bible, but consulted other commentators, and was willing to improve himself by their labours; that he never thought himself too old to learn, but embraced all opportunities of increasing in knowledge; that he was not employed, as many monks were, in making baskets of rushes, and screens of palm leaves, to get a livelihood, but in studying the Scriptures and putting out correct editions of them. In his youth given up to the profound study of the Latin language, admiring the beautiful verses of Horace, and the eloquence of Cicero, he had neglected to study closely the lives of the saints, and the antiquities of the Hebrews in the original tongue. At a later period of life, he resolved to impose upon himself the laborious task of acquiring the Chaldean and the Hebrew languages, and it was this which caused him to call to his aid a learned Jewish Rabbin of great celebrity. Day and night he laboured like a galley slave to accomplish his object. He became the intimate friend of a Jew at Tiberias, who was deeply read in the learned languages. After the sabbath the anxious and devoted master went to borrow the most perfect Hebraic versions of the Scriptures, and under pretence of reading and making comments on them, he communicated them to his beloved disciple. It was by such means that Jerome succeeded in giving the world a translation from an incontestably pure copy, the Paralipomena (supplement or collection of things omitted), and that the book of Job, full of figurative expressions and Chaldean words, gained a true interpretation in the Christian church. Jerome was fortunate in finding an Israelite who would thus commu-

nicate, to one not of his own nation, that which was not only of vast importance, but was approached with such reverence, “that the doctors,” says the author of ‘*Curiosities of Literature*,’ “ordained that whoever touched the book of the law must not eat of the truma (first fruits of the wrought produce of the ground), till they had washed their hands. The reason they gave was this. In times of persecution they used to hide those sacred books in secret places, and good men would lay them out of the way when they had done reading them. It was possible that these rolls of the law might be gnawed by mice. The hands then that touched these books when they took them out of the places where they had laid them up were supposed to be unclean, so far as to disable them from eating the truma till they were washed. On that account they made this a general rule, that if any part of the Bible (except Ecclesiastes, because that excellent book their sagacity accounted less holy than the rest) or their phylacteries, or the strings of their phylacteries, were touched by one who had a right to eat the truma, he might not eat it till he had washed his hands.” This ceremony it should seem was to guard against the virtue contained in the sacred pages being communicated to any indifferent object, a matter obviously of infinitely less importance than the wholesale gift of their contents to one not of the race of Abraham.

The studies to which St. Jerome so ardently devoted himself were not uncommon among Christian bishops and priests; and they had the effect of erecting something like an amicable feeling between them and the synagogue. Most of the works and homilies from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian were founded on the Old Testament; thence the most zealous champions of Christianity have drawn all their noblest examples, and all their most striking lessons. To combat the heresies of the Manichæans and others, St. Augustine calls attention to the magnificent picture of the creation, as it is handed down to us in Genesis, and as it was originally transmitted to the Children of Israel. St. John Chrysostom encourages the faithful by the prodigies effected by the youthful David, and the workings of God’s providence by referring to the reign of queen Esther at the court of Ahasuerus. They encouraged every virtue by examples drawn from the Bible; and the most important lessons are founded on passages in the writings of the prophets. Sometimes the traditions of the Jews and the words of Scripture were employed against the synagogue itself; and it may cause a smile of astonishment to the philosophic observer, when he finds that to induce Theodosius to revoke the edict which ordered the Christians to rebuild the Jewish temples of worship which they had destroyed, St. Ambrose contrasts the conduct of the emperor with the piety of Solomon, who built a house for the Lord of all, instead of re-erecting idolatrous temples; at the same time declaring, if the edict complained of were acted upon, the appropriate inscription for the Jewish place of worship would be, “A temple of ungodliness, built out of the plunder taken from the Christians.”

Acting thus in opposition to a Roman emperor unquestionably proves that his intrepidity was great; but



his warmest admirers must give their praise to the courage of the man rather than to the benevolence of the saint.

CHAP. XXIII.

*The Jews are protected against arbitrary imposts.—*

*They are exempted from personal servitude.—Synagogues destroyed by the populace are to be re-built, or value paid for them.—Though excluded from certain offices, the liberal professions are open to Jews.—They are admonished to treat the religion of the sovereign with respect.—The Jewish patriarch is restrained from interfering with matters not pertaining to religion.—The Jews could hold property, but not the apostate Christian.—A father might not utterly disinherit a son for embracing Christianity.—Slaves gained their liberty if subjected forcibly to circumcision.—The Christians in the western empire commit great outrages on heathens as well as Jews.—Christianity flourishes and Judaism declines.—Many Jews are baptised.*

THE legislation of Theodosius Honorius and Arcadius afforded the Jews some relief, as it placed them on the same footing as other subjects of the empire. Under the protection of the laws and of the public administration, their synagogues were secured against the zeal of the Christians and the avarice of the magistrates, as no law existed to prohibit the Jewish rites. On account of the sacred largesses the magistrates of a province could not legally under any pretext put arbitrary imposts on the Jews. If they ventured to do so, notwithstanding the law, they were liable to be punished for abusing the trust reposed in them; and in some cases, by the laws of Rome, such offenders were condemned to die.

It was also forbidden to the Roman people to insult the Hebrew patriarch with outrageous language. As the day of the sabbath is a time of repose for the synagogue, during that day it was ordered that the Jews should be exempted from all personal service. Every seditious or tumultuous outbreak of the Christians, which might attempt to burn or destroy the oratories of the Israelites, were directed to be severely punished. They were to restore even to the masters and to the Rabbins the synagogues of which they had been deprived; at least when the bishop had not already consecrated them. In the latter case their value was to be paid, or the community of the faithful was to furnish them with land on which other buildings like those which they had lost might be erected.

This protection of their rights and of their worship was all that the Israelites could claim. The magistrates would not call on them to fill lucrative or favourable offices in their courts, though often required to do so. They were necessarily excluded from the palace-guard; but they were free to exercise the liberal professions, and even to distinguish themselves by their eloquence at the bar. They were not to forget that it behoved them to manifest profound respect for the religion of the

prince, and to abstain from interrupting its worship by the noisy publicity of their ceremonies, such as the commemoration of the death of Haman; and they were cautioned to refrain from manifesting their joy in any case by acts that might alarm the members of the Catholic church, or disturb the public peace.

The careful surveillance the magistrates were expected to use to preserve order, did not extend itself to acts of jurisdiction over the synagogue with respect to the Jews, and therefore their illustrious patriarchs and their respectable primates could occupy themselves with the internal state of the oratories, and spare the magistrates the trouble of instituting any inquiry connected with their rites, and the appreciation of religious excommunications; but all the civil contests between the Hebrew patriarchs and the primates, which had at various times decided for the exercise of their own jurisdiction, were thenceforth to be referred to the ordinary tribunals of the empire, there to be disposed of according to the laws of the Romans. The establishment of this principle did not take from them the general faculty of deciding on their contentions by Jewish arbitrators, provided the sentence awarded was submitted to the approbation of the Prætor. All that was done in contravention of these rules, was to be regarded as usurpation. Thus the patriarch Gamaliel, who had seized on the prerogative of the Prætors, was admonished and restrained. He was reminded that his functions concentrated themselves in that which pertained exclusively to religion, and did not extend to police, to judicial, or to political arrangements.

The Jew might freely possess territory, property, and slaves, of which he could dispose at pleasure by sale or donation; it was the apostate alone who quitted Christianity to adore in the synagogue, who was altogether incapacitated from enjoying the rights of property. The Jew was not even deprived of power to make a last will and testament, a right which belonged to every Roman citizen; nevertheless, as there were grounds for fearing that in some cases an indignant father, carried away by religious animosity, might disinherit a son because he had embraced Christianity, it was provided that such a will should be null and void, and that all that portion of property should, in the case supposed, belong to the son, which would have come to him had the father died intestate. This nullifying principle was not to affect the enfranchisement of slaves; for liberty once obtained, through any deed, whatever it might be, could not thereafter be made dependent on the interpretation or validity of a will. The emperors, however, added, that if the father had just cause for disinheriting a son who had become a Christian, he must make that cause known. If, for example, an ungrateful son had spurned the paternal authority, given himself up to idle dissipation, and to a life of gross debauchery; or if he had refused to assist his father in his need, it was in that case free for the latter to disinherit him, provided, however, he allowed him a quarter of what he would otherwise have been entitled to, for the honour of religion.

If it were not permitted to the Christians to persecute Jews who were tolerated in the empire, it was necessary to guard against imprudent concessions that might too largely aggrandise Judaism. The apostate, therefore, would be severely punished; the slave that a Jewish



master had subjected to that Hebrew rite which was not recognised by the imperial laws, would immediately gain his freedom, even without having recourse to the ordinary form of enfranchisement, by going before the Prætor, at least if he had not willingly consented, and in that case he would only cease to belong to his Jewish master to become the property of the fiscal. It was for Christians to withdraw from the ceremonies of Judaism; bishops were to watch the priests, in order to guard against their becoming too closely connected with Israelitish society; to see that they did not assist at their passovers and public festivals. Synagogues and oratories which were thrown down by the lapse of time were not to be restored; but those which were demolished by any violent movement of the populace, were to be re-erected at the expense of the town or city, even though it consisted of a community of citizens, and notwithstanding a bishop might have favoured these disorders.

Such laws still preserved an air of wisdom and impartiality, but they were not uniformly carried fully into effect. The influence the clergy had over the multitude was at that time too great, and the multitude were too infuriated to admit of the rescripts of justice and moderation being at all times attended to in the provinces. Existing monuments show that in the western empire, and especially in Italy, the excited multitude spared neither the synagogues of the Jews nor the temples of the divinities of polytheism. When Maximus passed the Alps to invade Italy, the Jews and the Pagans came forward on all sides to complain of the persecutions which they had been forced to endure. Maximus permitted the restoration of the temples and the synagogues which had been overthrown. In his latter days, an edict was put forth by Theodosius which regarded the Jews with indulgence, and subjected to an arbitrary punishment all who might assail their synagogues.

Still Christianity prevailed. Reviled by their neighbours, and regarded with suspicion and distrust by all nations, Judaism was seen rapidly to decline. The patriarchate was no longer upheld in its ancient state; and the Jews appeared before the tribunals of the Gentiles, not only when they were at variance with Christians, but often to appeal against the unjust decisions of their own judicial authorities. The Jews are reported at this period to have so rapidly deserted the ranks of their ancient leaders, that the Christians were more than gratified, were, in fact, startled at the multitudes which were disposed to rally round the banner of the cross. The talent for gaining money, for which the Jews have ever been famous, was here exercised with great address. Piety and pride combined on the part of the Christians to make them desire converts; the former exulted to see "firebrands snatched from the fire," and the latter rejoiced in the increased dignity which the Christian faith and the Christian professions gained from vanquishing the obstinacy of the Jews. Some of the more humble and unscrupulous of the Jews feigned a conviction which they did not feel, and consented to be baptized. Those who did so were in the first instance well paid; but after a time it was found that Jewish conversions increased more rapidly than the funds which were to pay for them. To discourage this became absolutely necessary. Miracles had not then ceased. On great occasions one might in the ordinary

course of extraordinary things be expected, and as many Hebrews had been baptized more than once for the worldly profit that accrued from it, in the case of a well known impostor, it is reported the water, indignant at the meditated profanation, flowed back on the hand which would have administered the sacred rite, and, in a manner, refused to rebaptize one who had before appeared at the fount, but who still remained unregenerate.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

*The empire declines, and the patriarchate loses its former importance.—Athanasius opposes the Arians.—Arian principles are defended by George of Cappadocia.—His origin is humble.—He raises himself to fortune by discreditable means.—Having become an archbishop, he is distinguished for avarice and cruelty.—He and two of his ministers are imprisoned and finally put to death by the populace, without trial.—He is honoured as a martyr, and as the patron saint of England.—The dragon, which he is said to have conquered, is supposed to represent Athanasius.—Christian triumphs are so conducted as to offend the Jews.—Calamethus, a slave, discovers the bones of Zachariah.—They are carried in triumph to Jerusalem.—The skeleton of a royal child is found at his feet.—The remains of the prophet Samuel are exhumed, and pompously buried at Constantinople.*

THE grandeur of the empire declined, and the patriarchate continued to lose in importance. Deep gloom hung over the Jewish community; and the scorn and hatred which in many instances pursued them, awakened their ferocity, and made them eager to revenge themselves on those who, in the character of true believers, were never slow to outrage the unhappy beings whom they supposed to have become the objects of divine and everlasting wrath, though once the chosen people of God.

Athanasius flourished at this period. We have no information, that can be depended upon, as to his birth and parentage; but he appears, at a very early age, to have devoted himself to theological studies. Ordained a deacon by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, he acted as secretary to the Council of Nice, succeeded Alexander in the bishopric, about the year 326; and survived nearly half a century his episcopal ordination. In the council, while acting as secretary, he made a violent speech against Arius, and had no sooner been made a prelate than he most powerfully advocated the cause of the Catholics against the Arians. He could not be prevailed upon, neither by the suggestions of Constantine nor the threats of Eusebius, to sanction the re-admission of Arius into the Catholic community. The Arians gaining strength, were enabled to oppose their formidable adversary with such effect, that he was compelled to appear before a council of sixty bishops, summoned at Tyre, in 335, to answer for his conduct. While this inquiry proceeded, Arius found means to



gain admission into the community at Jerusalem; and Athanasius seized an opportunity for proceeding to Constantinople, where, having laid his case before Constantine, the members of the council were summoned, that the cause might be prosecuted in the presence of the emperor. They answered the call by accusing Athanasius of an attempt to detain at Alexandria ships laden with corn, which were expected at Constantinople, when such a supply was greatly needed. The issue of it was, Athanasius was sentenced to be deposed and banished; but in the reign of Constantius he was honourably restored to his country and his see. Great complaints were made by the Arians; and subsequently, at a council held at Milan, in the year 355, a majority of three hundred bishops joined to pronounce a new sentence of condemnation against him. He was advised to avoid strife, by a voluntary resignation. To such counsel he refused to hearken. It was determined to remove him by force; and for that purpose, at midnight, while he was engaged in the duties of his office, preparing for the communion in the church of Alexandria, a body of soldiers made their appearance at the door of the sacred edifice. Expecting death, Athanasius appeared calmly resigned to his fate, and exercised the piety of those about him by ordering a psalm of praise to be sung. After much tumult, he was removed to a place of safety, his followers dispersed, and George of Cappadocia was elevated to his see. This was one of the religious aspirants who professed to adopt the principles of Arius.

George of Cappadocia was of humble origin, and born at Epiphania in Cilicia, where his parents possessed little wealth besides a fuller's shop. From infancy he was greedy and designing; and fortune so far favoured him, that he gained the patronage of his superiors, it is said, by means of flattery, and obtained from them a lucrative commission, that of supplying the army with bacon. "This employment," says Gibbon, "was mean; he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice." That was but an indifferent beginning of the history of a saint, and such a saint as "the good St. George." We are told it was "after this disgrace, after he had saved his fortune at the expense of his honour, that he embraced with zeal, or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism." He appears to have been a man of learning, and to have devoted much of his time to other studies than how to perpetrate fraud, and accumulate wealth. He formed a valuable library; and his talents, wealth, or zeal caused him to be raised to the seat of Athanasius. The rest of his story is not a little startling. From the moment he reached a situation in which it might have been expected his virtue would have been secure from all temptation, he became a monster. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified by nature and education to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his

diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust and almost universal monopoly which he acquired of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c.; and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax which he suggested on all the houses of the city, under an absolute claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. He persecuted the pagans with severity and insult, after they had been tantalised with a prospect of freedom and toleration. Eventually this disgrace to Christianity was punished almost as severely as he deserved to be. An object of general hatred, popular violence was directed against him. Diodorus and Dracontius, two of his ministers or instruments of cruelty, were, with himself, loaded with chains and thrown into prison, and there detained twenty-four days, when impatient vengeance burst the doors of the place of their confinement, and dragged the trembling miscreants to execution, when their blood was pitilessly shed, without the form of a trial. Their mangled carcasses, triumphantly paraded through the principal streets, on the back of a camel, were finally thrown into the sea. This catastrophe eventually elevated George to the rank of a martyr and a saint. "The odious stranger," Gibbon writes, "disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed (if not absolutely certain, it is affirmed to be extremely probable,) into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter." His adversary Athanasius is supposed to be represented in the dragon which St. George is said to have conquered.

After the death of George, Athanasius again triumphed. He exerted himself as zealously as before to vindicate the Catholic faith and the doctrine of the Trinity; but having summoned a council at Alexandria, it was ordered that Arian bishops who recanted their errors and signed the Nicene creed might be again received into the church, and restored to their sees. Athanasius was afterwards pursued by the hostility of the emperor Julian, and compelled to withdraw; but in the reign of Jovian he once more resumed his episcopal functions, but was again persecuted in the time of Valens. For a fifth time he went into exile, and during four months lay concealed in a monument which belonged to his family. The emperor was however induced to relent; and Athanasius at length closed his days in peace and with great fame, as a zealous vindicator of the Trinity, and as an undaunted supporter of the orthodox church.

George of Cappadocia was less an object of abhorrence to the Jews than many of the opponents of their faith. In some instances they are found to have favoured the Arian faction, probably in the hope that, by dividing the Christian sect, they would eventually accomplish its total destruction.



Some writers state the Jews and the Christians to have at times respectively conquered their prejudices, so far as to assist in the same religious ceremonials. According to them, Jews would join in the procession ordered in honour of a Christian saint, and the canticles of the Rabbins would be heard blended with the hymn of the Catholics. But this was not often the case. The spirit of religious or sectarian rancour was not so stilled on either side, as long to refrain from outrage when an opportunity offered for wounding the feelings of an adverse community. The triumphs of the Christians when they had made any of their discoveries of objects of veneration, were celebrated not with that modest benevolence which a satisfied heart might have suggested, but with a degree of parade which probably had for its object to mortify the Jews, and it certainly in several instances had that effect.

The repositories of the dead at Rome and Carthage were ransacked with pious eagerness, in order to discover sainted relics. Many of these efforts no doubt proved unavailing, but some, as has been seen, were eminently successful. The places above named were most generally resorted to as likely to offer some object of pious regard, if not of adoration; and about this time the barren soil of Euthropolis brought forth unexpectedly the bones of the prophet Zachariah. A Christian slave, named Calamethus, cultivated for his Jewish master a spot of land not far distant from Capturza. Fatigued by toil, he was one day sleeping under the shadow of a palm tree, when the prophet Zachariah appeared to him in a vision, and directed him to repair to a certain place in the road to Bithur, which he minutely described, adding that on opening the ground there his mortal body, which time had spared, would be found in its coffin. Calamethus neglected not the important communication with which he had been favoured. Repairing to the part indicated, and the grave being opened, his heart wildly palpitating with holy joy, he discovered the body of Zachariah, in its sepulchre, dressed in the white robe of the priests of Israel. At his feet were the remains of an infant, which wore a royal crown and sandals of gold. The body of the prophet, carefully raised from the earth in which it had so long remained, was carried to Jerusalem with solemn pomp. In the midst of the procession formed in honour of the occasion, many Jews were noted, not unwilling to assist on this occasion; and the elders of the church, and the doctors of Israel, inquired of each other who the royal child could be whose remains were found at the feet of Zachariah. The answer returned was, that an old Hebrew book contained the explanation required, and related that King Joash, misled by flatterers, had caused the prophet Zachariah to be put to death. To punish this crime, God had taken away his well-beloved child; and Joash, rendered penitent by such a mark of divine justice, had caused a tomb to be erected, as an eternal monument of his tears and repentance, and commanded that the young prince should be buried there, with his head on the feet of the prophet of Jehovah.

A like but still more imposing spectacle at Constantinople for the moment united the religious antagonists, while it exemplified the intimate connection of the Jewish and Christian religions. The remains of the prophet Samuel were brought from Judea, in Thrace. On this memorable occasion the whole population, from

the frontiers of Persia to the shores of the Bosphorus, came forth to make part of the funereal cortege. The Jews sung their canticles as it advanced, and on the fourteenth of the Kalend of June, during the consulate of Prehus and Arcadius, the sacred remains of Samuel were solemnly interred at Constantinople. While writing against Vigilantius, St. Jerome has described the honours which the new church rendered to the unconscious remnant of the sacred minister of the ancient law. Christian bishops carried his ashes in urns of gold, covered with the richest silks. The emperor, the senate, the courts of the sacred largesses, followed on foot. They traversed Constantinople, passing through the quarter Stanor, which was principally inhabited by the Jews; and St. Jerome remarks, that the latter failed not to adorn their houses with festoons and garlands in honour of their revered prophet.

#### CHAP. XXV.

*Visions, discoveries of sainted relics, and austerity of life are found the short roads to celebrity.—Paul the Egyptian is the first Christian hermit.—He withdraws to the desert.—St. Antony seeks him there.—Paul is found dead.—The Jews celebrate their deliverance by means of Esther in a manner that gives offence to the Christians.—Theodosius acts impartially between Jews and Christians.—The former fasten a child to a cross and scourge him to death.—The Christians destroy synagogues.—Theodosius ordered restitution to be made.—Simeon Stylites, "the holy martyr in the air," interferes on behalf of the Christians, and with success.*

VISIONS and discoveries of skeletons and sainted relics were no doubt found very profitable, and their number in consequence rapidly increased. Living in the desert, and practising strange austerities, proved short roads to celebrity. In some cases when men had fled into the wilderness to escape from persecution, they remained in solitude till they had lost all appetite for social life. The legend of the personage who is supposed to have been the first Christian hermit, is one of great interest. Paul the Egyptian, at the age of fifteen, was versed in the learning both of Greece and of his own country, and deeply imbued with principles of the severest piety. He lived with a married sister, whose husband was a pagan, and who, in order to get possession of Paul's property, informed against him as a Christian, during a season of terrible persecution. The youth discovered the treachery in time, and withdrew into the desert. His intention had been to remain there only till the danger was gone by; but the villany of one with whom he was so nearly connected had disgusted him with mankind, and, as time passed on, instead of being wearied with solitude, he acquired a love for it. Wandering farther into the uninhabited country, he came to some ruined dwellings, which, according to the legend, had been the mint of Egypt in the days of



Antony and Cleopatra. Near the ruins was a cave, the entrance of which was closed by a stone; removing this rude portal he entered, and found within what his biographer St. Jerome calls a large vestibule open to the sky! An old palm-tree was growing there, forming a canopy with its broad head; under the palm a clear fountain issued from the ground, and presently was absorbed again. Believing that Providence had brought him to this place, he determined to remain; the dates supplied him with food, the fountain with drink, and from the fibres and net-work with which the branches of the Egyptian palm are interlaced he made for himself a coarse covering. So far the story is but moderately astounding, but it was not allowed to remain so. The narrative proceeds to relate that, St. Antony, fancying himself the most retired of all monks, was humbled by being told in a dream, that there was a better than himself who resided farther in the wilderness. He set out in search of him, and only meeting on the way a Satyr and a Centaur, arrived at the cave, and saw an hyena go in. Paul hearing a human footstep, closed the portal, but Antony entreated that the holy man, who had allowed a beast to enter, would not exclude a brother. Overcome by six hours perseverance on the part of his visitor, the hermit removed the stone, and asked Antony wherefore he had taken that trouble to see a poor decayed old man, who would speedily return to dust? The next question was a natural one—how the affairs of the world were going on? They fell into a friendly conversation; and we are told that the solitary, who had before been every day supplied with half a loaf, which was regularly brought him by a crow, was on this day accommodated by the intelligent bird with a whole one. A dispute ensues between Paul and Antony, which shall be helped first, and they compromise the point of etiquette by splitting the loaf. Antony is sent back to fetch a vest which Athanasius had given him, and in which his new friend desires to be buried. On his return to the cave he is apprised of Paul's decease, by seeing his soul ascend in glory: he finds the dead hermit on his knees, his body erect, his hands and head and eyes upraised, in the attitude of prayer; two lions attended to scratch a hole large enough to receive the corpse, and Antony buried him in the cave. Thence the body was translated first to Constantinople, secondly to Venice, and, finally, to Buda, where it was carefully preserved during many centuries.

Among the many delusions which prevailed, was the strange notion that the Deity, though all love and mercy, delighted in seeing his creatures make themselves wretched. No points of faith were more firmly established at various periods than the belief that every indulgence was sinful; that whatever gratified the senses, however apparently innocent, must be injurious to the soul; that the ties of natural affection weaned the heart from God; that the duties of social life must be abandoned by those who regarded their own salvation, and that in proportion as man inflicted privations and torments upon himself, he pleased his Creator.

Some pious zealots shut themselves up in cells so low that they could not stand upright in them, and of such dimensions that they could neither lie at length,

nor place themselves in any but painful positions. Others took up their abode in tombs like the demoniaes; or dwelt in dens with wild beasts: or made dens for themselves, and burrowed in the ground. Men and women lived promiscuously in the deserts, with no other covering than what mere decency required, bare to the sun, and the wind, and the sand showers. These persons renounced all such food as was used by their fellow creatures, and grazed and browsed upon herbs and shrubs. They even affected to appear like beasts, by going upon their hands and knees; and like beasts they fled from the sight of man, and betook themselves to the most inaccessible places for concealment. Extravagances like those which have been mentioned could not but move the contempt of men who had no faith in the merit or efficacy of such observances.

The Jews were seldom too conciliating; and they sometimes affronted their neighbours very gratuitously, and with a degree of boldness which must surprise. Their feast of Purim, and their commemoration of their deliverance through the means of Esther, were rendered not a little offensive to the Christians. A scene of uproar was then witnessed, especially at the latter, which beggars all description. The seats of the synagogue were beaten with stones and mallets, and while fiercely execrating the name of Haman, they set up a gallows to intimate the fate that awaited, or at all events which ought to be awarded, to the enemies of their nation. To the apparatus so erected a human figure was attached, and subjected to every indignity; and sometime the gallows on which the effigy of Haman was suspended was made in the form of a cross. Affronted thus outrageously, the Christians were anxious to punish what they could not but regard as horrible profanation. Great tumults arose in consequence, which led to fierce and sometimes deadly strife, and in many places the synagogues were pulled down or set on fire. Theodosius in such cases acted with wise impartiality. He exerted himself to repress outrage; he strictly forbade the Jews to offend Christians by reviling their faith; but on the other hand he guaranteed to them the free exercise of their religion.

This example of moderation and wisdom was lost on his subjects; and in Syria new disorders, most serious in their character, were witnessed. Between Chalcis and Antioch there was a town, or village, called Inmestar, which is said to have been the scene of an act of atrocious cruelty. Some Jews, in a state of intoxication, meeting a party of Christians, indulged in coarse sneers, and spoke with blasphemous derision of Jesus Christ. Disgusting as such conduct was, as if this were not enough, they are accused of setting up a cross, to which they attached a Christian boy, and scourged him so cruelly, that he died in consequence. The culprits were punished, but the Christians resented the outrage with bitterness; and some years afterwards they destroyed a Jewish synagogue in Antioch. Theodosius was doubly offended; he hated the animosity thus manifested by one portion of his subjects against another, and he was exasperated at the contempt in which they held his edicts of toleration. An imperial ordinance commanded that reparation should be made. On this occasion, the Roman governor of the



provinces became their advocate, and his impartiality had prevailed when Simeon Stylites interfered in behalf of the Christians. That sanctified personage was looked up to with great reverence. He had not gone to the desert, not lived on roots and water, or mortified his flesh in any common-place way, but had taken a course which lifted him above all contemporary piety, as he had passed his life, or a very considerable portion of it, on the top of a slender column sixty feet high, whence he had gained the fine sounding title of "The holy martyr in the air." When Simeon entered the lists with the governor of the province, the latter was "found wanting in the balance." The emperor had occasion for the prayers of Simeon, and, in consequence, the question was soon decided in his favour. The order which had been issued commanding the Christians to repair the damage they had done was rendered non-effective, and the governor who had raised his voice on the side of justice and humanity was recalled. It has been suggested by writers friendly to the character of Theodosius, that it is probable the final decision came to was forced upon him, as the building destroyed had been erected in violation of the law of the empire, under which the raising of any new temple for the celebration of Hebrew worship was strictly prohibited. The dread importance attached to these gross and ridiculous performances which it was sought to identify with the Christian faith, could hardly be more forcibly illustrated.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

*The remains of Gamaliel, Abybas, and Nicodemus, are discovered by Lucien, who is apprised of their being in his vicinity by seeing Gamaliel in a vision. — Lucien causes them to be carried to Jerusalem. — Severus attempts a general conversion of the Jews on the occasion. — A challenge is sent to the synagogue, which is accepted. — Theodore, in a vision, is warned of treachery. — He meets the Jews in their synagogue. — The Christians are assailed by a volley of stones. — The synagogue is fired in revenge. — Reuben, a Jewish doctor, is converted. — Theodore also becomes a Christian.*

HOWEVER the wonders described in the last chapter may now excite our risibility, it is pretended that numerous happy conversions were effected through their agency. To the list of discoveries of saints' remains we have given, we ought to add those of the deceased Rabbins, Gamaliel, Abybas, and Nicodemus, which were regarded with vast interest, though their doubtful Christianity caused them to be frequently subjects of prayer with the orthodox. Distant from Jerusalem twenty miles, was a place named Caphar-Gamala, or the bourg of Gamaliel. It contained one church, a monument of the reign of Constantine, which was then under the care of a priest named Lucien. He had fixed his abode not far from the baptismal font, where a bed of matting received his body, macerated by fasting and by prayer. It was on the third night of the nones of December, while he watched over the sacred vases of the church placed in his keeping, when, the legion tells, a venerable old man appeared before him. He was covered with a white mantle,

and held in his hand a gold ring, after the manner of the ancient patriarchs of Israel. "Lucien, Lucien," exclaimed he, "how long wilt thou continue to neglect my last remains? Look on me, and behold Gamaliel of the Scripture, the pious doctor who instructed Paul, the contemporary of Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian church. When that disciple of Jesus Christ was stoned, I saved from the rapacity of hungry wolves his corpse, which had been left outside the walls of Jerusalem. I caused it to be transferred to my little field in this bourg, and here it received the rites of sepulture from the hands of my son Abybas. By his side rests Nicodemus, who presided over the synagogue at Jerusalem, where he received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of Jesus Christ. When Nicodemus was deposed from his dignity by the doctors and the Pharisees, I received him into my own house. My son Abybas, who also believed in the Saviour, has his place in the same sepulchre, for my daughter Sarah alone persevered in error. If thou wouldst wish to hear further of my remains, turn your eyes to the baskets which I hold in my hand."

Lucien immediately looked as directed, and saw four baskets. Three of them were trimmed with gold, the last appeared to be of silver, and in that red and white roses, rich in all their original freshness and beauty, were seen. "The red roses," continued the doctor of Israel, "are the symbols of the martyrdom of Stephen, whose blood tinted the brambles and thorns which cover the soil of Jerusalem; the white roses are the symbols of our souls, preserved pure in the midst of the iniquities of the synagogue. Finally, the silver basket is the emblem of the chastity of my son Abybas, for never has an impure desire approached his heart." After having made this important statement, Gamaliel vanished. On instituting a search, Lucien soon discovered the mouldering remains of the doubtful Christians, for whom the synagogue had a right to dispute with the church. They were transported from Jerusalem to the west, where a Latin epitaph, which was preserved some hundreds of years in the cathedral of Pisa, was placed over them to mark the spot where the ashes of the three doctors rested, according to public credulity, at the foot of the altar, to call the faithful to their prayers and devotional exercises. The epitaph ran as follows:—

Hoc in Sarcophago requiescunt corpora sacra  
Sanctorum, quorum nomina dicta trium,  
Sanctus Gamaliel, Abybas, et Nicodemus:  
Insimul ipse pater, filius atque nepos.

The removals of sacred relics from the east to the west, are described by ancient chronicles to have wrought the miraculous conversion of many Jews. The isle of Minorca, one of the Balearic islands, at that time possessed two municipal cities, Magona, since celebrated as Port Mahon, and Jamona, distant ten leagues from that city. The Jews had considerably increased in numbers at Magona, and they had there a Rabbin, to whom ancient legends give the name of Theodore. Towards the year 428, the remains of St. Stephen, after having long rested on the shores of Africa, arrived at Magona, where they were received by the Christians resident in that place with all the enthusiasm of faith. Confident in the virtue of these relics, the faithful resolved to celebrate their



entrance into their city by effecting a general conversion of the Jews. The bishop, whose name was Severus, lamented that in an island where, though more useful animals abounded, wolves and foxes were never seen, where though snakes and scorpions were found, yet he believed them to be miraculously deprived of their venom; that the Jews, though more offensive than all the rest, should be so numerous and so wealthy. He had long desired to engage in a holy war against the murderers of the Son of God, and the time seemed most favourable for this, when his views were happily favoured by the arrival of the bones of St. Stephen, and he now determined to have a conference with the doctors of the law. The bishop sent a challenge to the synagogue; it was immediately accepted, and messengers were despatched to all parts of the country to seek for the most celebrated Rabbins and doctors brought up to study the Scriptures. But the most singular presages, the Christian historians say, announced the impending ruin of Judaism. Theodore recounted, that while he slept he had seen twelve men, dressed after the manner of the patriarchs, who, stretching their arms out to him, said, "Theodore, approach not the synagogue; for it is full of devouring lions." Filled with alarm, he took to flight, but turning round, his eyes rested on a majestic church, resplendent with gold and celestial light, whence in sweetest concords issued the song of the monks and priests. As his confusion was great in the extreme, Theodore ran, in order to fortify his resolution and constancy, to seek Reuben, the most learned of the doctors of the law, and his mother, a fervent Israelite, who had taken no small pains to fortify his soul against the Christian faith.

While Theodore and the Jews of Magona marked with anxiety and alarm these startling omens, the legend tells, that the bishop recited his consoling visions to the assembled Christians. While in an extacy of prayer, he had seen a widow woman, who supplicated him to permit her to labour in his field; this woman was the synagogue who was coming of herself to Jesus Christ, in order that he might sow the fruitful seed of the new law, in the hitherto sterile field of the old law. Animated by signs and promises so decidedly propitious, the bishop did not hesitate any longer to engage in a serious controversy with the Jews. Though disputes on the Holy Scriptures was not a servile labour, the Israelites refused to commence them on the day proposed, their Sabbath not having concluded. On that day they alleged they were forbidden to enter any unclean place, and consequently they could not approach a Christian church. The bishop offered to meet them in their own synagogue; but when they assented to this, as he saw the Jews gathering in great numbers about him, from some information which he had received, he asked them, why they had stored away arms in the synagogue? The Jews were amazed at this, and offered to deny the fact upon oath. No oath is necessary, was the reply of the Prelate; we will use our own eyes, to verify or disprove what has been brought forward. He and the Christians then advanced singing a part of the ninth psalm. "Their memory hath perished with a loud noise, but the Lord endureth for ever." The Jews joined in the Psalm. Many Jews joined the procession on its way, and all with united voices made the air resound with psalms and the songs of the prophets, when

naving arrived at the door, a crowd of Jewish females, who had placed themselves on the steps of the building, less tolerant than the Rabbins and the doctors, caused a heavy shower of stones to fall on the Christian crowd, who sought to penetrate the sacred building. In their turn the Christians armed themselves, and as their numbers were much more considerable, the Jewesses were speedily dispersed. The rage of fanaticism instantly took full possession of the excited followers of Jesus, and rushing forward, instead of endeavouring to convince their opponents by facts and arguments, they proceeded to fire the synagogue, saving nothing but the sacred books from the deplorable ruin. The Christian chroniclers of these scenes throw great blame on the Jews. The bishop and his friends, according to them, meant to use no weapons but the Scriptures, and kindly persuasion, but the Jews provided themselves with swords and spears. After all, no discovery of arms is pretended to have been made in the ruins of the synagogue. Three days afterwards, the Jews mournfully assembled within the defaced walls of the demolished building, and soon found themselves surrounded by the exulting Christians. It was at that moment, the aged Reuben was seen to approach. He was one of the most venerable Rabbins of Magona, and now appeared in the robe which belonged to the costume of the Jewish doctors, his face suffused with tears. He addressed himself to Severus, and humbly solicited at the bishop's hands the cross and the tunic worn by the catechumens. Upon that, Theodore and the Jews whom the spectacle had drawn to the spot, in a state of great exasperation, raised their voices to execrate the name of the apostate, the false doctor of their law; and amidst the smoking ruins of the synagogue, the Rabbins engaged in a controversy with the Christians, on the subject of the former grandeur of Israel, and the splendour of their temple. The carnage which they had sustained had nothing abated the confidence of the Hebrew teachers, and they expressed, in the most unmeasured terms, their scorn for the new religious sect which had sprung up, and which, founding itself on their ancient history and on the promises made to the chosen people, chose to recognize as the Son of God one whom they regarded as a crucified impostor. They were still speaking in derision of the Messiah, and mocking the impotence of his words, when suddenly a voice was heard in the midst of the Christians to cry, "Theodore, believe in Christ." The exclamation seems to have been imperfectly heard by the crowd. Instead of considering it as an admonition, they understood it to be the announcement of a fact; instead of "Theodore believe in Christ," they believed the exclamation to be "Theodore believes in Christ," and this new defection filled the astonished crowd with unspeakable dismay. The cry, which was in reality no more than a mark of the impatience experienced by the Christians, at finding Theodore remain unconvinced by their arguments, was supposed to announce, that those arguments had prevailed, and that Theodore believed in the Saviour. Deploring the triumph which the Christian priests had gained over their patriarchs, women were seen tearing their hair in an agony of surprise; their hair dishevelled, and their bosoms heaving with all the emotion of hopeless sorrow. The Rabbins, the elders, and the Jewish doctors dispersed in confusion, while on



every side rose from the humbled and mortified Jews the reproachful question, "Miserable Theodore, what hast thou done?—Thou believest in an impostor, and leavest thy brethren in a strange land, without guide or support."

The subject of these reproaches was himself as much bewildered by the scene he witnessed, as any of the multitude which had been thrown into such unexpected consternation. He knew not what to say, or what to do, or how to explain that which had waked the fury of his brethren against him. While thus he hesitated in mute astonishment, the Christians pressed closely around him; and Reuben, with all the ardour of a Neophyte, now employed his eloquence in magnifying the grandeur and the beauty of the Lord Christ. He called upon him no longer to shut his eyes against conviction, but to give due importance to the convincing proofs which were offered to him, that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the son of God. Long he hesitated; but the feeling excited among the Jews against him was so strong, that he could not be satisfied it was in the power of man speedily to reinstate him in their esteem. Looking at this on the one hand, and at the homage offered him on the other, by the Christians, if he joined their ranks, the constancy of Theodore was at length subdued, and the Jewish patriarch finished by exclaiming, "The struggle is over—I believe in Jesus Christ."

The victory of the day was now complete; and the exulting multitude hastened to secure their prize by forthwith carrying him to their church, where they sang hymns of triumph as on those days when their most solemn festivals were celebrated; and in the presence of a vast assembly the converted Rabbin received the holy unction and the kiss of peace of the catechumens. The example of the conversion of Theodore, the exact circumstances being unknown, had a vast effect on the Jewish fraternity. It disposed many of them to think seriously of that which they had disregarded or reviled before, and not a few of them embraced Christianity. Among these there were many learned doctors, and one old man, who had completed his hundredth year. His being added to the Christian community was regarded as a happy omen for the future, as he was likened to the aged Simeon and the patriarchs of ancient days. Many of the Jews were baptized on the zealous representations of the bishop. It is more than probable that the worldly advantages which he promptly realised through changing his faith, made no slight impression on those who were eventually prevailed upon to become Christians.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*More Jews are converted to Christianity.—A second Moses appears.—He offers to lead them to a land flowing with milk and honey.—At his command his followers throw themselves into the sea, and some perish.—The Jews condemn him as an impostor.—He flies, and is supposed to be the devil.—The fraud of Moses causes many Jews to become Christians.—An extensive commerce is carried on in converted Jews.—An impostor convert is detected.—The heresy of Nestorius is held to be identified with Judaism.—The Jews in Alexandria often revolt.—Alexandria becomes celebrated for letters.—It is attempted to establish one uniform system of religion.—Failure is the consequence.—The Jews and Christians differ on the merits of dancing.—The former attempt to extirpate the latter.—The Christians revenge themselves.—Cyril, the bishop, and Orestes, the prefect, become enemies.—Hypathia, the friend of the latter, is torn to pieces by the populace.*

In the island of Candia other conversions marked the persevering struggle of the advocates of Christianity against the ancient edifice of Judaism. The gospel was preached with great success; but it was often found that the converts so easily made, were as easily drawn away when interest tempted, and a favourable opportunity for resuming their former persuasion occurred. The minds of men once unsettled, every wind that blows is almost sufficient to make them turn again. Towards the middle of the fifth century, a person of commanding air and specious eloquence presented himself to the wealthier Israelites, calling himself Moses, and claiming to be the lineal descendant of that illustrious lawgiver, who was privileged to converse with the Deity himself. With the name, he gave out that he possessed much of the power of his great ancestor, and he declared that it was reserved for him to accomplish objects of the highest moment to the Hebrew nation. He called upon them to regard him as the living image of that favoured servant of God, who had delivered the Israelites from the captivity of Egypt; and had conducted them through the sea and the desert towards the promised land. Moses now announced to them the glad intelligence that Jehovah had heard the voice of his people, and that the time was at hand when he would again open to them that blessed land "flowing with milk and honey," to rejoice for ever both man and beast. These representations, often pressed on listening crowds, in the course of a year made so profound an impression, that many Israelites professed themselves ready to follow wherever he might be commissioned to conduct them. They no longer laboured, as in former years, to sustain themselves from day to day; they abated their industry, and fondly hoped for the realisation of those promises which Moses continued to make, and expected speedily to find themselves in a land of peace and abundance, where toil might be spared, and all would be unalloyed happiness. The impostor prevailed upon them to abandon their possessions, and to place much of their wealth in his keeping, and at an appointed time to meet him at the sea-



shore, when he would indisputably prove his divine commission by leading them through the vast Mediterranean, as their former chief had led their ancestors through the Red Sea. Many thousands came forth to witness the new miracle, and followed him to the summit of a tall promontory. A violent storm caused the foaming waves to rise mountains high, and dashed them with violence on the rugged rocks which skirted the mighty water. The terrifying spectacle might have appalled less credulous followers, but the excited hopes of the Israelites were not to be subdued by the savage roarings of the sea. They believed that this Moses, like the former, was under the immediate guidance of heaven; and taking their wives and children to the extreme verge of the lofty height which they had ascended, at his bidding many of them precipitated themselves into the deep below, and a greater number prepared to follow their example. But a moment sufficed to undeceive them; and notwithstanding the boastings of the false Moses, they were convinced, when they saw the bodies of their brethren thrown by the agitated sea on the beach, that he was a miserable deceiver. Many of those who had been most forward to show their zeal and devotion had been drowned; and but for some fishing craft and merchant vessels, belonging to Christian owners, who stepped between them and fate, the whole must have perished. At this sad spectacle, those who had so lately placed all their hope in their leader Moses, now turned upon him with fury and disgust as a wretched betrayer. He anticipated this change in the minds of his dupes, and had prudently withdrawn. They sought him in all parts of the island, but without success, and at length gave up the vain pursuit, in the belief that the deluder was no mortal but a devil in human form. The opinion is gravely adopted by Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian. He is satisfied that the Evil One had resorted to this artifice to seduce the Jews to their ruin. The Christians were on the alert to take advantage of the catastrophe, and in the day of Jewish distress, advocated with increased earnestness the religion of Christ, and the great enemy of mankind is represented to have miserably failed in his sinister design, as good grew out of evil, and many who had been weak enough to listen to the second Moses, became wise enough to join the followers of the true Messiah. It has, however, been suspected, that some of these accounts were invented to heighten Catholic zeal, and contemporary history furnishes examples which prove that worldly interest will sometimes be mingled with the purest inspirations of conscience. In the midst of the discussions which divided the different sects of Christians, all rivalled each other in their anxiety to convert the Jews. Premiums in money were offered to them, the historian Socrates writes, to induce them to embrace the faith of Jesus. This confirms what has elsewhere been stated on other authority. Converted Hebrews indeed became an object of speculation, in which an extensive commerce was carried on. A Jew of Constantinople imposed upon the pious impatience of the Christians, and conceived the idea of getting himself baptized by all the various sects in succession, in order to be enriched by the recompense which each offered to the neophyte. Commencing with the orthodox church, he went to all who dissented from it, and at length solicited baptism from the Novatians, when his fraud was dis-

covered. In this sect they had devised various checks to detect the fraudulent catechumen who sought admission into the church, and he was subjected to a series of fasts and painful macerations. They terrified the avaricious Hebrew, who threw himself at the feet of the bishop and prayed to be excused from such exercises. His prayer was granted; and hethen hoped to receive the price of his conversion at the baptismal font; when, it is seriously told, the priests perceived that the water disappeared. The fount was replenished—and again the water vanished. The bishop was much surprised at this, and caused enquiry to be made into the condition of the catechumen, when it was discovered that he had received the Christian unction from almost all the Christian churches, and even from the hands of the patriarch of Constantinople. This story, Capefigue remarks, “Belongs to those marvellous times, when Christian historians could only proceed by miracles. Religious societies, like nations, have their heroic ages!”

The heresy of Nestorius was viewed by the councils as an offshoot of Judaism. The bishop Proclus, writing against Nestorius himself, describes him as being to the orthodox church what a partisan of the doctrines of the synagogue must be. Addressing Nestorius, he exclaimed, “O Jew, tell us, who has been able to ransom us, if it be not the Son invested with the divine nature of the Father?” The church entirely adopted this opinion, declaring that the symbol of the Nestorian faith, as to the nature and incarnation of Christ, was but a renewal of the Jewish superstitions, and a consecration of the errors of the synagogue. A like reproach was addressed to other sects when they introduced any changes with regard to the celebration of the pass-over, and the dividing of the unleavened bread, used during that solemnity, in remembrance of the unleavened bread on which the Jews were sustained when they were brought out of Egypt. In the acts of the council of Calcedon, it is related that, when the historian Theodoret, having been accused of professing the doctrines of Nestorius, appeared in the assembly, the bishops exclaimed with one voice, “Away with the Jew who has crept in amongst us,—send away the man of the synagogue.”

At various periods Alexandria became the scene of great disorder, caused by Jewish impatience of the stern control to which the Hebrews there were subjected. They complained that it was theirs to eat the bread of sorrow, in the land of their forefather's captivity; and repeatedly they attempted to throw off the galling yoke, but as often were compelled again to submit to it with additional aggravations. Their blood was profusely shed; but despite of the catastrophes they had to deplore, they still lingered in great numbers near the spot, and persecution appeared, instead of diminishing, to cause their increase. In the history of the church of Alexandria we find that Christian factions were often equally conspicuous for violence and outrage. This city had been peopled with emigrants from various countries. They were encouraged to settle there by a general indulgence granted to all comers,—Egyptians, Grecians, Jews, or others, to enjoy their own peculiar systems or opinions without molestation. Great varieties of sects



were in consequence found in Egypt; and some of the Egyptian princes were distinguished as patrons of letters. In the ancient world Alexandria had great celebrity as the chosen seat of learning, and boasted of having sent forth eminent philosophers to enlighten all surrounding nations. It was attempted to combine the various tenets adopted by rival sects, so far as to form one general system which should ensure everlasting uniformity of faith, and thus unite all mankind. The respect which had long been paid to the schools of Greece, and the honours with which they were now requited by the Egyptian princes, disposed many philosophers and even priests to entertain this idea. The hope was vain; and all that was accomplished was the erection of a mental Babel, which overwhelmed its founders with confusion, and rendered confusion worse confounded. It produced what was called the eclectic philosophy, comprehending an heterogeneous mass of opinions which proved the fruitful source of violent heats and unavailing strife, not only among the inhabitants of Alexandria, but extending to the Jews and Christians and other sectarians, in various parts of the world.

It will excite surprise to find that one of the grave questions which caused the fiercest hostility between the disputants, regarded the merits of dancers on certain public occasions. It was common for the Israelites to encourage such entertainments on their Sabbath. By some it was contended that they were fitly associated with religious observances. They pointed to what was recorded of David dancing before the ark of the Lord; and it was even supposed that his psalms were intended to be sung as the dancers' accompaniment. Whatever opinion might be generally entertained on this subject, each succeeding sabbath saw the Jews of Alexandria attending that profane amusement, which the Christians condemned as most offensive to religion. This was sufficient to produce conflicts in which blood was not infrequently shed. At the period of which we speak, the prophet of the city, whose name was Orestes, thought it necessary to exert his authority in order to preserve the public peace. He framed a series of regulations, calculated to prevent a renewal of such tumults, and caused them to be hung up in the theatre in which the dancers were accustomed to perform. What they enjoined is not exactly known; but it is supposed that certain classes were prohibited from appearing there on particular days, that they might not come into collision with those who held antagonist opinions. One day it chanced that the archbishop Cyril appeared in the theatre, his object being, according to the historian Socrates, to read the ordinances of Orestes to the assembled crowd. The archbishop was much followed; and it was customary then, as at a later period, and indeed through the middle ages, to applaud eloquence in the pulpit, in the manner which has obtained in reference to modern performances on the stage. On this occasion, when Cyril appeared, one of his admirers, a schoolmaster, named Hierax, loudly applauded, by clapping his hands. This conduct, which does not appear to have been prompted by Cyril, gave offence to some Jews who were present, and they accused the

schoolmaster of endeavouring to create a riot. A complaint was preferred against him to Orestes, who, indignant at hearing that his ordinances, instead of doing good, were thus made a source of evil, ordered the offender to be seized and punished with the scourge. Cyril was grieved and incensed at the severity with which Hierax had been treated for manifesting satisfaction at hearing him, and he made known his displeasure to the Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not abate their hostility towards his followers. This communication did not intimidate, but highly exasperated the Israelites; and they are reported to have conceived the horrible design of utterly extinguishing the Christian name in Alexandria. In the middle of the night, having assembled, wearing rings, or bands made of the bark of the palm-tree, by which they might be known to each other, on a sudden they raised a loud cry of "Fire," near the Christian church. To save their venerated temple from destruction, the Christians rushed from all quarters towards the spot, and as they approached the Jews furiously assailed them, and put them to the sword. By some means it was made known to Cyril on the following morning that the Hebrews were the sole authors of the catastrophe, and he immediately took up arms against the offenders, and proceeded with all expedition to destroy their synagogues. Not a few of the Israelites were slain by his infuriated brethren, and their property was mercilessly plundered; and many unfortunates, who had taken no part in the disorders, could only save their lives by quitting the city.

It is more than probable, though the Jews are represented as the aggressors on this melancholy occasion, that the prefect Orestes was of a different opinion. It caused serious differences between him and Cyril. Each sent to the emperor what he averred to be a true statement of facts; but before the imperial decision could be received, these distinguished persons publicly manifested for each other the most uncompromising hostility. On one occasion, Cyril is represented to have advanced to meet Orestes with the gospel in his hand, as the symbol of peace, when he was repelled by Orestes, who disdained to conciliate the archbishop. The differences which prevailed emboldened a party of monks, established in the mountains of Nitria, to leave their retreat, and make their appearance in Alexandria, to support their archbishop. The courage of Cyril was greatly exalted by the presence of these auxiliaries, and he assailed the prefect in no measured terms, denouncing him as a heathen and idolater. Orestes denied the fact, and seems to have mildly expostulated with the prelate, by telling him that he was a brother Christian, having been baptized by Atticus, an orthodox bishop, at Constantinople. Their interview had not concluded when one Ammonius threw with violence a great stone at the head of Orestes, which wounded him, and caused the blood to flow abundantly. His attendants, alarmed by this violence, instantly fled; but the popularity of Orestes was such, that the inhabitants generally rose to revenge the outrage; the monks were speedily driven back to their mountains; and the culprit Ammonius, being taken, was first tortured, and then put to death.



The archbishop still maintained an attitude of defiance; the punishment of Ammonius he resented as a wrong offered to himself and the whole Christian church. He lauded the wretched Ammonius as one who had fallen a victim to tyranny, for exerting himself with virtuous zeal to punish the foe of Christianity, and caused his body to be taken from the grave, and exhibited to Christians as the honoured remains of a martyr.

The angry feelings which prevailed caused outrage to succeed to outrage, in which Jews and Christians are alternately exhibited in the most odious light. The Christians proved in many instances a thirst for vengeance, which could not easily be appeased. Though Cyril is believed to have been ashamed of the extravagant honours he had rendered to Ammonius, he indulged the angry feelings then excited, by cruelly pursuing one of the weaker sex. Hypatia, a woman of great talent, and famed for her learning, was deeply versed in the platonic philosophy. From her intimacy with Orestes, it was supposed that her influence had been exercised to exasperate the prefect against Cyril. The prelate is reported to have pointed her out to his followers as an object of vengeance. Forgetful of what was due from manhood to the other sex, these Christians, in their pious zeal, seized a trembling female, subjected her to outrages over which decorum must draw a veil, and, having first torn her clothes from her person, consummated their horrid vengeance by tearing her limb from limb. The true cause of such brutal conduct was a jealousy which Cyril had conceived of her fame, from the admiration which Hypatia's lectures had elicited. It does not appear that the monstrous conduct of Cyril's followers was punished; the Jews obtained no redress. Whether this arose from its being satisfactorily established that they were originally the wrongdoers, or whether it was thought that, because they were not Christians, their wrongs were not to be attended to, it is difficult now to decide.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*The patriarchate is extinguished.—Its authority is claimed by a Jewish oligarchy.—Rabbinical teachings.—Christian fables of the same period.—The northern barbarians overrun the empire.—In the general confusion, the Jews soon accommodate themselves to the new state of things.—They follow the invading armies, and gain a share of their plunder.*

THE various scenes connected with Jewish history cannot be given in exact chronological order. That the patriarchate declined, has been mentioned. It finally expired in the person of Gamaliel, and the Jews were more widely dispersed than ever. The extinction of the patriarchate had been caused in a great measure by an edict which prohibited the sending from Rome the annual tribute, which had sustained its dignity; and a law, passed in the time of Theodosius, deprived the patriarch of the honorary title of prefect, which he had

previously been allowed to assume. When Gamaliel died, the power which had been exercised by the patriarch—at least, so much of it as survived—was exercised by a Rabbinical oligarchy. The form of Jewish government was materially changed, but the principles which the patriarchs had laid down were still respected, and the importance of the Talmud was resolutely upheld. That the Israelites, with their keen perception, should have been so enslaved in matters of faith, is most singular; but they appear to have had no disposition to rebel against their teachers; “and,” says the author of ‘The Genius of Judaism,’ “the artifice practised by Rabbinical Judaism, which finally terminated in the Talmudical edicts, was to treat the Sacred Code as prodigal of mystic secrets, hidden in a phrase, or hanging on a single word, possibly on a particular letter, to be applied in a sense literal, or symbolical, or anagogical. Hence they tell us ‘there is not even a letter in the law on which huge mountains are not suspended.’ These are the Alps on Alps of the Talmud! We are astonished to discover how, from a single expression in the Scriptures, either obscure, or metaphorical, or literal, the most extravagant conclusions are deduced by the oriental imaginations of the Rabbins. The origin of ludicrous customs or the vilest superstitions, nay, even the illustration of some silly tale, they insist, lies under the rind of a casual phrase or a particular word, or rather, all hang on the theological cobwebs of the Rabbinical school.”

It must, however, in candour be admitted, that if the Jews were grossly imposed upon, fables equally preposterous were palmed on the Christians of the fifth century. Their prelates were never weary of pointing the finger of scorn at the startling fables contained in the Talmud; but the Jews might retaliate by referring to narratives equally formidable in the lives of the Catholic saints. St. Gregory took upon himself to write the story of St. Benedict; and the accuracy of his information it is presumed might be depended upon, as he had obtained it from the disciples of the saint. He tells us there that St. Benedict having first seen the light in the province of Narsia, about the year 480, was sent to Rome to study the liberal sciences, but fearing lest he should lose his soul in the vain pursuit of knowledge, he left his family and studies to become a monk, and was chosen abbot; but being too strict for those who were under him, they attempted to poison him. After this danger he retired into solitude, till, “increasing wonderfully in virtues and miracles,” the noble Romans began to bring their children to him for instruction; and he acquired sufficient influence to establish twelve monasteries, with twelve monks in each. He again, it appears, provoked either envy by his reputation, or hatred by his austerity. A priest in the neighbourhood was accused of endeavouring first to poison him, and afterwards to debauch his disciples; and Benedict deemed it expedient again to withdraw. He took with him a few of his monks, and was accompanied by—two angels and three tame crows—a circumstance omitted by Gregory, but related upon the equally valid testimony of Pietro Damiano, a cardinal and also a saint. With this retinue he arrived at Mount Cassino, formerly the resi-



dence of the Roman author Varro. There he destroyed a temple of Apollo, converted the pagans in the neighbourhood, founded a convent, wrote the Rule of his Order, and died in the year 543.

The sketch of his adventures, however, is farther enriched by many superior legends. We are told that the devil appeared to him sometimes in the shape of a blackbird, sometimes in his proper shape with hoofs and horns, sometimes tempted him, and sometimes abused him. All this Benedict may have believed; but when it is asserted that he worked miracles habitually, raised the dead, and sung psalms before he was born, "*encarcelado en el lugar materno*," it must be confessed that the Jewish romances were not more imaginative than those of their Christian scoffers.

The mass of mankind were thus thrown into strange confusion by those who assumed the august office of teachers, and claimed to be regarded as "eyes to the blind." But the fifth century had not closed when events, mighty as they were unexpected, interrupted these reveries, and the irruption of those who are called the northern barbarians subjected Christians and Jews to like danger and discomfiture. Through all the provinces into which the outrages of the intruders were carried, in Belgium, in Germany, in Gaul, in Italy, and in Spain, the Jews had been long established. They had visited all those countries as traders, or been carried thither by their masters as servants and slaves. The triumphant advance of the invaders necessarily interrupted all the associations they had formed; and, where life was spared, changed all its prospects. With that elasticity of character, however, which they had on so many former occasions exhibited, they soon accommodated themselves to the new state of things. It has indeed been supposed that they suffered less than others from the shock. Despised as they had been they were forced to conceal their wealth; denied the ordinary rights of citizenship, they held no immoveable property. Their *amor patriæ* was not wounded by convulsions which seemed to reduce other nations to the level of their own; and feeling little attachment to those lands in which they had only been permitted to reside on conditions which were galling to their pride, they were soon content to seek new connections and another home. There were cases in which the bold and vigilant Israelite could at once gratify a thirst for profit and enjoy the luxury of vengeance. Where the destroyers took their course, he followed in their train, and secured a portion of the plunder which they could not carry away. He saw devouring flames prostrate the lofty spires of a magnificent city, and rejoiced that it was not on his nation that destruction had fallen. Palaces were levelled to the ground, and his lowly dwelling shared but the common lot. He sought the fields of slaughter, and joined with the victors to enrich himself with the spoils of the dead. More enlightened than the wild men of the north, his judgment and address enabled him to gain articles of great cost from their savage ignorance, in exchange for glaring toys of little intrinsic value.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Cavades requires Jews and Christians to become converts to the religion of Persia.—Four princes of the captivity reign within the space of nine years.—Zeutra, the last, permits Meir, a fanatic, to make war on Persia.—Both Meir and Zeutra are put to death.—Chosroes murders his father Hormisdas, and is expelled by his son Varanes.—Antioch is taken, and great cruelties are exercised.—The Jews rise against Chosroes.—Twenty-four thousand of them join the army of Chosroes II.—They lay waste the suburbs of Jerusalem.—The Christians, in revenge, behead two thousand Jewish prisoners.—Ninety thousand Christians are slaughtered in retaliation.—The Jews dealt largely in slaves.—Laws are made to abate the evils of slavery.—Pope Gregory greatly exerts himself to put down Christian slavery.*

IN the sixth century the Jews in the East experienced severe persecution from Cavades, a haughty prince, who desired that all his subjects should profess the religion of Persia. The Christians were expected to conform to this decree, as well as the Jews; but the latter, because they more stubbornly resisted, were treated with greater rigour. Their Princes of the Captivity are believed to have become obnoxious to the Persian, and four princes were installed within the brief space of nine years. Their names were, Huna, Acha, Tethana, and Zeutra. The first three reigned severally two, three, and four years, but the reign of the fourth was extended to twenty. During his time a daring Rabbī, named Meir, and who was famed for his learning, and moreover for his ability to perform miracles, made war on the Persian king, and accomplished what certainly might almost pass for a miracle; as, taking the field with only four hundred followers, for seven years he successfully carried on war against the head of the Persian empire; that is, he and his companions laid waste the whole country. Eventually he failed; his men declined from virtue, and having polluted themselves by their greediness for "strange flesh," sustained a miserable defeat; and their leader, being taken prisoner, was put to death by the enemy. The Persians entered the city in which the prince resided. Zeutra's family saved themselves by flight; but Zeutra himself, less happy, falling into their hands, was hanged with his principal minister. His son, who was also named Zeutra, passed into Judæa, and there, being acknowledged as prince, presided over the Sanhedrim. Peace does not appear to have been perfectly restored while Cavades reigned. The Jewish chroniclers do not clearly explain what caused this continuous hostility; but they enlarge on the triumphs of Meir, and declare that, when he advanced against the Persians, he was encouraged by the same pillar of fire which had formerly guided the Israelites in the wilderness; and nothing but the frailty of his men, in yielding to the temptation which the chance of war



threw in their way, prevented his triumph over the Persian monarch from being complete. Towards the close of the century they were again visited with severe punishment from the same quarter. Cavades having died in 531, was succeeded by his third son, Chosroes, surnamed the Magnanimous, who, with all his father's pride and daring, was animated by all his father's bigotry. It was his will that the religion of Persia should become that of the world; and all who owned his authority were formally required to shape their course, and, if necessary, alter their faith, accordingly. He pursued the Jews with still greater rigour than Cavades had done. They felt his displeasure most acutely, as they had endeavoured to gain his favour by inducing him to break off a treaty which he was on the point of concluding with the emperor Justinian. That he might listen to their representations, they promised to place an army of fifty thousand men at his disposal, by means of which he might easily conquer Jerusalem, which they described to be one of the richest cities in the world. It appears that Chosroes approved of the scheme, and was preparing to act on their recommendation, when news arrived, that those who had treacherously attempted to interrupt the negotiations had been betrayed, had confessed their guilt, and had been executed. In the wars which this prince carried on, he compelled the Jews to share their attendant calamities. Under Hormisdas III. they enjoyed more repose, during twelve years, at the end of which period he was murdered by his son, Chosroes II. The parricide did not long enjoy the throne which he had thus obtained. His son Varanes became as anxious to supplant him as he had been to succeed his father. Varanes, however, did not have recourse to assassination, but levied open war against Chosroes, and drove him out of his kingdom. In this enterprise he was assisted by a strong party of Jews, whom Theophylus, the Greek historian, condemns as a turbulent race, and pronounces to be a faithless, unquiet, imperious, and implacable nation. He applies these epithets to them for their conduct in assisting the base designs of a son who had rebelled against his parent, not admitting them to be excused by the fact of that parent having been the murderer of his own father. Chosroes II., though in the first instance vanquished, prevailed eventually, and returning as a conqueror, he failed not to pour the vial of his wrath on the Jews, who had given their assistance to Varanes. This occurred about the year 615. A new city, which had received the name of Antioch, built after the model of the Syrian capital, had risen in the time of Nushirvan, who reigned in Persia when Justinian presided over the destinies of Rome. Many of the inhabitants of the old city had resorted to it, and the Jews formed no inconsiderable portion of its population. When it was taken, Nabod, the general of Chosroes, inflicted the most dreadful punishments on the Jews, putting many to death by lingering tortures, and consigning others to hopeless slavery. Multitudes of the Israelites were doomed to expire in the most lingering tortures ingenious cruelty could invent. The reinstated parricide, after a time, became reconciled to the Jews; and, in a

war which he waged against Phocas, he availed himself of their services. Phocas, who presided over the Byzantine empire, having stained his hands with the blood of Mauricius, emperor of the East, by whose means Chosroes had been restored, Chosroes marched against him to avenge the death of Mauricius. Had the Jews waited patiently they might securely have gained revenge on their enemy; but exasperated by the oppressive conduct of Phocas, who compelled many Hebrews to become Christians, they rose prematurely, burned many of the public buildings, and after treating the patriarch Anastasius with great indignity, dragged him through the streets till he expired. Two commanders named Bonosus and Cotto were sent against them. They defeated the revoltors, and were proceeding to punish the outrages which had been committed when the approach of a powerful army sent by Chosroes compelled them to withdraw. Then the Israelites, while they saw their Persian allies advance without finding an enemy capable of resisting them, gave themselves up to immoderate joy.

The Persian monarch turned towards Constantinople, and Carusia his commander was directed to move upon Palestine and Jerusalem. This was a signal for a general rising of the Jews; and between Tiberias and Nazareth they are reported to have swelled the force under his command by twenty-four thousand men. Their advance was marked by new outrages too shocking to be described. From Tyre, where forty thousand Jews were established, secret messengers were sent to their brethren in Palestine, Damascus, and Cyprus, as also to the Jews in Galilee and in Tiberias, calling on all who wished for the restoration of Israel to assemble suddenly on the Christian Easter-night before the walls of Jerusalem. The scheme was not so skillfully managed; but it came to the knowledge of the Christians; and the bishop and principal citizens, with a view to frustrate the design, seized a number of Jews who were conspicuous for their wealth, and closely confined them. The best preparation was made that circumstances would admit of to defend the city, and the gates and walls were strengthened in their most vulnerable points. At the appointed time the Jews made their appearance, and laid waste the defenceless suburbs. They fired the Christian places of worship; but so often as the bishop and the Christians within their city saw a church fired, they caused a hundred Jewish prisoners to be decapitated, and their bleeding heads were thrown over the wall to the besiegers. The horrible spectacle thus presented to them did not cause them to change their course of proceedings. Twenty Christian churches were in succession reduced to ashes, and two thousand heads of slaughtered Jews were thrown to the ravagers. It was at length announced that the imperial forces were advancing, and the Jews hastened to join the Persians, and entered with them the streets of Christian Jerusalem. They indulged in savage vengeance; all the Christian churches were demolished, including that of the Holy Sepulchre, against which their rage was most specially directed, and the lives of the vanquished Christians were not spared—even for slavery. A frantic thirst for vengeance for the moment conquered



avarice, and ninety thousand of the hated sect are said to have fallen the victims of their rage.

The attachment of the Israelite to trade generally has been often mentioned in these pages; the commodity which they most largely dealt in at this portion of their history was slaves. For these, in the old world, there was at all periods a great demand; and besides the profit attached, it was no mean gratification to the Jew to feel that he was absolutely the owner of his Christian enemy. From the barbarians which overran the empire he purchased gangs of slaves, and his knowledge of the wants of various markets enabled him speedily to dispose of them on such terms as secured him an ample return. Laws were made from time to time to regulate the trade, and, as has been seen, even to prohibit it; but these were speedily either repealed or disregarded. The council of Orleans, in 510, attempted to ameliorate what it had been found impossible to abolish; and it was then declared, "That if a slave were commanded to perform any service incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church; the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his full value to the master." Another council was held at the same place in the following year, which enacted, that "if a slave under such circumstances should claim the protection of any Christian, he is bound to afford it, and to redeem the slave at a fair price." It moreover declares, "Any Jew, who makes a proselyte to Judaism or takes a Christian slave to himself, or by the promise of freedom bribes one born a Christian to forswear his faith and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave. The Christian who has accepted his freedom on such terms shall not presume to fulfil the condition; for a born Christian, who embraces Judaism, is unworthy of liberty." Other orders emanated from succeeding councils in the course of this century to regulate the circumstances under which Christians could be held in slavery, and to fix the price at which freedom might be purchased. From the multitude of slaves which were offered for sale, the price was much kept down, and twelve *solidi*, being equivalent to thirty-six shillings of our money, would commonly purchase an able-bodied man. The new laws, like the old ones, proved in a great measure inoperative; but at various seasons Jewish slave-dealing was fiercely denounced. By pope Gregory I. it was designated "cruel and impious." He blames those who permitted Christian slaves to become the property of Jewish owners; but the trading in slaves he more pointedly condemns than the possession of them. Writing to Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul, he thus expresses himself, "Dominic, the bearer of this letter, has with tears made known to us, that his four brothers have been bought by the Jews, and are at present their slaves at Narbonne. We direct you to make inquiry into the transaction, and, if it be true, to redeem them at a proper price, which you will charge in your accounts, *i. e.* deduct from the annual payment made to Rome." Another letter, by the same hand, addressed to Fortunatus, bishop of Naples, has been preserved. In this, he approves of the zeal manifested by the latter in favour of Christian slaves, bought by the Jews in the Gallic

provinces. Gregory was disposed to put an end to the trade altogether, but abandoned this design in consequence of his being waited upon by a Jewish deputation, who convinced him that Christian slaves were not bought as Christians, but merely as slaves, and in common with heathens, and showed that that branch of commerce had been long recognised by the highest judicial authorities. On this interesting subject, he also wrote to Thierry and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, and to queen Brunehaut, in the following strain, "We are amazed that in your kingdom Jews are permitted to hold Christian slaves. Are not Christians members of Christ's body, who, as we all know, is their head. Surely it is extremely inconsistent to pretend to reverence the head and yet suffer the members to be trampled upon by his bitterest enemies? We entreat your majesties to put an end to this most odious traffic in all your dominions, and so doing you will prove yourselves true worshippers of Almighty God by delivering his faithful from the hand of their adversaries." Another letter, written by this active pontiff, who appears to have been one of the most upright priests that ever filled the chair of St. Peter, proves that the Samaritans were dispersed with the Jews, and like them engaged in the slave-trade. Gregory writes, "A circumstance, both revolting and contrary to the law, hath been made known to us—a circumstance, if true, worthy of the strongest reprobation and the heaviest punishment. We understand that certain Samaritans resident at Catania buy heathen slaves, whom they are so daring as to circumcise. You must investigate this affair with impartial zeal, take such slaves under the protection of the church, and not suffer these men to receive any re-payment. Besides this loss, they must be punished to the utmost extremity of the law." Except interfering for the humane purpose of saving Christians from being the slaves of Jewish proprietors, Gregory acted with great forbearance towards the Hebrews. "Yet," says Milman, "he was by no means remiss in his attempts to convert these unbelievers. The tyrannical and bloody Chilperic, the contemporary king of Paris and Soissons, with the fierce and ignorant ardour of a man who hoped by his savage zeal for Christian faith to obtain remission of his dreadful violations of Christian virtue, compelled the Jews, who seem to have been numerous and wealthy, to receive baptism. But it was observed, that these compulsory converts observed their own sabbath as strictly as that of the Christians; and Priscus, the head of the nation, openly expressed his abhorrence of the tenets of Christianity. He was imprisoned, released on payment of a large sum of money, but commanded to marry his son to a Christian woman. Phatir, a converted Jew, related to the king by marriage, set on him, murdered him, and fled with his companions to an asylum in the church of St. Julian. The assassin was pardoned, retired into Burgundy, but was killed a short time after. But the pope employed more gentle and politic, and doubtless more effective means of conversion. He laid a temptation in the way of their avarice, by offering remission of taxes to all converted Jews."



# BOOK III.

## COMPREHENDING EVENTS FROM THE SIXTH TO THE NINTH CENTURY, AND TO THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

### CHAP. I.

*Mahomet is reported to have been of mean origin, but this is untrue.—His grandfather was greatly distinguished.—His father died young, and Mahomet is placed under the care of his uncle.—He becomes servant to Cadijah.—They are married.—His manly beauty and powerful eloquence command admiration.—He has few of the advantages of education.—From his youth he was a religious enthusiast.—He aims at effecting a great reform.—He proclaims that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his prophet.—Christ he describes to be a messenger from the Most High.—Mahomet declares himself to be the last of the apostles of God.—The Koran he asserts to have been dictated by the Almighty, and defies men and angels to imitate it.—He labours to make the Jews his followers, but his arguments and declarations are treated with contempt.*

WE have now to speak of one of the most remarkable of mankind. If he had not the divine authority of the Hebrew lawgiver, if glaring imposture disgusts us when we trace his course, still the daring, success, and wide spreading fame of the man, compel astonishment while we look on the career of Mahomet. It has been said that he was of humble origin, but this, Gibbon tells us, was an unskilful calumny of the Christians, who exalted while they attempted to degrade. In this the admired historian seems to have fallen into a solecism, as the representation which exalted could hardly be deemed a calumny. Mahomet's descent from Ismael, he adds, was a national privilege, or fable; but if the first steps of his pedigree are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility. He belonged to the tribe of Koreish, and to the family of Hashem, deemed illustrious among the Arabs, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba, that venerable object which is preserved with religious care in the temple at Mecca. Hashem, the grandfather of Mahomet's father, was a wealthy citizen, and his son, Abdol Motaleb, in times of public distress, proved himself a munificent benefactor. The kingdom of Yemen was under the sway of Christian princes, when their vassal Abrahah was moved by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross.

The holy city was invested by an African army. Under such circumstances a pacification was attempted, when in the first conference Abdol Motaleb demanded that the cattle, his property, which had been seized, should be restored. Abrahah thereupon demanded, "Why do you not rather plead in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied Motaleb, "the cattle belongs to me, the Caaba to the gods, and they are competent to defend their sacred dwelling from injury and profanation." The course pursued at his suggestion, or his undaunted bearing, caused the Abyssinians to retreat. Some fabulous circumstances said to have marked this retrograde movement; and a vast flight of denizens of the air, it is pretended, poured volleys of stones on the heads of the discomfited infidels. Mahomet's ancestor gained great glory from their discomfiture, which he lived to the age of 110 years to enjoy. Of thirteen sons with which he had been blessed, Abdalah was by far the most beautiful, and so coveted by the fair sex, that on the night of his marriage with Amina, a youthful female of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundred maidens expired in an agony of despair. The happy Amina did not long possess the envied prize, as Abdalah died still young, leaving Mahomet to the care of his grandfather. However distinguished his origin, his means were not very considerable. Born four years after the death of Justinian, and having lost, as well as his father, his mother and grandfather, when the property of the latter came to be divided, the portion of Mahomet was but five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. Abutaleb, one of his uncles, became his guardian, but, like Manes, Mahomet found on reaching maturity that he could only maintain himself in comfort by becoming a servant. He engaged with a rich widow of Mecca, and, like Manes, he soon became the husband of his mistress, and the master of her fortune. In their marriage contract, after describing their union to grow on the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah, it speaks of him as the most accomplished of his tribe; and if tradition may be credited, he inherited so much of his father's beauty, that his presence invariably commanded admiration, and prepared the beholder to listen with respectful attention to the eloquence by which he was so eminently gifted. His noble aspect, his piercing eye, and his flowing beard, furnished a personation of dignity and intelligence which few could regard with indifference.



Thus gifted by nature with the externals requisite to form a good actor, he had within him every thing that was necessary to turn them to the best advantage. The expression of his countenance, and his studied gestures, a grave and ceremonious politeness, his respectful attention to his superiors, his condescending affability to those beneath him, won all hearts, while they concealed the ambitious schemes which he secretly cherished beneath an aspect of expansive benevolence. It needs not to go through the whole catalogue of his reported accomplishments; suffice it to say, that little was wanted to give him all the importance which he has a right to assume, who knows how to persuade and is fitted to command.

He spoke the purest dialect of Arabia; but the advantages of a liberal education were not his. The arts of reading and writing were then enjoyed by few, and he was no exception to the ignorance of the period. To a bold and original thinker the disadvantage might not be so great as would at first appear. If not assisted by the lights of other minds, he was not fettered by the prejudices which they might have imposed on his own masculine understanding. He looked around him, and saw the monarchies of Persia and Rome in a declining state, and formed the bold design of redeeming those around him from the abject state of superstition which oppressed them, and to unite his brother Arabs under one God, to whom he would be the prophet, while he claimed the authority of a king.

Mahomet journeyed into Syria, and visited the fairs of Boshah and Damascus. He was a boy of thirteen when he attended the caravan of his uncle; and when at a later period he passed over the same ground, duty compelled his return immediately after he had disposed of the merchandise of Cadijah. The conversations which he held with multitudes resorting to those places, from every part, are supposed to have contributed to form those ideas which he subsequently communicated to the world in the Koran. From his youth upward he was a religious enthusiast; and every year, when the month of Ramadan came round, he withdrew from the world, and from Cadijah, to the cave of Hera, distant a few miles from Mecca; and there, communing with himself, his musings fashioned that faith which he at length preached under the name of Islam, and which boldly proclaimed that there was only one God, and that Mahomet was his ordained and chosen apostle.

Whatever may be alleged against his creed, it involved no unimportant reform. In the seventh century Christianity had declined from its original simplicity, and had become in some degree assimilated with paganism. If Jupiter and Bacchus did not command their adoration, Christians poured out their devotions over relics and images, that embellished or disfigured all the places of worship in which the Christians of the East were accustomed to assemble. The name of the Almighty was, comparatively, heard but seldom; while to a multitude of martyrs, and saints, and angels, that homage was offered which the earlier fathers taught was due to the Most High alone. Mahomet declined to worship living men or the bones of the dead, as also idols and stars. He held, that whatever rises must set; that

whatever is born must die; and that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. With holy awe and profound reverence he spoke of the Author of all things, as a being infinite in wisdom and power, and in duration eternal. He held the Almighty to be without form or similitude; he was ever present, and cognisant of the thoughts of all his creatures; existing, by the necessity of his own nature, in the fulness of every perfection. Mahomet did not deny the truth of what had been communicated to the world before his time; but wished it to be known that the same inspiration which had furnished the Scripture history of the fall of Adam was continued in his person, to enlighten mankind with the Koran. He maintained that, in the progress of the ages which had passed, some rays of prophetic light had been shared by a hundred and twenty-four thousand of the elect, distinguished for their piety; and three hundred and thirty apostles had been sent to recall their fellow-men from idolatry. There had been, according to him, one hundred and four volumes dictated by the Holy Spirit; while six legislators of transcendent merit had announced to the world the revelations of various rites, all pertaining to one unchangeable faith. The great authorities by which the human race were to be guided, were, according to him, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet; and those who rejected the revelations made by any one of these were to be stigmatized as infidels. The writings of the patriarchs, as then preserved, were of a very apocryphal character. Mahomet taught that the Author of Christianity was entitled to the highest reverence. Jesus, the son of Mary, he proclaimed to be the apostle of God, and his word, which he conveyed to Mary, a spirit proceeding from him. The Saviour he held to be honourable in this world, and in the world to come, and one who would approach near to the presence of God. Giving him full credit for all the wonders he accomplished, he insisted that Jesus Christ was but a mortal; and, at the last day, his testimony would condemn both Jews and Christians; the former for rejecting him as a prophet, the latter for adoring him as the Son of God. From a sect which has already been described, he borrowed the idea, that when the enemies of Jesus conspired against him, and deprived him of life, their malice was frustrated by Divine wisdom, and not the true form of Jesus, but a phantom, or the body of a malefactor, was hung on the cross in its place. In praise of the great reform which he had undertaken, he declared that during six hundred years the gospel had pointed out to mankind the way to salvation, till the Christians, like the Jews of ancient date, had by degrees wandered from the right path, and become the slaves of idolatry. He accused the church, as well as the synagogue, of corrupting the sacred text. While he taught that a great coming had been announced, to benefit and redeem mankind, he preached that the Paraclete, or Comforter, which Moses had announced, and which Christ had declared should follow him, had been given to the world, and he scrupled not to add, in himself, the greatest and the last of the apostles of God. In the production of the Koran, his pride bent to his policy, and he claimed but to be the editor. \* "The substance of



the Koran, according to himself or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewish economy, had indeed been despatched on the most important errands; and this trusty messenger successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect measure of the Divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion of Mahomet; each revelation was suited to the emergencies of his policy or passion; and all contradiction removed by the saving maxim, that any text of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage. The word of God, and of the apostle, was diligently recorded by his disciples, on palm leaves, and on the shoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connexion, were cast into a domestic chest in the custody of one of his wives."

Such is the history of the origin of that celebrated book, as drawn by Gibbon from a variety of authorities. It was not published till two years after the *soi-disant* prophet's death, when it was sent forth by his friend and successor Abubeker. It was subsequently improved by other hands, for all of which the privilege of miraculous inspiration is claimed; and as the true cross was never reduced in size by the parts of the splinters and parts taken from it for the solace of holy pilgrims, so the virtue of the Koran was never deteriorated by the interpolations of the followers of Mahomet, who undertook to revise it. Of its merit Mahomet did not fear to speak plainly. He was not content with saying with a Latin poet, that, "He had erected a monument more durable than brass, more noble than the pyramids, which should defy decay, from

*Annorum series et fuga temporum;*"

he rested the whole truth of the doctrine he preached on the all-surpassing merit of the Koran, which he declared to be so great, that not only was it impossible for it to be excelled, but he would defy men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page of that work, so affluent of divine intelligence, and proceeding from God alone.

Among those whom Mahomet first endeavoured to convert, the Hebrews are named. It was his policy to see ranged on his side the votaries of an ancient religion. Doubtless he calculated on gaining by its adhesion a powerful weapon to use in working out his designs. Proclaiming himself the apostle of the everlasting God, he declared war against idolatry and the worshippers of fire; but he respected the opinions and the religious ceremonies of the Hebrews. While he called on his followers to adore the Lord of the Hebrews, the Lord of the earth, the Lord of the winds, and the Lord of the demons, he did not approach the Jewish doctors but with profound respect. It was his wish in this instance to conquer by persuasion and not by force. He vainly flattered himself that the arguments which triumphed elsewhere would here prevail; but the Jews, little friendly in general to association or brotherhood

with those who were not of the race of Abraham, were inaccessible to all he could urge; long had they hoped for the coming of their Messiah, but when Mahomet announced himself as a Messenger from Heaven, greater than Moses, they turned from him with scorn equal to that with which their ancestors had repelled Jesus of Nazareth. Approving of many of their dogmas, he was extremely solicitous to engage them to identify themselves with his followers—but he laboured in vain. As in former times, the Messiah they looked for was expected to come in a blaze of earthly glory, "conquering, and to conquer;" and the scornful return to all Mahomet's advances amounted but to this, that they disdained to accept for their Messiah one who had sprung from the loins of Hagar, the bond-woman.

## CHAP. II.

*State of the Jews and the Samaritans.—The latter when the Jews are unfortunate, declare themselves to be Phœnicians.—The Samaritans are regarded as being a distinct people.—They worship on Mount Gerizim.—A Christian chapel is built there.—A commander, named Julian, heads a revolt, and commits great outrages.—Arsenius vindicates the Samaritans, but eventually becomes a Christian.—St. Subas acts a humane and disinterested part.—The prefect, Stephanus, is murdered.—The work of legislation is aided by pretended miracles to promote the interests of Christianity.*

A RETROSPECTIVE glance at the state of the Jews and the Samaritans may here be allowed to interrupt our narrative. Samaria was a country in Judea, and was the place in which royalty resided, from the time of Omri, the founder of the kingdom, till it ceased to be recognised as such. A series of kings contributed to adorn it, and it became the strongest place in Israel. In process of time the Samaritans were regarded as a distinct sect. They claimed, it is said, to be Jews, if the race of Abraham were prosperous; but when they experienced severe reverses, the Samaritans disavowed the connection, affirming that they were Phœnicians. Every event of moment served to increase the humiliation of the Israelites. After the fall of the patriarchate, no efficient band remained to hold them together as a people. The rights of Roman citizens were taken from them, and they were no longer eligible to hold offices which had been open to all. During the time of Justin the elder, it was declared that all unbelievers, Jews, and Samaritans, should henceforth undertake no office of magistracy, nor be invested with any dignity in the state; "nor be judges, nor prefects, nor guardians of cities, lest they may have an opportunity of promoting or judging Christians, and even bishops. They must likewise be excluded from all military functions. In case of a breach of this law, all their acts are null and void, and the offender shall be punished by a fine of twenty pounds of gold." From this it will be seen that the Samaritans were viewed as a distinct people. They had, in fact, established themselves in great numbers on



the shores of the Mediterranean, and their ancient city of Sichem had now received the name of Neapolis, or Naplous. That they were powerful was proved by many insurrectionary movements. The mountains of Gerizim remained to them, but no temple crowned its summit. Thither, however, the Samaritans were accustomed to repair to worship the Eternal.

On this spot it is supposed the Christians wished to build a church, as they had understood the Saviour, in his conversation with the woman of Samaria, actually prophesied that in the fulness of time that site should be devoted to the purposes of a nobler faith than the one which then found its votaries there assembled. Outraged by such a design having been formed against their religion, the Samaritans, one Easter day, made a furious attack on the Christian church, and having seized the Bishop of Terebinthus while he was in the act of administering the holy sacrament, snatched at the consecrated cup, and struck off some of the fingers which vainly clung to it, in the hope of saving it from desecration. The prelate, however, found his way to Constantinople, and there exhibited his wounded hands, and, in consequence, the offenders were ordered to be punished, and to be expelled from Gerizim. Then the Christians had the happiness of seeing a chapel rise on a place which had long been the scene of Samaritan devotion. They greatly exulted in their triumph, and the mortification of their opponents was proportionately severe. Against any attempts which the latter might make to effect its destruction, a strong guard was placed near the edifice. Notwithstanding this a fanatical party, led on by a woman, climbed the height, and, if properly supported, would have demolished it; but the example was not boldly imitated, and utter failure was the consequence. The guard was strengthened against any further attempt, and five other temples of Christian worship which had been destroyed by the zeal of the Samaritans, were ordered to be erected. These proceedings, and the operation of the severe laws of Justinian, caused more frequent revolts. In one instance the Samaritans mustered in great force, and, led by a commander who was called Julian, seemed for a time to be in a fair way of mastering their oppressors. This Julian, like other Jewish chiefs who had suddenly risen to eminence, at first was reported to be the Messiah, and afterwards could obtain no better name than an impostor, and was indeed said to have been a leader of banditti. While animated by his presence the Samaritans laid waste the country; they put the peaceable inhabitants to death, they burned the Christian churches, and affronted the officiating prelates by offering them the greatest indignities. Entering Naplous at a moment while certain public games were in course of celebration, Julian ordered the victor, whose name was Nicias, to be brought before him. When Nicias stood in his presence, he abruptly demanded to what body of religionists he belonged, and on his declaring himself to be a Christian, Julian instantly struck off his head. Massacre was the order of the day, and vengeance was most especially directed against the priests, many of whom were torn to pieces by the bigoted Samaritans. Disorders like these could not be allowed to go on unchecked. A military force was sent against the Samaritans; and after several severe conflicts the revolters were totally defeated,

and Sylvanus, one of their number, who had been a most ferocious assailant of the Christians, being taken, was put to death. For this relief the Christians were thankful, and fondly hoped, since those who had so lately been their terror were effectually quelled, that their sorrows would be at an end.

Among the insurgent Samaritans there was a man named Arsenius. He enjoyed a great reputation for talent, and his eloquence was most persuasive. This person now proceeded to Constantinople, where he pleaded the cause of his countrymen so eloquently with the empress, that she was convinced the Christians had really caused the late revolt; and as she had great influence over the emperor, he was soon brought to adopt the same opinion. That such a change had been wrought, was speedily made known to those whom it most concerned, and all Palestine was filled with amazement and dismay. He was, according to them, "a crafty and a wicked liar;" but that he successfully vindicated his countrymen they had the fullest evidence. To counteract, if possible, the representations which he had made, they determined to send a holy man of great repute to the city of Constantine; and Sabas, a reputed saint, then ninety years of age, was dispatched on that mission. If we may judge from the result he well deserved the fame he enjoyed; for the impression which Arsenius had made was soon effaced, and the guilt of the Samaritans held to be proved beyond all doubt. Many who had been implicated in the rebellion were sentenced to die, and a great number were banished from the country. No more could the eloquence of Arsenius avail those in whose cause he had so lately raised his voice; and he, seeing the storm so high against his countrymen, consulted his safety rather than his fame by submitting to be baptised. Many Samaritans did the same, pretending to be converted by the preaching of St. Sabas, though it admits not of doubt, to save their persons from peril and their property from confiscation was their true object. Sabas himself acted a nobler part than most saints of the period. Offered rich presents, he declined anything that could be tendered for his own personal gratification, but humbly solicited that his Christian brethren might be released from certain taxes which pressed heavily upon them, in consideration of the losses they had sustained from their houses being burned, and their lands devastated, during the progress of the rebellion. The impartial severity of Justinian confounded Jews, Christians and heathens. To make proselytes was the will of the emperor, and it soon became the fashion of the age. Those who professed to be animated by the most kindly feelings thought in this case severity merey, as it tended to salvation, and spared not refractory Jew or pagan on whom the new light had not shone, and who imagined that duty commanded him to be faithful to the religion of his ancestors. Dissensions were thus introduced into numerous families. The Christian son might seize the property of the heathen father, and the name of religion was used to extinguish every spark of affection and virtue. It was declared to be law, that "The unbelieving parent, who had no other well-grounded cause of complaint against their believing children, were bound to leave them their pro-



perty, to afford them a maintenance to provide them all necessities, to marry them to true believers, to bestow on them dowries and bridal presents according to the decree of the prefect or the bishop." Other equally oppressive statutes were framed, which proved the source of private discord and public disorders. In one outbreak the Jews and Samaritans having destroyed the churches of the Christians, attacked the prefect Stephanus in his palace, which they plundered, and put the unfortunate owner to death. His widow complained of the outrage at Constantinople, and Adamantius was commissioned to inquire into the circumstances of the case, which being done, some of the culprits were brought to condign punishment. In the course of years, from this melancholy state of affairs, the harshness of laws producing the outrages of rebellion, and the outrages of rebellion a still harsher exercise of power, the Samaritan race became almost extinct.

We ought not to omit to state that miracles were called in to the aid of legislation. Those who could not be frightened were attempted to be cheated into Christianity. Of the strange delusions countenanced with such objects in view, specimens have already been given. To the number one may here be added. When Menas was bishop of Constantinople, it was usual to scatter the crumbs of the consecrated bread which might remain after administering the sacrament, and these were commonly collected and eaten by children. The prodigious power of these crumbs were thus proved. On a certain occasion, the son of a glassblower having been present when the crumbs were distributed, partook of them with the other children. This coming to the knowledge of the glassblower, he was so exasperated with the boy for what he had done, that seizing him in fury, he thrust him into his heated furnace and closed the door upon him. Missing her child, the mother sought him in various places, and was quite disconsolate at finding all her efforts to recover him were vain. Two days of bitter sorrow were passed by the bereaved parent, but the third brought her unhopd for comfort. Seated at the door of the workshop, and wildly calling on the name of the lost one, on a sudden she was equally astonished and rejoiced at hearing the voice of the child call to her in reply. On causing the furnace to be opened, her son was found sitting among the red hot coals, not having sustained the slightest injury. When her emotion so far subsided that she could question her miraculously preserved offspring on that which appeared so extraordinary, she was told that immediately after his father had placed him in the dangerous situation, a lady, attired in a purple robe, had opportunely appeared and poured water on the coals that lay immediately around him. It was concluded that the lady could be no other than the Virgin Mary. The cruel father was condemned to die, and the mother and son admitted into the church. It was by such means that mad zealots thought to advance the interests of Christianity.

### CHAP. III.

*Mahomet courts the Jews, but commands them to conform to his doctrines.—A Jewish kingdom is founded in Arabia-Felix.—There the queen of Sheba is supposed to have reigned.—A Jewish king presides over the Homeritis.—Religious differences give rise to fatal strife.—The king of Ethiopia, Elesbaan, conquers the king of Homeritis.—The latter again takes up arms, and attacks Nagra, a Christian city.—It falls; he commits great enormities.—Aeth and other Christians refuse to abandon their faith, and are put to death.—Dunaan is again conquered, and loses his life, and Homeritis no longer exists as a kingdom.—The Jews are still found in great numbers.—Mahomet makes war upon them.—He countenances a horrible massacre, as a judgment of the Highest of the seven heavens.—He realises an immense booty.*

THE day was soon to arrive in which Mahomet would no longer stoop to court, but would impiously command the Israelites to declare for him. He first tried all the arts of persuasion, and these failing, he caused it to be intimated to them that the Deity must no longer be trifled with, by their refusing or hesitating to acknowledge his prophet. Since they would not be convinced they must be constrained, and they had only to choose between the Koran and the Saviour.

Distinct from the Jews of Palestine and Babylon, a Hebrew community had been established in Arabia-Felix. It existed for many centuries, but the history of its origin is confused and little to be depended upon. It may be concluded that in those sad days, which saw the tribes dispersed and the objects of general hatred, a body of them had crossed the desert and established themselves on that fertile ground, so favourably distinguished from the other portions of Arabia. Having crossed the desert they might regard it as a rampart or safeguard. Rumour, however, assigns it sufficient attractions to render it a most desirable spot for settlers in that portion of the globe. Here the splendid throne of the queen of Sheba was supposed to have been established; and whether the tribes thus associated were or were not the true children of Abraham, they respected and practised the rites and usages of the Jews. Swine's flesh they refused to eat, and the forms of prayer which they addressed to the universal Father were in spirit not unlike those preferred by the Jews of Palestine and Babylon. They claimed to have been settled in those parts for more than a century before the coming of Christ. Palaces had been erected for royalty, fortresses for the defence of the state, and a Jewish king, who was called Aer-Carb-Asaad, reigned over this people in a land or district which was called Homeritis. This monarch is said to have been the first that adorned the Caaba at Mecca with rich carpets, notwithstanding the Caaba was at that period and down to the coming of Mahomet, reserved for idol worship. If Aer-Carb-Asaad maintained that the God of Israel was the greatest of all Gods, he must be supposed to have admitted the claim of subordinate deities to mortal homage, and to a share



of the sacrifices offered in the Caaba. We cannot trace with any moderate precision the race of Homeritish kings, and shall only speak of the last, who reigned but a short period before the birth of Mahomet. It might have been hoped that those who had fled from persecution would, in these secluded vallies, which from their natural advantages were called happy, have enjoyed profound repose, but religious differences soon caused fatal divisions and murderous conflicts. The hostility of the Christians to Jews, and Jews to Christians, raged as violently here as it had done elsewhere. The Christian faith, as explained by Arian, had found its way into Yemen shortly after the reign of Constantine. The Arians and the Jews appear for some time to have been friendly; but the Catholic faith, under the favouring influence of the monarchs of Ethiopia and Abyssinia, disturbed the previously existing harmony. A king, who is called Elesbaan, came from the opposite shore of the Red Sea to make war on Dunaan, the last Hebrew king of Homeritis. He was a man of courage, and did not yield to the superior force of the invader without a struggle; but all his efforts against Elesbaan proved abortive, and being eventually vanquished, he became tributary to that monarch. He felt this not only to be onerous but degrading, and resolved to throw off the foreign yoke. In the then state of navigation, the communication between Homeritis and Ethiopia was often interrupted, and this encouraged Dunaan to attempt the recovery of his independence by an act which, though marked by savage violence, was little at variance with the spirit of the age in which he lived. A massacre of all the Christians resident in his dominions was the measure which he resolved to adopt, calculating that Elesbaan, deprived of their countenance and support, would no longer be superior to him in strength, and he thus trusted it would be in his power to destroy or expel the invaders. He accordingly watched for a favourable moment to march against Nagra, a strong Christian city, having first put to death all the Christians who were immediately within his reach. He appeared before Nagra, which was distinguished by the grand symbol of Christian faith, the cross, erected on one of its loftiest heights; he demanded that it should immediately be removed, and required the inhabitants to deny that they were Christians. The doctrine of the Trinity he called upon them to renounce, and insisted upon their instant recognition of the unity of God. The Christians did not refuse to acknowledge the unity of the Eternal, but they resolutely adhered to the belief of there being three persons in the godhead. Elesbaan pressed his conditions with earnestness, and they adhered to their creed with resolution, till Dunaan, incensed at their obstinacy, caused the Christian prisoners he had made to be brought forth and cruelly put to death before the walls of Nagra, while their women and children he doomed to hopeless slavery. Appalled at this spectacle, the firmness of the besieged seems to have given way, and on a hollow promise that if admitted within their defences, he would admit that freedom of conscience on which he had made war, the gates of the city were thrown open to him. Then he no longer affected moderation, but furiously seized their leaders, threw them

into prison, and loaded them with chains. In former days a bishop, named Paulus, had been the opponent of Dunaan, as he was the eloquent champion of Christianity. The tyrant demanded that the prelate should be given up to his vengeance. Happily this demand could not be perfectly satisfied, as Paulus already slept in the grave, and the meanness and ferocity of Dunaan could only be gratified by exhuming the corpse, and burning the departed bishop's unconscious remains. Other individuals, distinguished as pious Christians, were also lifted from the tomb to be reduced to ashes, and many who became his prisoners were doomed to die as the reward of their constancy. One of the leaders of the Christians, named Areth, whom, when he first entered Nagra, Dunaan had thrown into a dungeon, was now brought forth, and the imperious tyrant condescended to argue with him and his companions on the folly of their adhering to doctrines so vastly inferior to the belief which he called upon them to adopt. Areth and his companions were, however, incapable of yielding to such a disputant, and refused to abandon the hope of salvation through the merits of a crucified Redeemer. Provoked at this, he no longer reasoned with them, but commanded prompt obedience on pain of instant death. The menace failed to subdue their resolution, and the Christians, with a joyful air, prepared to endure the pains of martyrdom, while their wives and daughters went forth rejoicing that their friends and relatives had the glory of being sacrificed in the cause of Jesus Christ. These facts are stated in a letter of somewhat apocryphal character, said to have been addressed by Dunaan to Al-Mender, a Saracen prince. Elesbaan, on learning that Dunaan had revolted, was highly incensed, and lost no time in marching against Nagra. On this occasion, 120,000 men are said to have followed his standard. No force that Dunaan could command was able to offer effectual assistance to so terrible an enemy; and Dunaan, defeated again, lost his life in the struggle. With him the Jewish kingdom of Homeritis ended, and a Christian king was established by Abraham, the son of Areth. It afterwards fell into the hands of the master of the Persian empire. Notwithstanding the extinction of the Homeritis as a Jewish kingdom, the Jews were still numerous in Arabia. They formed themselves into separate and independent tribes, and these it became the object of Mahomet to unite. He either believed that they were favoured by the Deity, or thought it policy to make them suppose that he did so. He affected to believe in their history, and regarded Mount Sinai with the greatest reverence. He represented his flying steed, the Borak, when carrying him to heaven, to have paused near it, that due homage might be rendered to an object so highly distinguished by the scenes which it had witnessed.

That he anxiously desired to gain over the Hebrews to his views, is beyond all dispute. "The choice of Jerusalem for the first *kebla* of prayer," says the historian so often quoted, "discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal interest had they recognised in the Arabian prophet the hope of Israel, and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his



friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued the unfortunate people to the last moment of his life; and, in the double character of an apostle and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds. The Kainoka dwelt at Medina, under the protection of the city: he seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. 'Alas,' replied the trembling Jews, 'we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?' The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importunity of his allies, and consented to spare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiscated; their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Mussulmans; and a wretched colony of seven hundred exiles was driven, with their wives and children, to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Nadhirites were more guilty, since they conspired, in a friendly interview, to assassinate the prophet. He besieged their castle, three miles from Medina; but their resolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation; and the garrison, sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the honours of war. The Jews had excited and joined the war of the Khoreish: no sooner had the nations retired from the ditch, than Mahomet, without laying aside his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha. After a resistance of twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion." The followers of Mahomet believed that the angel Gabriel led the way, and filled the hearts of the Koraidhites with wild apprehension. That the courage of the latter failed them is clearly established. Believing the foe invincible, Caab the son of Asaad, the most determined champion of the war, was content to yield. The unhappy besieged at length surrendered, and descended from their castle in the expectation that their lives would be spared. The prisoners were brought before the aged Seid, who is called venerable, and described to have been the son of Moadh. Seid, notwithstanding his years, seems to have claimed no exemption from danger, and was himself suffering from a wound when he was called upon to determine the fate of the unhappy captives. The Jews apostrophised him, in the pathetic language of heartfelt sorrow and despondency, to spare the unhappy. "Oh save, and have mercy upon us," was the cry of the Hebrew petitioners. The affliction he witnessed affected not the old man. Time had hermetically closed the avenues which led to his heart against the pleadings of humanity. He thought the moment had come when an act of surpassing grandeur would shed lustre on his name, and, raising his voice, he pronounced the awful doom—"Let all the men be put to death, and the women and children be slaves." The ferocious decision was applauded by Mahomet, as "a Divine judgment, as a judgment from the highest of the seven heavens." To the market-place of Medina the prisoners were dragged in their chains: seven hundred Jews descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and

burial; and the apostle beheld with satisfaction the slaughter. "Their sheep and camels were inherited by the Mussulman: three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, and a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil." This monstrous scene Mahomet not only approved in the excitement of the hour, but it is triumphantly recited in the Koran.

To Khaibar Mahomet soon advanced. This was another fertile spot, embellished with many palm-trees, defended by eight castles, and considered to be a place of great strength. But no place was secure against the daring multitude now set in motion by the voice of the pretended prophet. Khaibar lay at a distance of about six days' journey to the south from Medina. As he advanced, he excited his followers to desperate enterprise, by declaring that "Paradise lay before them, the devil and hell-fire in their rear." He prevailed, it has been seen, and by the fall of Shataa gained an immense booty, in corn, oil, honey, cattle, sheep, asses, and armour. A camel-skin, full of collars, bracelets, garters, earrings, and buckles, all of gold, with a great number of precious stones, were brought to Mahomet. Alkanus, the third citadel which was attacked, made a determined resistance. Here Ali, who was called the Lion of God, greatly distinguished himself, not only by planting the standard of Mahomet on the walls of the place, but by cleaving the skull of Marhab, a great Jewish captain, and a man of gigantic stature. The blow of Ali is said to have been so tremendous, that it at once cut through his buckler, two turbans, and a diamond, which he wore in his helmet, till the sword stuck between his jaws! "Perhaps," Gibbon sarcastically remarks, "we may believe that a Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his irresistible scimitar; but we cannot praise the modesty of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortress, and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand." After the fall of the castles, the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief Kenana was tortured, in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure. The industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration: they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for his emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.



## CHAP. IV.

*The attention of Mahomet is mainly directed to Mecca and Medina, and the Jews, in other places, are treated with less severity.—The battle of Yermuk is fought, and the Christians are defeated.—The conquerors undertake the siege of Jerusalem.—The Caliph Omar visits the city on the occasion of its surrender.—He orders a mosque to be built on the site of King Solomon's temple.—Spain is distinguished as a persecutor.—The Jews are banished from that country.—Many of them emigrate to France, but are driven thence.—Those who remain in Spain are ordered to be baptized.*

It was only within the limits of Arabia that the Jews were thus severely dealt with by Mahomet. Insisting upon uniformity of worship everywhere, his attention was principally devoted to Mecca and Medina. When the Persian dominions came under the rule of the caliphs, in many provinces their annoyances were greatly abated. It was the Christians that the fury of the Saracens mainly pursued. In their career of conquest, they saw Damascus, Heliopolis, and Emesa, yield to their prowess. The conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was accomplished within the space of two years; yet the commander of the faithful complained that it was not sooner effected; and the Saracens lamented, with penitent tears, that they had done no more, and entreated their generals to lead them against the enemies of the Lord. The enthusiastic transports to which the warriors gave themselves up when joining battle, enabled them, in many cases, to achieve prodigies of valour. Fighting under the walls of Emesa, a young Arabian warrior called aloud to those about him, "I see the black-eyed houris of the sky looking down with smiles upon me. Their resplendent charms are such, that should one of them appear in this world, every living man would die for love of her. Yet a celestial houri smiles on me; she beckons; she calls me to the heaven which she inhabits. I hear her exclaim, Come quickly, for I love thee." With these words, he assailed the Christians to whom he was opposed with fury, which it was almost impossible to withstand, and made considerable havoc in their ranks, till at length his career was stopped by one powerful arm, which transfixed him with a javelin.

To oppose the progress of the Saracens, large armies were prepared by the Roman emperors in Europe and in Asia. These great movements being made known to the Saracens, their chiefs, though anxious to fight, assembled a council. Calad, in opposition to Abu Obeidah, advised a retreat, that they might be joined by reinforcements, which were advancing to strengthen them against the unbelievers; but a messenger arriving from Medina, bringing the blessings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows of the prophet, and an additional force of 8000 Moslems, encouraged them to stand their ground. The yellow banner of Mahomet, which had been displayed before Caaba, was now reared in front of the Saracen host, where Calad took post. The generals exhorted their men to fight with the animation of hope and the fury of despair. The favourite exhortation was repeated. "Pa-

radise is before you," was their cry, "the devil and hell-fire are behind." Yet this did not easily prevail against the stern firmness of Roman discipline. Thrice was the right wing of the Arabs broken and separated from the main body, thrice they retreated in disorder, and thrice they were induced to renew the strife by the keen reproaches and blows of the females who followed their steps. From time to time Abu-Obeidah attended to the wounded, and comforted them by the reflection that the infidels shared their pain, though no black-eyed houris were to reward them for their valour. Success was eventually with the Arabs. The carnage of this day rendered the battle of Yermuk memorable. Four thousand and thirty of the Moslems were buried on the field, and seven hundred by the unerring aim of the Armenian archers, were each deprived of one eye. Many were drowned in the Yermuk, and the loss on the side of the Christians was great, and is deplored by their writers as the just but severe punishment of their sins. Manul, the Roman general, was killed, or, after his disastrous failure, fled for refuge and concealment to a monastery. In that of Mount Sinai he is said to have taken up his abode. The victorious Saracens liberally rewarded their soldiers out of the spoil they had made, and allowed them a month for pleasure and repose, after which it was resolved to undertake the siege of Jerusalem. Five thousand Arabs, commanded by the son of Abu Sophian, attempted to surprise it, but without success; and Abu Obeidah was compelled to bring his whole force against it. The summons which he caused to be addressed to it was couched in these terms:—"Health and happiness to every one that follows the right way! We require of you to testify that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring men against you, who love death better than you do, the drinking of wine or eating hog's flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children." These awful menaces did not succeed; the inhabitants of Ælia or Jerusalem resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. The place was naturally strong; on every side it was defended by deep vallies and steep assents. Its ancient walls and towers had been repaired, and during four months a brave resistance was opposed to the assailants. Frequent sallies thinned the ranks of the besiegers; destructive missiles were hurled from the ramparts by military engines; and these various means of annoyance, added to the inclemency of the season, caused the Arabs to deplore an awful mortality which diminished their host. The besieged at length deemed resistance must eventually prove worse than useless. The patriarch Sophronius solicited a conference, and proposed a fair capitulation, which he demanded should be ratified in the presence of the Caliph Omar himself. A council was held on this extraordinary demand, and eventually it was complied with. Omar, the proud emperor of Persia and Syria, being informed of the condition, set out on his journey to fulfil it. He is described on this great occasion to have been seated on a red camel, and besides his person, the animal was made to carry two bags of corn and dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle filled with water. On the road, so often as he halted, those who accompanied him,



without distinction were invited to partake of his homely fare, and at every repast he enlightened them with prayers and exhortations. In his progress he is more-over reported to have acted as judge, and to have punished luxury, extortion, and cruelty. When he first obtained a glimpse of Jerusalem he paused, and exclaimed aloud, "God is victorious. O Lord, give us an easy conquest;" and then pitching his tent of coarse hair, he took his seat on the ground. He signed the capitulation, and passing into the city with an air of perfect security, entered into conversation with Sophronius on the subject of its history and antiquities. Omar ordered the site of king Solomon's temple to be prepared for the erection of a mosque. He remained there ten days, regulating his Syrian conquests, and then returned to Medina. This was mortifying to every patriot Hebrew, but still each had the consolation of seeing that the Christians shared the degradation he had to deplore. as they saw the church of the Holy Sepulchre treated with contemptuous neglect; and indeed the Jews have been accused by some writers of having favoured the progress of Mahometanism from their hatred of Christianity. Of this we have no convincing proof; but that they should be well content to see their enemies humbled, was no more than might be expected. In the reign of Izdigerd, the last of the Persian kings, the Jews had been subjected to sharp persecution. The Christians, as in other times, when in power, made a cruel use of it; and those who groaned under their oppression had everything to hope for, and nothing to dread from, a change of masters. They therefore beheld with pleasure rather than indifference the spread of Mahometanism; and in Alexandria, where forty thousand of their nation had settled when it fell to Amrou, they experienced no serious hardship beyond being called upon to render tribute to him.

At a very early period of her history, Spain appears to have been odiously distinguished by her hatred for the unfortunate, her pious eagerness to punish affliction, by pursuing, with barbarous severity, the Jews who had established themselves on her soil. They endeavoured to recommend themselves to the monarch, King Recaredus, by offering him large sums of money to rescind the law which pressed heavily on them. Recaredus gained great favour in the eyes of some of the leading Catholic dignitaries, by refusing to attend to their request. It does not appear that it was for this proof of piety that he was favoured with a present from the pope of a piece of the holy cross, a few hairs of St. John the Baptist, and a key which was once in contact with the body of St. Peter, and some filings of his chains. It has been shown that they had been long resident in Spain, and they were great cultivators of the soil. Though eminently useful and industrious they pursued them, and cruel laws were framed to depress them. Of these a correct judgment will be formed from the preamble to some of them, which, with insolent frankness, openly avows the object in view. They are therein described as designed to propagate and ratify all enactments intended to repress Jewish wickedness. They forbid the Jews to celebrate the passover according to ancient usage, they prohibit marriages from being contracted according to the Hebrew custom, and the right of circumcision is ordered to be discontinued. The Jews were disqualified from bringing actions against Christians, and they were

also denied the right of giving evidence against persons of the Christian religion. Heavy penalties were attached to an infringement of these laws, which were however too severe to be uniformly carried into effect. Humanity insensibly rebels against wanton tyranny, and weariness neglects to apply punishment which generous vigilance would labour to repeal. In the time of the king we have named, we have positive proof that some of these laws had become a dead letter, and to such an extent, that in the time of his successor, Sisebutus, an embassy was sent to him on the subject from the Emperor Heraclius, who had been alarmed by a solemn revelation which he had received from an astrologer to this effect, that the whole Christian empire would be in danger from a circumcised people. By this, the astrologer meant to warn the emperor against the Moors and Saracens; but as his words were supposed to relate to the Jews, imperial hostility was directed against them, and in consequence, on ratifying a peace which his ambassador had concluded, Heraclius recommended King Sisebutus to banish them from all his dominions. This was acceded to; and the Jews were so harshly treated, that many of them consented to submit to baptism. Among the ancient laws of the Goths, called *Fuero-jugo*, there are two on this subject, which were framed by Sisebutus in the fourth year of his reign. The effect of them was not to produce a general conversion; many Jews emigrated to France, but thence, still pursued by merciless piety, they were soon expelled, together with the native Jews, by Dagobert, king of the Franks, at the request or demand of their old enemy, the Emperor Heraclius. It is remarked that the emperor does not appear to have subjected the Jews, in his own dominions, to like treatment; and it has even been supposed that in Spain, at least, the use made of his name by Sisebutus, was a false pretence. They endeavoured to move his pity, but in vain. On being required to submit to baptism, or to withdraw, they repaired to the court of his palace, and having in great affliction and with bitter tears obtained an audience, entreated him to change his determination. Sisebutus told them he could not attend to their petition, as his conscience compelled him to insist on their becoming Christians. They then opened the sacred volume, and referred the king to the example of Joshua, who had made peace with the Canaanites without compelling them to conform to the law of Moses. Sisebutus was at a loss to offer a satisfactory reply to this argument; but as might gives right, he thought it fitting to assume a lofty tone, and to tell the suppliants that under heaven he recognised no authority superior to his own, and it was his bounden duty strictly to enforce a law which was prepared for their benefit, as all who were not regenerated by baptism were doomed to eternal perdition. To that it was very reasonably answered that as, in other days, their ancestors who despised the Holy Land were judged by eternal wisdom to be sufficiently punished by exclusion from its blessings, so they, in the case supposed by Sisebutus, would adequately suffer from being denied eternal life. The royal disputant answered, that men might choose for themselves whether they would accept or refuse temporal advantages, but it was incumbent on those in authority to compel them to receive spiritual blessings, as indulgent parents force their children to study useful lessons.



## CHAP. V.

*The Jews continue to suffer from intolerance.—Ninety thousand Spanish Jews are baptised.—A synod of the clergy in Spain declares in favour of forbearance towards the Jews.—The fourth council of Toledo does not favour intolerance.—It adopts contradictory principles.—Isidore of Seville prompts milder measures.—He dies, and the council of Toledo sanctions greater severities.—Many converted Jews relapse into Judaism and induce Christians to embrace their faith.—Severe edicts are framed against the Jews.—They are not permitted to marry without engaging to become Christians.*

THAT intolerance which cannot bear to have its will resisted, in this, as in numerous other cases, disgraced religion, by affecting to be its champion. It was not enough that the monarch threatened the Jews with the vengeance of heaven; he hastened to make them feel his resentment on earth, by throwing some of them into prison, and ordering others to be subjected to various punishments, which he deemed suited to their crime. Weakness bent before the storm, affected to be converted, and submitted to baptism. By some accounts ninety thousand of the Spanish Jews thought it prudent to adopt this course; but many, preferring the consciousness of having remained faithful to the religion of their forefathers, abandoned their home and sought concealment in distant lands.

It does not appear that, during the life of Sisebutus, they had to be grateful for any amelioration of their condition, nor were the Jews more happy in the reign of his successor Sisenand, when more liberal ideas began to prevail. The cruel oppression to which that renowned and once favoured people had been doomed waked compassion at last where it never ought to be absent—in the bosoms of the ministers of religion; and the world saw probably with unspeakable amazement a synod of clergy in Spain raise its voice in favour of Christian charity.

The fourth council of Toledo gave little or no countenance to the intolerance which had too long prevailed, and adopted that view which is most consonant to reason, that a conversion which can only be obtained by having recourse to threats or punishment is of no value. It was therefore declared in the course of their proceedings, "That men ought not to be compelled to believe (or rather to pretend that they believe) because God will have mercy on those on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. Man," it was added, "fell by his own free will in listening to the tempter, and suffering himself to be misled by the wiles of the serpent, and so he could only be converted by his free acceptance of the Christian faith." This was something for that age, but the good was not allowed to be promulgated without some alloy of evil; the body which had made this rational and becoming declaration also declared that all who had embraced Christianity must be constrained to become Christians. No

matter what compunctious visitings might come over the neophyte, when once admitted to be a member of the Christian community; though he might feel no reverence for its observances, he was required to sin against conscience, and continue through the rest of his life to be a professing hypocrite; and the reason given for this was, "That having received the blessed sacrament the name of God would be blasphemed, and the true faith disgraced by their falling off again to Judaism."

But mercy was in those days frequently turned aside from her purpose, by the unhallowed zeal of hard-hearted bigotry. The milder measures which had been resolved upon are supposed to have been favoured by Isidore of Seville, a bishop who had a high character for learning and benevolence. While he laboured to reform the discipline of his clergy, he is believed to have opposed all attempts to force conviction on those who differed from him; and he was now so enlightened as to declare that "It was unnecessary to veil the Scriptures from the multitude, as the books of the New Testament, which contained the precepts of life and the rule of Christian faith, might be profitably read by all sorts of men." This eminent man was no more when the sixth council of Toledo met, and fiercer spirits were then in the ascendant. They affected to believe that Christianity had been deeply wounded by the countenance that had been given to Jews, and tolerance, and recalled the former benevolent decree, as inconsistent with the best interests of the church, and as opposed to true religion. They praised those who had delighted in persecution as the active and meritorious servants of a great and good Being, who had called his creatures into existence only to render them happy! They blessed the Almighty's name for that in his infinite goodness he had vouchsafed to give them Christian princes who understood the solemn duties imposed on them by their high station, and had not the culpable weakness of shrinking from pouring out the blood of those who were guilty of obstinately defending what they had been taught to honour as the truth.

It was now declared that thenceforth every king, at the commencement of his reign, should swear to execute the laws which had been framed against the wickedness of the Jews; and the curse of Heaven was invoked upon him who should neglect this sacred duty. The decree was not inoperative; and was supposed, or at least reported, to have proved the means of rescuing many souls from the dominion of Satan, because not a few of the humbled and terrified Israelites consented to submit to the baptismal rite. When such happy consequences were traced to a law, it was not likely soon to be abrogated; and we accordingly find that a subsequent council, which met at the same place, in 653, renewed and strengthened it, declaring that it was necessary it should be acted upon with vigour. It was urged, however, that many Jews, who had professed to be converted, relapsed into Judaism; and a representation was made on their behalf to a monarch named Receswinthus, declaring that they were at length anxious to become sincere Christians, and in all things to submit to the law. But one indulgence they prayed, that they might be permitted to abstain from eating



pork, as to swine's flesh they could not reconcile themselves, in whatever shape it might be presented. King Receswinthus and the council doubted the sincerity of this representation. They were believed to be in communication with the Jews of Africa against Christianity; and hence they accounted for that which was certainly not a little remarkable, namely, that not only had many converts relapsed into Judaism, but they had made converts from Christianity. That was regarded as a great offence against the state, and against Heaven, and a law was passed to punish it capitally. The truth is, that the Jews by their industry were still found the possessors of wealth; and the influence of money induced many not only to associate with them in a friendly way, but to adopt the tenets of their religion. In the tenth council of Toledo it was mentioned, as an awful scandal to the church, as a thing was monstrous and unspeakably degrading, that even some of the clergy did not hesitate to carry on an execrable commerce with the ungodly, by selling to them Christian slaves, which were thus surrendered to the great enemy of mankind, as it exposed them to be converted to Judaism.

The bishops of Spain, for a series of years, laboured hard to outstrip all their brethren in the race of persecution; and many of the councils of Toledo acted as if true piety were identified with harsh treatment of the Jews. At one of them it was declared that all who had been baptized, were bound to appear in the Christian church on the Jewish holidays, that it might be proved they utterly renounced Judaism. In the twelfth council of Toledo, Ervigus being then on the throne, more cruel enactments were sanctioned than had previously been deemed necessary. They seemed especially pointed at those who had affected to submit to the previously issued decrees. There were probably reasonable grounds for withholding favour from them. The consciousness of having forsaken their religion was not likely to improve their morals; and many actions of course transpired which were utterly at variance with the principles of Christianity, though they might be countenanced by the practices of some of its professors. In the church of the Holy Virgin at Toledo, the Jews on a certain day were commanded to assemble, there to learn what the council had decreed. They obeyed the mandate, and heard a preamble read, charging them with craft and disobedience, by which they had eluded those laws which had embodied the wisdom of former councils. With all this bitterness, however, the ferocity of previous enactments was abated, but only because their excessive severity had served to defeat their object, and fewer victims were found than a seemingly milder course was likely to place within reach of the church. It was not therefore mercy, which shrunk from dooming to the scaffold or the stake; but disappointed cruelty declared, that where sentence of death had recently been passed, a hundred lashes on the naked body should now be inflicted; after which the victim was to be loaded with chains, or banished the country, and his property confiscated. Thus it was the profaning the name of Christ was to be visited; and refusing the sacrament of the Lord's supper; speak-

ing scornfully of the Holy Trinity; omitting to bring infants and dependants to the baptismal font, for observing the passover; rejoicing at the appearance of the new moon; keeping the feast of tabernacles; and neglecting to keep the Christian sabbath or its appointed festivals, might be visited with a like penalty. Not only was the Jew to suffer when he himself offended, but if one of his domestics neglected the sabbath or the holiday, his master was liable to be fined. Where a child was liable to the Jewish baptismal rite, the parents were subjected to a degrading and painful visitation. The woman was deprived of her nose, and the man experienced equal severity; and in this, as in many other cases, the property of the offender was confiscated. To convert a Christian to Judaism was held to be one of the greatest offences that could be perpetrated; and as any excuse for persecution was admissible, the aversion of the Jew to pork subjected the unfortunate to the scourge, to banishment, and the loss of his goods. Some tenderness, indeed, was affected in the case of those who had but recently entered the pale of Christianity, and they were not at first required to partake of that particular meat at which they so generally revolted. Relations, even in the fifth degree, were not permitted to marry. If such unions were formed, they were declared to be null and void; and the property of the parties, if they had issue, was to be taken from them, and given to their children, if the latter had embraced Christianity. In cases where there were no children, the property was to belong to the lord of the soil.

But this was not all; it was resolved, if possible, where conversion could not be brought about, to demoralize; and accordingly it was ordered that no marriage should be solemnized unless a clause were inserted in the act of dower, binding both parties to forsake Judaism, and become members of the Christian church!

## CHAP. VI.

*Though treated with great severity the Jews are not permitted to withdraw.—Inconsistent edicts are framed respecting Jewish owners and Christian slaves.—Fraud or falsehood in a slave is rewarded with freedom.—Cruel laws are made against bishops who give Jews the care of church property.—Kindness to a Jew is punished by excommunication.—The Jews are not made good subjects by severe laws.—Under a mild government they are found peaceable and industrious.—They are supposed to have taught their Moorish sovereigns the use of coin.—The Karaites, or Jewish dissenters, become powerful.—Anan is their leader.*

In every way that eager virulence could contrive, it was provided that punishment and degradation should fall on the detested Israelites. Even the parents who permitted a marriage in which provision was not made for the parties becoming Christians were liable to a



penalty and the scourge; and while these severities were used to render life insupportable, the Jews were prohibited from saving themselves by flight. Were that attempted, not only the fugitive himself, but all who comforted, assisted, or concealed his preparations for escape, were subjected to bodily punishment and deprivation of property. To read books that favoured Judaism, and that were hostile to the Christian faith, was not to be endured; and if the children of a Hebrew did this, the father might be sentenced to receive a hundred lashes, and on repetition of the offence banishment and confiscation must follow. Slavery, then universally recognised, caused almost ludicrous inconsistencies in the legislation of the time. The orthodox churchman shrunk with horror at the thought that a Christian who had been redeemed by the son of God should be the slave of a Jew, and all such slaves were declared to be free, but the Jew, if so disposed, was not permitted to emancipate bondmen, and they were ordered on a given day to sell them off for whatever might be offered, which would seem to be but another name for confiscating them as property. It was difficult for the Jew to escape suspicion and annoyance in any case. If he adhered openly to Judaism, then, it has been seen, he was exposed to numerous cruel visitations; and if he sent in his adhesion to Christianity, it was in many cases alleged that he did so only that, under the mask of a new faith, he might retain his slaves. To baffle such schemes all Jewish owners were ordered to bring their slaves for sale at a time named, or publicly renew their declaration, that they were converts to Christianity. Where the baptismal ceremony could not at once take place, as a matter of indulgence, they were allowed to lodge a protest and take an oath which was prescribed to them, and which ingenuity had been tasked to render full of horrors. It is curious to trace the moral degradation which in most cases was encouraged in order to add to the number of the faithful, as they were called. A Jewish slave artfully pretended that his bosom was penetrated with the truths of Christianity, and that he desired for ever to renounce the errors of Judaism; and though his change of sentiments were but feigned, liberty requited his hypocrisy and fraud. Jews were forbidden to accept of any situation in which they might have power over a Christian, with the exception of certain cases, where special permission was granted by the feudal law, and even then, a slight infringement of the law, of which a ready witness was always at hand, would subject him to the scourge or the loss of half his estate. The Lord himself, for granting such a power, though it was ordinarily permitted to be exercised, was amenable to a higher authority, and liable to suffer both in person and in purse. Jews were forbidden to act as superintendents or overseers, and such was the dread entertained of Christians and Jews, forgetting their differences in matters of religion, that any bishop or minister who might place church property under the care of one of the Hebrew race, rushed upon ruin, for his property was to be confiscated; and if unhappily he had no property to confiscate, he himself was to be burnt alive.

Where these extreme severities were judged unne-

cessary, the Jew was annoyed and affronted in all the ordinary transactions of life. He was placed under the surveillance of those whom he had too good reason to regard as his bitterest enemies. Did he wish to pass from his home to a neighbouring town, he was compelled to report himself to the bishop or judge of the place. One regulation obtained, which it might have been supposed hatred of the unhappy race would have forbidden: they were ordered when travelling to eat and drink with Christians, from whom they could not separate without a sort of passport, safe conduct, or certificate, speaking somewhat favourably of their deportment. By what process Christians were brought thus to associate with the wicked Israelites we are not informed. It is reasonable to guess that the cunning Christian soon found out that he could make a profit by selling his company, for it is contrary to reason to suppose that the Jew might command it.

The days of rejoicing were turned into sorrow. As the Sabbath came round, if it brought rest, it brought humiliation and bitterness with it to the Hebrews. Instead of the peaceful and happy celebrations once known, they were ordered to assemble in the presence of the Christian bishop, who, in commenting on their errors, failed not to condemn them as reprobate and lost for ever, and their wives and daughters were ordered to be watched by females appointed by the prelate. Every care was taken to guard against the law being infringed by the promptings of generous compassion. To spare the proscribed, was to invite severe punishment. Bribery was charged, and slight proof would suffice to convict. He who, moved by benevolence, endeavoured to shelter a sufferer from his spiritual superintendant, was sentenced to pay a heavy penalty, and, worse than that, was ordered to be excommunicated. This was justly dreaded. The thoughtless Christian would mock the folly which presumed to dictate to the supreme Being, who should become the object of his wrath hereafter, but he was speedily taught that the bolt launched at him was no impotent effort of malevolence. At him the finger of scorn was instantly pointed; friends and neighbours avoided him as a pestilence, and the object of priestly rage was abandoned to solitude and despair. This power was not entrusted to the civil judge. He could only exercise it with the approbation, and under the direction of the clergy, when they could be present. The excommunication could only be removed by them when contrition was manifested. These laws and regulations, framed by the twelfth council of Toledo, were ordered to be made known to all the Jewish race.

The immediate consequences produced by these enactments cannot be traced. It is impossible to think that they rendered the Jews more peaceable subjects and better men. The laws were often violated, and all the sordid feelings of Christians excited to extort money from the Jews, by sparing them some of the annoyances prepared for them. In the time of Egica, who reigned after Ervigus, the laws were somewhat relaxed, and at any rate, the Jews who had been baptized were admitted to the ordinary privileges of citizenship. The Saracens, at that juncture, appeared in force, and threatened the Gothic monarchy. At such a moment what fidelity, what at-



tachment, could be hoped for from those who had so long deplored the worst evils of bondage. They were too honest to conceal their indifference, or rather too open to refrain from expressing their satisfaction, and the prospect which opened before them of seeing their oppressor humbled. Another council assembled at Toledo, at which the king was made to declare that a wide-spread conspiracy had been formed by the Jews, to massacre the Christians, to make themselves masters of the country, and to destroy the monarchy and all its institutions. "This vile people," said he, "not content with the everlasting degradation they have brought upon themselves by shedding the blood of Christ, and who are infamous by the profanation of their oaths, would fain involve the nation which has harboured them in universal ruin. Pretending that the time is come for their restoration, they are prepared to shed Catholic blood." The bishops and clergy affected great alarm, and to avert the evil, proposed to confiscate all the property of the accused, and to reduce the whole body to slavery. The doomed were not even to have the satisfaction of remaining with their offspring. All male children under seventeen years of age were to be taken from their parents to be baptized and educated as Christians, and eventually to be married to females of that persuasion. No efficient resistance appears to have been offered; but in the next reign another attempt to ameliorate their condition was hazarded. Witiza, who succeeded Egica, permitted Jews who had fled from persecution to return, and to enjoy the rights of citizenship; but it was theirs now to live not under Christian rulers, but under Moorish caliphs. Gratitude for service rendered, it has been suggested, was probably the cause of their being so tenderly dealt with. The Moorish caliphs, or sovereigns, valued the industry of the Jews, and allowed them to improve their fortunes, and to share in all the comforts of the age. The more wealthy could fearlessly live in a luxurious state, and the humbler classes exercised their talents for the benefit of the community. They were found useful in teaching the arts of civilization. Their religion commanded respect, for the boldest legends of the Talmud could not shock Arabian ears. It is recorded that in the time of Omar, the second caliph, the mint, or coinage of the state, was placed under the superintendence of a Jew. The extensive trade with which he was connected gave the coin wide circulation, the utility of which he is supposed to have demonstrated to the Moors. The calm which they now enjoyed was of long duration, for in the middle of the eighth century the Jews are still found acting an important part. To them was confided a task by Abu-Giafar-Almanzor, which they would too cheerfully perform—that of levying a heavy mulct on their ancient enemies, the Christians. This state of things continued so long as to endanger the authority of the Rabbins. The karaites, who have been called the "Dissenters, or Protestants of Judaism," now became formidable. Their doctrine had become unpopular through its being abused by the Sadducees, but the Sadducees declined into an insignificant body, and Karaism, resting its whole faith on the written law, put away the Cabala, the Mishna, the Gemare, and the Talmud. The individual who distinguished himself by effecting this great change was named Anan. He and his son Saul boldly declared against the Rabbins. At first

they were viewed with distrust, and having created some disturbance, Anan was thrown into prison, but soon recovered his freedom. He had already gained the confidence of a large body of followers, by whom he was ransomed. Anan did not fail to report that he had been favoured with revelations from on high. The prophet Elias, he declared, had appeared to him in a vision, and had promised him perfect success if he boldly advanced and vindicated the pure law of Moses. Anan was a man of superior shrewdness, and having encountered in prison an Arabian philosopher, he got from him some important information relative to the movements of the celestial bodies, of which he knew how at the proper moment to avail himself, and in consequence, he claimed from the vizier the privilege of publicly disputing with his adversaries. The principal matter on which they differed, he represented to have relation to the coming of the new moon; and as the caliph affected a great knowledge of astronomy, Anan, by falling in with his views, was held by the caliph to be a highly-gifted man, and to him the palm of victory was assigned. After this the Karaites were permitted to withdraw to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, there to maintain in peace the simple creed within sight of the venerated city of the Jews. The articles of their belief were these:—

I. That this world, which mankind inhabit, was created.

II. That it had an uncreated Creator; a being who, from the necessity of his condition, could have no beginning.

III. That the Almighty is without form, and in every sense one and indivisible.

IV. That God sent Moses to be a guide and instructor to the children of Israel.

V. That it was the pleasure of the Almighty to confide the law to Moses.

VI. That the true believer must ever take his creed from the knowledge of the law in its original language, or the exact interpretation of it which he may receive from holy men.

VII. That the God of Israel sent the prophets who came after Moses.

VIII. That God, at the last day, will cause the resurrection of the dead.

IX. That God will eventually give rewards and punishments to all men for their actions in this world.

X. That the eternal has not rejected for ever the race of Abraham; but it is his good pleasure to purify them by affliction; and it is for them to strive incessantly to render themselves worthy of being redeemed by the Messiah, and constantly to look forward with holy hope for his coming.



## CHAP VII.

*A kingdom, called Khazar, is established in the East under king Bulan. — He declares for Judaism, and invites Rabbins to settle in his dominions. — By him all religions are tolerated. — His mildness gives security to his dynasty. — It remains on the throne two centuries and a half. — The Jews are said to promote a war against images. — They are again treated with contempt. — They continue to trade in slaves. — Christianity favours universal freedom. — Toulouse is said to have been given up to an invading enemy by Jewish treachery. — They live peaceably under Pepin and Charlemagne.*

ANOTHER Jewish community remains to be noticed. "If," says Milman, "their own writers deserve credit, at a period not very distant from this, the Jews in the East attained to a still more eminent height of power and splendour. Judaism ascended the throne of a great kingdom on the west of the Caspian Sea, a kingdom before the strength of which the Persian monarchy trembled, and endeavoured to exclude its inroads, by building a vast wall, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the traveller; while the Greek empire courted its alliance. The name of this realm was Khazar, or Khôzar; it was inhabited by a Turcoman tribe, who had gradually abandoned their nomadic habits, and maintained considerable commerce; their capital, Bilangiar, was situate at the mouth of the Wolga, and a line of cities stretched across from thence to the Don. They exchanged dried fish, the furs of the north, and slaves, for the gold and silver and the luxuries of the of southern climates. Merchants of all religions—Jews, Christians and Mahometans, were freely admitted; and their superior intelligence over his more barbarous subjects induced one of their kings, Bulan, (B.C. 740), to embrace the religion of the strangers."

Bulan, the legend tells, was admonished to adopt this line of conduct by a messenger from heaven, but he is said with equal probability to have instituted an inquiry that he might decide on the relative merits of Christianity and its rival faiths—Judaism and Mahometanism. He acted, if strangely, very impartially. To effect his purpose he caused the teachers of each to be severally brought before him, when he proceeded to interrogate them after this fashion. Of the Christian he demanded, whether in his judgment the persuasion of the Israelites were not superior to that of the followers of Mahomet? The answer he received to this query, which probably had some reference to a supposed inclination on his part, was, that the faith of the Jews was better than that of the Moslems. Of the Mahometan he inquired, whether Judaism had not claims to veneration superior to those of Christianity? and to this he obtained an answer in the affirmative. The concurrence of the Christian and the Mahometan in favour of Judaism decided him to adopt the religion of the Jews. He accordingly embraced their faith; he declared for the law of Moses; and encouraged learned Rabbins to establish themselves

in every part of his kingdom, King Bulan having himself been embarrassed in his choice of a road to salvation, when he had satisfied his own mind, did not expect that all mankind should be of the same opinion and share his conviction. It was indeed provided by law that the successor to the throne must be of the Jewish persuasion; but Christians and Mahometans under his rule were indulged with a free exercise of their religion. This wisdom or benevolence gave a solidity to his power which the boldest tyrants had been unable to secure. His dynasty remained on the throne for more than two centuries and a half. They seem to have lived in peace; and if they had not the fame of conquerors, they knew little of the calamities of war. This is evident, for when Rabbin Hasdi, a learned Hebrew, who was much esteemed at the period last referred to by the Caliph Abderrahman of Cordova, first heard of Khôzar, it was only through the Byzantine emperors that he gained a knowledge of the existence of this Jewish sovereignty, and the Rabbin, though desirous of opening a communication with his brethren, could not immediately accomplish his object. Eventually he succeeded. A king then occupied the throne of Bulan whose name was Joseph, and to him Rabbin Hasdi addressed himself. The letter which he wrote is still preserved by the Jews, with the answer returned by Joseph. It is proper, however, to add, that the whole story of this Jewish kingdom rests upon questionable authority. By some writers it has been held to be unworthy of credence.

In the progress of the eighth century the Jews suffered from the civil wars carried on by the caliphs, but generally their religion experienced little serious molestation. Their seminaries of learning were respected and encouraged. About the year 770, the royal residence was removed by Abbas-Saffa, who is also called Abulkabes, from Damascus to Cufah, a town distant some four days journey from Bagdad, and situate on the Euphrates. The Jews are by certain writers represented to have possessed great influence with the Iconoclastic emperors (the destroyers of images). They are also reported to have moved Caliph Yezid, the second of that name, to make war on the images of the virgin and the saints of the church in his dominions, and his premature death was supposed to be brought about by the prayers of the outraged saints. This made a deep impression on his son and successor. He lamented the impiety of his father, and thought it his duty to punish those who had been his advisers. Warned of their danger, the parties inculpated betook themselves to flight, and, it is added, having paused to rest themselves near a fountain in Isauria, they saw a lad driving an ass laden with petty wares for sale, and having steadfastly gazed on him, they saluted him as their future emperor, but strongly recommended his compliance with the second commandment. Their anticipation was realised, and the Isaurian youth advanced to the throne, reigned by the name of Leo, but became, in the earlier part of his reign, a persecutor of the Jews. Their wealth was seized, and the more relentlessly, as much of it was believed to have been procured from the fragments of broken images, to which their enemies had been accustomed to address their prayers. They gratified their avarice by remorselessly plundering the



Hebrews, and persuading themselves that, in thus requiting their sacrilege, they performed an act of piety. The rest of their history, at this period, is confused and unsatisfactory. Alternately favoured and persecuted, Constantine, Copronymus, and Nicephorus are mentioned as among those who joined to condemn and, as far as might be, to put down, idolatry; but little light is thrown on the general situation of the Jews.

The materials for tracing their course in Italy are also scanty. As in earlier times, they were actively engaged in slave-selling, which was often imputed with great wrath by the fathers of the church. From the first century they were open to such accusations. By artifice or violence they were said to possess themselves of women and girls, which they offered, in the markets of Rome, to the gaze and the purchase of the sensualist. Near the Temple of Mercury the merchants were accustomed to meet; and here the slaves, male and female, were placed, in a sort of box, with a view to their being examined, that their blemishes might be seen, and their personal advantages appreciated. The Jews commonly sold them with all faults, or without a guarantee, and they were labelled accordingly, a written paper being placed on the head of each slave, setting forth that such was the condition of sale. This practice, we are told, continued when Christianity was seen triumphant in Rome. If a trade in human flesh was not repugnant to the principles of paganism, it assuredly was not recognised by Christianity, which, proclaiming fraternal equality, raises all the humblest of mankind to their pristine dignity of freemen. Various edicts, we have seen, were from time to time issued, to check and to interdict the selling of Christian slaves; but they seem more frequently used for the purpose of exacting fines from the Jews, than with the hope or the desire of putting an end to slavery. The practice, though often punished, was, as in modern times, too lucrative to be abandoned. Pope Zacharias renewed the interdict which had so often been issued against it; and he deemed it also necessary to condemn the impure intercourse and the marriages which sometimes occurred between the two races.

The Moors of Spain crossed the Pyrenees, invaded France, and besieged Toulouse, which eventually fell into their hands, it is alleged, through the treachery of the Jews. On their behalf the charge has been denied; and it has been doubted whether the siege in question be not altogether a fiction. That it had no foundation in fact seems improbable; and it has been surmised that a ridiculous custom, which long prevailed in Toulouse, of requiring a rabbin, a syndic, or some one supposed to represent the Jewish nation, to present himself at certain stated times before the authorities of the place, and receive, *pro forma*, three buffets, or boxes on the ear, was founded on the perfidy of which they were guilty on this occasion.

Dates are strangely confounded in the various accounts which have been preserved; and the same circumstances are repeated, at various periods, in connexion with different names. False Messiahs and slave-dealing are among the most prominent features of Jewish history. In the ninth century, after the Pyrenees had been re-established

as the barrier between France and Spain, an enlightened course of policy was adopted toward the Israelites. They were found peaceable and valuable subjects, when permitted to live unmolested. Their talent for acquiring wealth, while it excited the envy of many, ensured them in some quarters high consideration. Pepin and Charlemagne forbade all persecution of them. Some restrictions were imposed with respect to the possession of Christian slaves; and to the general law of the empire with regard to marriages they were expected to render obedience. It had been customary among them, from the remotest antiquity, for a brother to marry the widow of a deceased brother. This was interfered with by the law, which declared the degrees within which persons were not permitted to form a matrimonial alliance. There was indeed another law directed against their practices; but it had for its object to restrain Christian avarice quite as much as Jewish traffic. Bishops, and the superiors of convents and religious establishments of all descriptions, were strictly forbidden to sell the sacramental vessels and the furniture and vestments of their churches or oratories to Hebrew dealers.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*The Jews carry on a flourishing commerce in the time of Charlemagne.—They cultivate letters, which the Christians neglect.—Jews are, in consequence, placed in offices of trust and importance.—Isaac, a learned Jew, is sent by Charlemagne to the caliph Haroun Alraschid.—He returns, bringing presents of extraordinary magnificence.—Probable object of the mission.—The Scriptures are carefully copied in the time of Charlemagne.—The wealth of the Jews causes them to be again pursued.*

UNCONQUERABLE industry, in all the varieties of fortune which attended them, remained to the Hebrew race. The vast dominions of Charlemagne were open to their enterprise, and they carried on a flourishing commerce. With their brethren in the East they kept up a constant communication; their shipping visiting all the neighbouring ports; and their respectability was so far recognised, that, at Narbonne, of two prefects, or chief magistrates, one was always a Jew; and such was their skill, their frugality, or their success, that the quarter which they inhabited excelled in appearance any other portion of the city. This is especially mentioned as being the case at Lyons; and in other cities their intelligence, growing on superior education, gave them like distinction. Worldly learning was greatly neglected at this period among the Christians. Down to a much later date kings and nobles were unacquainted with the alphabet, and thought it beneath their dignity to acquire the vulgar arts of reading and writing. They notwithstanding found it very desirable to employ, by the hand of another, that pen which they could not use themselves; and this disposed them, in numerous instances, to avail themselves of the services of the Jews, who in consequence were advanced to places of



trust and emolument. They became the ministers of finance, the expounders of law in relation to civil affairs, and the favoured professors of the healing art. Isaac, a Jew, was sent by the emperor Charlemagne on an embassy to the far-famed caliph Haroun Alraschid. Two nobles, Counts Sigismond and Larcfred, professing the Christian faith, left Aix-la-Chapelle with him; both of whom, it is remarkable, died on the road; and more remarkable still, perhaps, their Hebrew companion does not appear to have been even suspected of their murder. The object of Isaac's mission to Bagdad caused much curious speculation among the politicians of that age; and it was currently reported that he desired to obtain a cession of Judea, and that the proud caliph consented to gratify the emperor's wish. By others it was told that Jerusalem only was to be given up to the Christians; and some declared nothing was to be yielded but the Holy Sepulchre. At all events, it was generally supposed that something of vast importance in the eyes of the clergy had been secured by means of the embassy; and that impression was not removed when Isaac was seen to return, bringing with him presents from the caliph which astonished by their extraordinary magnificence. What he really effected, in the way of negotiation, remained a profound secret. Among the gifts forwarded from the East, was a huge elephant, attended by several apes. Silks of the finest quality were also sent; and, what will perhaps almost stagger belief, a clock! What it was that is described as a clock may admit of some dispute; for, excepting the *horologium nocturnum*, or clepsydra, a contrivance by which time could be marked by *guttis aquarum*, or drops of water, there is reason to believe that clocks were unknown in the ninth century. The Jew Isaac gave satisfaction to his imperial master, and was despatched a second time, in the same capacity, to the same court. The emperor possibly hoped to gain some privilege or information from an oriental prince, by means of a Jewish representative, which would tend to religious harmony. "At this period," says Mr. Bussey, "Christianity was diluted with a large intermixture of paganism, as derived from the mythology of ancient Rome, from the practices and worship of the Celtic Druids, and from the creed of the old Germans. There still remained, as well among the priesthood as the people, an implicit faith in magic, enchantment, divination, and witchcraft; and the ecclesiastics made no attempt to enforce by example the precepts of mercy, justice, and peace, which they enjoined from the pulpit. Their lives were openly lewd and licentious; they indulged their passions and appetites like true barbarians; and sought rather to profit by the crimes and vices of others, than to put an end to so fertile a source of revenue. Even their zeal for conversion was tainted with avarice. They baptized any, whatsoever their belief in the gospel, who were able to pay the fees demanded of them; except, indeed, the Jews, who had a kind of probationary mulcting to undergo, before being admitted within the pale of the faithful.

"This unhappy race was everywhere subjected to plunder, confiscation, and insult; and their persons and property were also insecure. They were permitted by

the laws to purchase and hold slaves; but, as a Christian could not be retained in servitude by a Jew against his will, a refractory pagan serf had only to announce his conversion, and be baptized, in order to obtain emancipation. The injustice of this was in vain represented to the king and the heads of the church. When Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, was applied to on the subject, he replied, 'What should I do? Ought I to refuse baptism to the slaves of the Jews? The apostles and their disciples did not ask nor wait for the consent of the masters of those whom they baptized.' And when the Jews sought to assert their rights over their bondmen by force, the pious bishop, in his zeal for proselytism, exhorted all Christians throughout his diocese to withdraw from intercourse with the blasphemers, and scrupled not to employ all his influence over other bishops to join him in persecuting and fleeing his opponents."

A liberal monarch might rationally employ himself in striving to remove the causes of such fatal differences; and Charlemagne was anxious to make improvements and to effect useful reforms. The writer last quoted gives striking evidence of this. He says—

"In the establishments devoted to young children, the psalms were read, and singing, arithmetic, and grammar were taught; while in those where the classes were of riper age, the liberal arts and the Holy Scriptures were studied. Charlemagne, in his letters, not unfrequently propounded questions to which he required the respective answers of the bishops, the monks, and the pupils, a custom to which several of the treatises which that age has bequeathed to posterity may be fairly attributed, and which must have been of the utmost utility.

"The better to preserve the Scriptures from interpolation, abridgment, or alteration, through the ignorance or inattention of incompetent copyists, or of those charged with their promulgation, he ordained that every bishop, abbot, and count should employ a notary, or secretary, for the sole purpose of multiplying copies of the Gospels, the Psalter, and the Missal, which before being used were subjected to the careful examination of men of approved learning and integrity. By these persons the defective orthography of the times, and other more important errors were in a great measure rectified. To these critical and editorial labours Alcuin, who seems to have been the literary director of the empire, attached the utmost importance, and laboured diligently with his own hands to effect the reformation which he desired. He made a perfect copy of the Old and New Testaments, into which a great number of corrections were introduced, and which being regarded as a standard, was that from which all other transcripts were made. This is believed to be the manuscript still preserved in the library of the fathers of the Oratory of St. Philip of Neri, at Rome, which in some verses written upon it, is stated to have been presented by the pious ecclesiastic to Charlemagne. At the same time, in order to render the manuscripts neat and legible, the Merovingian, or old Frank character, was abandoned for the small Roman letters, of which a beautiful specimen exists in the Medicean copy of Virgil preserved in the Florentine library."



His reverence for the Christian religion seems to have heightened his regard for that race out of whose history it had grown. They enjoyed under his sway many advantages which had been sternly denied them before. Their finding favour in such high quarter naturally excited envy among their contemporaries.

"Their successful pursuits worked their own fatality. The Hebrews became the reservoirs of the wealth of the strange lands where they were found. For the steel-clad baron they were sponges to suck in as much water as they could hold, that his protecting hand as he listed might squeeze them to their last drop; for the luxurious abbots and the rosy canons, who heaped up their improvident bonds on the Hebrew affecting the poverty he was to relieve, the Jews became the creditors of a whole province."

## CHAP. IX.

*The Jews are still in high repute after the death of Charlemagne.—Babek makes war on Jews, Christians, and Mahometans.—The Jews suffer from a series of Oriental tyrants.—Louis le Debonnaire, of France, favours them.—Zedekiah becomes at once his minister and physician.—He is reported to be a physician.—The Jews are treated like other citizens.—Agobard, the bishop of Lyons, complains of their being too highly favoured.—He issues offensive prohibitions, which he is commanded to withdraw.—Agobard prefers new charges against them, and proceeds to Paris to support them.—Again foiled, he denounces the Jews as accursed, but without effect.*

CHARLEMAGNE died early in the ninth century; but the reputation which the Jews had earned for themselves did not expire with him. They were found too useful by his successor to be put aside; and their interest at court became such, that even kings did not disdain to seek their good graces. In the East they were also in high favour. The caliph Haroun Alraschid having died, his son Amir al Musa, a weak, dissolute prince, was put aside by his brother Mamun, who had such an affection for Jewish literature, that he gave umbrage to his subjects by causing its best books to be translated into Arabic. Despising their clamours, he still patronised Hebrews of talent; and among them one professor of astronomy gained extraordinary fame. During his reign, an impostor, named Babek, put himself forward as the head of a body of religionists. His votaries seem to have been those of Bacchus. Dissipated pleasure and continual jollity were the exercises which he taught were fit for immortal spirits. The attractions of reckless enjoyment were too great to be resisted, and he soon found himself at the head of a powerful body, animated by a spirit which he thought would render them invincible, and he scrupled not to make war at once on Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. The arms of Mamun were turned against him, and after a sharp struggle Babek and his troops were routed.

He was probably killed in the fight or pursuit, for he was heard of no more.

Al Wathek, the successor of Mamun, pursued the Jews with unsparing hostility. He charged them with gross malversation in certain offices of importance, to which they had been admitted in the preceding reign. But that which he most bitterly resented, was their refusing to give up the Scriptures, and receive the Koran instead. He made that a pretext for subjecting them to heavy taxation. When he died, they found in Motavel, or Motawakel, his successor, a still more ferocious tyrant. He was anxious to degrade them in the eyes of their fellow-subjects, and commanded them to wear girdles of leather, to distinguish them from Moslems. He ejected them from any places of trust which they had continued to hold; and one ridiculous edict prohibited them from riding on horses, and restricted them to the use of asses and mules with iron stirrups! In several succeeding reigns they had to complain of like grievances.

In France, Louis the Pious, as he is called by some, or Louis the Debonnaire, as he is named by others, succeeded to the throne of his father Charlemagne. He patronised the Jews as warmly as his great predecessor had done, and found in a Jew named Zedekiah both a minister and a physician; and such was the influence which this eminent Hebrew gained over him, that by the vulgar it was believed to have been acquired by magic. It is to be remarked, to the honour of Louis, that he respected religious men generally; and there is every reason for supposing that the favour extended to his Jewish minister, was awarded to his skill and learning. The lower classes, who delight in the wonderful, could however not be persuaded to give up the belief that he was a powerful enchanter; and some of the monkish writers were absurd enough to include in their writings pretended facts of the most preposterous character. According to them, he could fly like a bird; and to make Zedekiah's history still more astonishing, or, it may be said, to give it additional weight, a story is told of his swallowing a cartload of hay, with the vehicle which contained it, and the horse by which it was drawn! Through his influence the privileges of the Jews were carefully guarded. A sort of Hebrew representative was resident near the court, to advocate their rights, and forward from time to time their petitions. Their religious exercises were no longer interrupted, and they were at liberty to build synagogues where they pleased. They were enabled to hold real and personal property, and encouraged to mingle in commercial concerns. They complained that their sabbath was profaned by certain markets which it had been customary to hold on that day; and, to gratify them, the evil was corrected, and the business of those markets ordered to be transacted at a more convenient time. Several charters were granted to them; one especially we may mention, in favour of the Jews of Languedoc, which gave them the right of disposing of any hereditaments, houses and lands, mills and watercourses; and to two individuals, brothers, Domat Rabbim and Samuel, an exemption was granted from certain onerous tolls and taxes; and they were



authorized to employ Christian slaves for hire, but with this proviso, that they should not be forced to work on Sundays or on grand Christian holidays. Jews were now competent to become good witnesses. Various matters in dispute were ordered to be settled by a court formed of three Jews and three Christians. The bondman was no longer tempted to declare himself a Christian, in order to escape from his Jewish owner. In no respect was refractory conduct towards their Hebrew masters encouraged; but, on the contrary, this was strictly forbidden. At the same time, care was taken that keeping the slaves in subordination should not be the means of subjecting them to cruel treatment; and it was ordered that a fine of ten pounds of gold should punish the death of one of them. The Jews were in no case treated worse than other citizens; they were required to submit to no painful ordeal; and the scourge and banishment, which had frequently inflicted on them intolerable agony and eventual ruin, had no longer the sanction of authority.

This situation of affairs was too favourable to the children of Jacob long to endure, without an effort to disturb it. Agobard, the Christian prelate at Lyons, felt his choler rise to see aliens, and those too whom he regarded as the murderers of the son of the Most High, happily established in the fairest part of that city, and openly enjoying affluence and high consideration. He saw the quays covered with their costly merchandise, their slaves in every place where their industry could be rendered profitable, and noble ships, the property of Jews, in every port. Musing on these things, he thought it was the duty of a Christian bishop to oppose, if possible, the further progress and prosperity of an impious race, for he came to the conclusion that it was a scandal to him and the church to which he belonged, that the synagogue should be so immensely exalted. He saw with indignation that the angry feelings which had long separated Jews from Christians were fast subsiding. A difference of faith did not prevent their socially mingling and exchanging the ordinary civilities of common life, and he felt it incumbent upon him to exert his episcopal authority to check an evil so great as the progress of kindly feeling and mutual charity. Agobard commenced by ordering his followers to refrain from selling Christian slaves to the Jews; and among other things prohibited them from eating together during Lent, from buying meat which they had slaughtered, and from drinking their wine. Such interference gave the Jews great offence, and they loudly complained of it to Louis, who caused a commission of inquiry to issue, to ascertain the truth of their representation, and Agobard was directed to recal the edicts in question. At that moment Agobard was at Nantes, and he lost no time in laying his case before the emperor. He was ready, he said, to render all dutiful submission; but he preferred many bitter charges against his accusers. In a petition which he presented, he affirmed that they had been in the habit of selling unwholesome meat to the members of the orthodox church, which they had scornfully named Christian's flesh; and they had likewise sold deleterious wine, which had received a similar designation. Be-

sides this, in their synagogues, they had been in the habit of solemnly cursing Christians and profaning the Saviour's name. The royal favour which had been conceded to them they abused and publicly boasted of it with insufferable arrogance. They had complained of certain markets being held on their sabbath, and the change of the day which had consequently been ordered had the effect of causing their synagogues to be more frequented than Christian churches. The natural wickedness of that God-forsaken race urged them, he contended, to do every thing that was base and fraudulent. It was no uncommon practice with them to steal Christian children from their parents, and sell them to slavery. Other offences against law and piety he charged them with, and followed this up by a laborious exertion of his eloquence, in which he took upon himself to prove that human justice was only working out the decrees of divine wisdom in visiting the Jews with unsparing severity. He quoted the language of St. Paul in support of his argument, and also the recorded opinions of various saints and many distinguished prelates. Nor was this all, for Agobard next entered upon a critical examination of the Rabbinical books, and sarcastically dwelt upon the wild extravagancies which they contained, but he did not think it necessary to show that in the lives of the saints many tales equally repugnant to common sense might be discovered. He charged the Israelites with believing in the eternity of letters, and enlarged with great acrimony on the blasphemies the Jews were in the habit of promulgating in connexion with the name of the Redeemer. Doubtless Agobard calculated that a profound impression would be made by this elaborate statement, and was proportionably disappointed when he found his effort to get the Jews controlled had miserably failed. He could hardly believe that his argument and accusation had reached the monarch's ear, and he determined on repairing to Paris to give it the additional support of his personal representation. Thither he proceeded without delay, but had little reason to congratulate himself on the result. Chilling repulsive civility was all he met with, and he was obliged to wait in an ante-room while his appeal was submitted to Louis, who, however, remained unmoved, and only answered by directing it to be intimated that the bishop might withdraw to his diocese. This new mortification he was well disposed to ascribe to those arts of sorcery in which the minister Zedekiah was reputed to excel. Again he took up his pen, and wrote another condemnatory statement, in which he fiercely complained of the influence exercised by the grand-master of the Jews. He also wrote to Nebridius, bishop of Narbonne, on the awful strides which the God-denying Hebrews were taking, and called upon that prelate to aid him in separating all good Christians from a hateful race, whom he described to be "clothed with cursing as with a garment. The curse," the Christian prelate continued, "penetrates their whole system, it enters their bone, their marrow, and their entrails, as water and oil flow through the human body. They are accursed in the city, in the country,—at the opening, in the prime, and at the close of their lives. All belonging to them is accursed, their flocks, their meat,



their granaries, their cellars, their wines, their magazines." These representations did not command greater attention than those which he had previously made. The outrageous character of some of the charges attracted ridicule to the rest; and the influence of Zedekiah was more than an equal match for the virulence of Agobard. He denounced those against whom he had petitioned, but still with little effect; and he had the mortification of seeing one officer of the palace treat his impassioned representations with such contempt, that he betook himself to worship in the synagogue.

## CHAP. X.

*The Jews for a time rest in security, protected by Charles the Bald.—A council is called at Mersen.—The Normans resist its edicts, and appear in arms before Bourdeaux, which is said to have been treacherously betrayed to them by the Jews.—The city is given up to pillage and fire.—At Lyons Jewish children are induced to declare themselves Christians.—Charles the Bald dies.—His physician is suspected of having poisoned him.—Spain flourished under a Moorish government.—The Jews prosper.—Moses "clad in sackcloth" appears in Spain.—He becomes the head of the Jewish community.—His son and grandson enjoy like distinction.—New severities afflict the Jews.*

WHEN religion, instead of teaching man to "love his neighbour as himself," labours thus industriously to make one race view another with aversion and horror, dismal consequences may be expected from mutual hatred so carefully nourished. Protected by royalty, the Jews in France could, at the moment, deride the rancour which feebly pursued them, and find many opportunities for retaliating the injuries of which they had to complain. Charles the Bald ascended the throne, and under his sway the Jews were efficiently protected for a time. Security may have rendered them arrogant and overbearing; and the clergy, supported by the popular feeling, manifested increased hostility, which was not so firmly opposed by the sovereign as formerly. The clamour against the Jews reached the ear of Charles the Bald; and he might naturally feel indignant, that those who had been so largely favoured by himself and his immediate predecessors, should repay kindness by disaffection and treachery. He called a general council at Mersen in 847, and, in concert with his brother Lothaire, framed certain regulations for the formation and government of a national police. But their united labours effected little good. The Normans, whom they were intended more especially to restrain, laughed them to scorn, and treated the new project as an attempt to impose upon them an intolerable yoke. The council had scarcely separated when they took up arms, and appeared in great strength before the gates of Bourdeaux, and demanded a large sum as the price of the ransom of the city. Before Charles could send an army to release the place, the Jews, who, as merchants and money changers, were established there in

great numbers, are said to have given the town up to the besiegers, after the citizens had refused to comply with their demands. To this they were impelled by their hatred of the Christians, whose extortions and oppressive conduct had given them but too much cause for resentment. In the dead of night the gates were thrown open by treacherous bands; and the enemy entering, first ransacked the houses, and then reduced the greater part of the city to ashes.

At Lyons great efforts were made to convert the Hebrews, and many children were induced, by presents and persuasions, to declare against the religion of their parents. The Jews found themselves so deeply aggrieved by such a practice, that they deemed it necessary to send their offspring to be instructed in the less zealous cities of Vienne, Macon, and Arles. In the last place the gods, the laws, the manners, and the worship of the Romans were still, to a considerable extent, favoured by the inhabitants; and the Jews had less to dread from polytheists than from Christians. When it was found that the Jews had adopted the plan of sending their children to distant schools, Remigius, the Bishop of Lyons, while he exulted in the success of his measures for converting, as it was called, the rising generation, professed to feel it his duty to baffle the designs of the parents; and while he magnified the services which he had rendered, he called upon Charles not to suffer the good work to be interrupted, but forthwith to make known to the Bishop of Arles that it was his royal pleasure he should follow the example which had been set at Lyons. The feeling this awakened spread far and wide. General councils again issued their stern manifestoes, condemning the Israelites as the foes of the Deity, and of all virtue and religion. A decree was issued against them at Paris; but, from the convulsions which raged in that city, growing on other causes, it proved, in a great measure, inoperative.

While Charles the Bald suffered himself to be swayed by the zeal of those who wished to treat the Jews with rigour, he appears to have retained Zedekiah, who has already been mentioned, near him, if not as minister or principal adviser, in quality of physician. Having crossed the Alps to meet his nephew, Carloman, he found it necessary to retreat; and when in the mountain passes, near the foot of Mount Cenis, he was attacked by a fever, which terminated his existence in October 877. This event, being sudden, was said to have been brought about by poison; and Zedekiah was charged with having administered to him a powder prepared for his destruction. The rapid decomposition of the remains of the deceased was referred to as a convincing proof that Charles had been dismissed from life by unfair means. That put a new weapon into the hands of the enemies of the Jews, and loyalty affected to make common cause with religion to humble and plunder the unhappy Hebrews. Among other hardships to which they were exposed, every year at Easter, in the neighbourhood of Beziers and Languedoc, the Jews were driven from place to place by volleys of stones, poured on them wherever they appeared, till they consented to pay a sum of money to be protected against such barbarity.

Under the Moors the general condition of Spain naturally improved; the arts and sciences were successfully studied, and civilization advanced. The Jews, no longer op



ressed as formerly, now rivalled Christians and Mahometans in industry and skill; and affluence was their reward. Permitted to mingle on terms of equality with different sects, they shared in concert the comforts of social life. The songs of Zion were heard to the harp of David, and the Rabbins regained much of their former importance.

In this century a somewhat conspicuous character in Jewish history, "Moses clad in sackcloth," presents himself. By him, or some of his followers, the Talmud was translated into Arabic. Accident had conducted him to Spain, and through him letters, which had declined with the fall of Patriarchate, and which for a time appeared to have been irrecoverably lost, were revived among the Hebrew race, to shine with additional splendour. His story is worth recounting. He came from Babylon, and, with two other learned Rabbins, was on the sea, when the ship in which they sailed was captured by a pirate. The wife of Moses accompanied him on his voyage, and now finding herself in the hands of strange and ferocious men, was filled with apprehensions of violence. To Moses she applied for comfort, if he could in that sad moment point out any way by which the danger, which she dreaded more than the loss of life, might be averted. The husband replied by quoting a verse from a Psalm to his afflicted partner, and repeated, "The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring again from the depths of the sea." The words had scarcely been uttered when the wife, applying them to their own case, and looking at the situation in which she found herself at that moment, plunged into the surrounding waves and perished. The bereaved husband was carried to Cordova, and sold to slavery. He seems to have been indifferent to his fate; but one of his nation, struck with his appearance, purchased him, without knowing or suspecting that he was buying Rabbins Moses. He cared not to proclaim his quality, and contentedly performed the humblest duties, subsisted on the coarsest food, and wore the meanest attire. It chanced that, scantily clad in sackcloth, Moses one day entered the synagogue of Cordova. Nathan, the judge of the Jews, there presided, and a matter was in the course of being debated, which elicited from Moses the expression of his opinion on the question which had been mooted. What fell from him bespoke so much mind, and such profound knowledge, that Nathan was convinced it was no common man that stood before him. "Israelites, I may be no longer your judge," he exclaimed. "Yonder slave clad in sackcloth is my master, and I am henceforth his scholar." The astonishment and admiration of Nathan were shared by all present, and Moses was installed by acclamation in the judge's seat, and declared the head of the Jewish community.

The elevation which he thus gained he long enjoyed, and in due time transmitted to Enoch his son. Whether this his representative was the child of that consort who sacrificed her life to escape a more dreaded fate, or the offspring of a subsequent marriage, is not recorded. They were both protected by Hasdai, the son of Isaac, the Caliph's minister. Disturbed by the rivalry of the Rabbins, to whom the task of translating the Talmud into the Arabic tongue had been confided, when this source of annoyance was disposed of, they lived in peace and affluence. In the days of the son of Nathan the son of

Enoch, this had increased to a remarkable extent. Not less admired than his ancestor Moses "clad in sackcloth" had been, it is told of him that crowds of applauding beholders attended to greet him when he walked in the groves and gardens of Cordova, and a cortege of seven hundred chariots often followed him. Such are the honours which learning of that time received under the Moorish government of Spain.

In the East, about the middle of the ninth century, the Jews were found in a very depressed state. Under Montuvakel they had to suffer great hardships. The prohibition not to use horses, but to be content with asses or mules, was kept in force. In ancient times horses had been reserved for war, and the Israelites were ordered to emasculate those of subjugated nations, and for themselves to put their trust not in the number of their horses, or in that of their chariots of war. Some of their greatest leaders had been accustomed to ride on asses; but in the course of time horses had been extensively used for domestic purposes; and the law which denied them the services of that noble and important animal, was justly complained of as intolerably rigorous. Besides being distinguished by a leathern girdle, which they were forced to assume, a mark was put on their houses, which were defaced by grotesque representations of swine or devils. The hatred and derision to which they had been exposed seem to have gained new strength in those parts; and this was perhaps the means of causing the Jews to be more widely dispersed; the probability being in favour of their finding a secure resting place, in any remote country, rather than in their native land.

## CHAP. XI.

*England easily reached from the Continent by the persecuted Jews.—Christianity is introduced at a very early period.—St. David founds a monastic institution.—The Jews are first mentioned as resident in England in the eighth century.—They are tolerated by William the Conqueror and William Rufus.—The latter is prayed to bring back converts made by Christians to Judaism.—He attempts to reclaim one young Jew, but fails.*

THE proximity of England to France rendered it easy for the Jews, when assailed by the infuriated bigots of the continent, to seek a refuge in this country. It may be doubted whether it presented great attractions to those who wished to avoid persecution. Christianity is said to have found its way here at a very early period; and St. David, the first bishop of St. David's see in Pembrokeshire, established so early as the fifth century a high character for sanctity. In the *Vallis Rosina* he founded a monastic establishment, the members of which were to pass the greater portion of their time in prayer, or in holy meditation. In each evening, at the call of a bell, they were to leave all employment and repair to church, where they were to remain till the stars appeared. Their food was to be bread, with roots or herbs seasoned with salt, and their drink water or milk.



After supper they were to pass about three hours "in watchings, prayers, and genuflections." While in church none were to slumber, sneeze, or eject spittle; and then, at a late hour, retiring to rest, they were to rise at cock crowing, and occupy themselves in prayer till daylight appeared.

But with all these austerities, it is by no means certain that the Jews, who fled from the cruelty of their fellow men abroad, would receive much hospitality from St. David or his successors in this island. The hatred, which elsewhere sought their ruin or extirpation, was likely to pursue or await them here. The precise time is not known, when, through accident or through persecution, the Jews first entered England. In 740, when Egbricht, the archbishop of York, prohibited the Christians of his diocese from appearing at the Rabbinical ceremonials, in the canons of this prelate it is ordained that no Christian shall Judaize or presume to eat with a Jew. The labours of the Commissioners make it appear that Jews had settled in England some centuries before Egbricht moved against them.

Blunt, in his "History of the Jews in England," says, "Ingulphus, in his History of Croyland Abbey, relates that, in the year 833, Whitglaff, king of the Mercians, having been defeated by Egbert, took refuge in that abbey; and in return for the protection and assistance rendered him by the abbot and monks on the occasion, granted a charter, confirming to them all lands, tenements and possessions, and all other gifts which had at any time been bestowed upon them by his predecessors or their nobles, or by any other faithful Christians, or by Jews. The notice which is taken of the Jews in this charter, affords a proof that, previously to the time when it was granted, there were some Jews established in England. But the circumstance of their being distinctly mentioned would, at the same time, induce a belief that they were then considered as standing in a different situation with respect to property, from the Christian inhabitants.

"It has been supposed, by some writers, that it may be inferred from this document, that the Jews were in those days possessed of landed property in England; but as the grant extends to 'other gifts,' as well as to lands and possessions, if its construction be carefully attended to, it will be found not to afford conclusive evidence of this fact."

In the reign of Edward the Confessor an enactment was passed, which, by decreeing that the Jews and their properties were fiefs of the crown, operated beneficially in protecting them against persecution.

These comparatively tolerant statutes were renewed and confirmed by William the Conqueror, at whose invitation the Israelites came to England in greater numbers than they had previously done, many of them following him from Rouen, and during his reign their sojourn was unmolested. Similar clemency was extended to them by William Rufus, although that crafty monarch took good care to make them disburse largely for the indulgence. It is recorded of this prince that he commanded an argument in support of their several faiths to be discussed before him by the Christian professors and Rabbins, pledging himself to become

an adherent of that religion to which the palm was awarded. The Christian cause was triumphant; but the Hebrews assert, that had not their Rabbins been unwarrantably coerced, Judaism must have gained the victory. No important result followed this contest. Upon another occasion when he was at Rouen, they impeached the proceedings of certain ecclesiastics, who had baptised by force some members of their body. They besought the king to exert his royal influence in bringing back the reluctant converts to their original faith, and strengthened their appeal by exciting his cupidity. The story is thus told by Hollingshed. "Being in Roan one tyme, there came to hym dyvers Jews, whyche inhabited in that citie, complayning to him, that divers of their nation had renounced their Jewish religion and were become Christians, wherefore they besought that, for a certain summe of money, which they offered to gyve, it myghte please him to constrayne them to abjure Christianitie, and turne to the Jewish laws againe. Hee was contented to satisfie their desires; and so receiving the money, called them afore him, and what with threats and putting them otherwise in feare, he constrained divers of them to forsake Christ, and returne to their old errors. There was also about the same time a young man, a Jew, by a vision appearing unto him (as is said) was converted to the Christian faith, and being baptized was named Stephen, because St. Stephen was the man that had appeared to him in the vision, as by the same was enforced. The father of hym being sore troubled that his sonne was thus become a Christian; and hearing what the king had done in such like matters, presented to him sixty marks of silver, upon condition he should compell his sonne to returne to his Jewish religion. Hereupon was the young man brought before the king, unto whom the king said, 'Sirrah, your father here complayneth that, without his licence, ye are become a Christian. If this be true, I command thee to returne againe to the religion of your nation without any more adoe.' Unto whom the young man answered: 'Your Grace, as I suppose, do but jest.' Wherewith the king said, 'What, thou dung-hill knave, should I jest with thee? Get thee hence quickly, and fulfill my commaundement, or by St. Luke's face I shall cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head.' The young man, nothing abashed therewith, with constant voyce answered: 'Truly I will not do it; but know for certaine, that if you were a good Christian man, you would never have uttered any such wordes; for it is the part of a Christian to reduce them again to Christ which be departed from him, and not to separate them from him which are joyned to him by faith.' The king, herewith confounded, commaunded the Jew out of his sight; but his father perceiving that the king could not perswade his sonne to forsake the Christian faith, hee required to have his money againe. But the king said he had done so much as hee promised to doe, that was, to perswade him so far as he might. At length, when he would have the king to have dealt further in the matter, the king, to stop his mouth, returned back to him the one half of his money, and reteyned the other half."



## BOOK III.

## FROM THE NINTH CENTURY TO THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND.

## CHAP. I.

*The Clergy complain of the favour extended to the Jews in England.—Jews are established in many places, but only allowed one cemetery in all England.—They make money from those preparing for the Crusades.—They became possessed of church preferment.—The Jews are subjected to heavy exactions, and tumults are excited against them.—New fines are imposed.—The King burns the house of a wealthy Jew.—Christian children are said to be crucified by the Jews.*

THE clergy were greatly scandalized by the king allowing his Jewish subjects to farm the revenues of the vacant bishoprics, a licence which they denounced as gross impiety. The Jews at this time were settled in London and Oxford; and it is somewhat singular that in the latter city they had three seminaries to which the students of their nation resorted, and where even they did not object to make Christian scholars conversant with the Hebrew tongue. They were not allowed to inter their dead in Oxford, the only burial-place which they were privileged to use being at St. Giles's, in the district of Cripplegate, London.

To this annoyance they were subjected till about the year 1177. From all parts of the country they were obliged to bring the remains of their deceased brethren to Cripplegate. Their cemetery occupied ground on which part of Jewin Street now stands. Stow describes it to have been on the "west side of St. Giles's churchyard," and to have been "a large plot of ground, of old time, called the Jew's garden." It must have stretched to the left of the street above named, seeing it was situate west of the churchyard.

This seems to have been nearly the only grievance of which they had to complain during the reigns of the first three Norman princes. They were perhaps not so conspicuous for wealth as to invite attack for the sake of booty. Arbitrary taxes were imposed by Henry I., but they did not press more severely on the Jews than on his other subjects.

Among the Jews then settled in England many were from Spain and Portugal. In the "Genius of Judaism" we are told, "it was this race which formed the first general

settlement of Jews in England; Spanish and Portuguese fugitives from the infernal fires of the Autòs de Fé, and the living graves of the Inquisition. Ships freighted with Jewish families and Jewish property, landed on the shores of England and Holland. Many escaped without any preparation, to save their lives by a day. They were composed of all ranks, noblemen, officers, learned physicians, and opulent merchants: many conveyed great wealth, and there were individuals who maintained in England a ducal establishment. The first names of the Portuguese nation may still be traced in their present descendants, who occupy very different situations. The Villa Reals, the Alvarez, the Mendez, the Francos, the Rebellos, the De Silvas, the Garcias, the D'Aguilars, the Souzas, the De Castros, the Salvadors, and a long list betray their Lusitanian lineage.

Their fortunes, when they were not disturbed by violence, seem uniformly to have improved; and at the period of which we now speak, when preparations for the Crusades occupied every mind, their prudence found opportunities for making more than ordinary gains. Not only noblemen and men of great possessions were induced to raise money, and pay extravagantly for the accommodation, which they felt persuaded would enable them at once to gain fame, riches, and renown in this world, and immortal glory in the next; but men of ordinary means, through the various gradations of society as then constituted, were content to sell their moveables, their plate, and whatever they had of value, to purchase a small stake in the same brilliant speculation. The Jews scrupled not to buy anything which promised a good return. This it was that gave the clergy occasion to complain of their being allowed to possess themselves of church property. It had been the practice of William Rufus to enrich himself when a bishopric became vacant by delaying the nomination of his successor, while in the interim he received the temporalities of the see. On such occasions the vacant benefices were farmed, and disposed of to the highest bidders, who were commonly found among the Israelites. The king himself was bitterly censured by the monkish historians for his permitting them to acquire wealth by such means. He hardly deserved to be blamed in this instance; for if justice were due to his impartiality, it must be acknowledged that he would have given unhesitatingly a



decided preference to any Christian who offered him a better price than the Jew.

We trace no further record of their progress till the days of Stephen. Having been long permitted to rest unmolested, the Jews now hoped that, as the enmity of which they had so long been the object was at an end, they might expect to remain in tranquillity. They made their arrangements accordingly; and no longer appeared like fugitives prepared for instant flight. Their substance rapidly increased, but their comfort did not keep pace with it, for envy pointed to their accumulations, and prepared to make war on the children of Abraham. They had soon to complain of great hardships; and year after year saw them plundered on various pretexts. Tumults were excited against them; and the lower classes were armed against the wicked Jews. To punish iniquity was the object, to despoil the helpless was really the intent of the crowds thus put in motion. In the fifth year of his reign the king imposed a fine of two thousand pounds on the Jews of London, because, as it was alleged, one of their nation had committed the crime of manslaughter. We are also informed that the empress Maud, while the supreme authority was in her hands, required them to pay her an exchange of money." Her example was followed in due time, and the king demanded from the Jews of Oxford three and a half exchanges, threatening, if they did not yield instant compliance, to burn their houses to the ground. To such exactions they were reluctant to submit: but remonstrance was useless; and an evasion being attempted, in order to convince them that he was not to be trifled with, he caused the house of one wealthy Jew to be set on fire and consumed to ashes. This proof of his fixed resolution vanquished all resistance. Great as the sacrifice required was, the money was produced.

But purchased forbearance is not of much value. Those who have favour find it so easy to gain money by intimidation, that that course is ordinarily preferred to any other, till the means of the victim are exhausted. At this period a charge was preferred against the Jews, which afterwards became a favourite accusation in almost every country, that of their being in the habit of stealing their children in order to crucify them. They are said to have been charged with committing this offence in the ninth year of Stephen's reign, on an infant at Norwich. The fact is mentioned by Matthew of Westminster, who states that a certain boy *Willialmus nomine*, was at Norwich nailed by the Jews to the cross." The charge was often preferred in later years, and by many thought to be satisfactorily proved against them; but Blunt justly remarks: "Notwithstanding the confidence with which these accusations are stated, it is impossible to bring the mind to believe them well-founded, that an individual, or a body of persons, acting from sudden impulse, or excited by religious frenzy, should, on a single occasion, be guilty of an act of equal, or, if it be possible, of even greater cruelty, one may conceive:—history, indeed, furnishes too many sad examples of such acts, to allow a doubt of their occurrence. But that different bodies of men, at distant intervals of time, uninfluenced by any sudden excitement, and for no other purpose than that of mere derision, should, with deliberate cool-

ness, practise the cruelty which is thus attributed to the Jews, is without parallel in history; and one cannot avoid feeling it much easier to suggest motives for the crime having been falsely laid to their charge, than to bring oneself to credit that the offence was really committed."

That there were no proofs of the crime having been committed by the parties accused, may be safely presumed from the fact that no prosecution of the alleged offenders followed. They were said to have perpetrated a similar atrocity in the reign of Henry II., on a youth at Gloucester. Monkish writers have stigmatised the policy of this sovereign for the toleration which he extended to the despised race, but the favour they received from him was only partial and qualified. They were privileged to construct cemeteries in all the chief towns of the kingdom. They purchased from Henry, at the cost of five thousand marks, permission to remain in England; notwithstanding which an impost of £60,000 was levied upon them by that prince, in furtherance of a contemplated expedition to the Holy Land against the infidels, while the amount at which all his Christian subjects was assessed was only £70,000. This tax was not, however, enforced, the objects for which it was to be raised lapsing by the death of Henry II. It is also mentioned, when ambassadors were sent from the Emperor Barbarossa to induce him to take part against Pope Alexander in a schism which then existed in the church of Rome respecting the right of succession to the chair of St. Peter, the Jews were called upon to furnish five thousand marks without delay, which were appropriated to buying over the envoys to the king's interest. They were not only thus dealt with as a body; individuals were cruelly oppressed. A wealthy Jew at Norwich, named Jurnett, was at one time compelled to pay a fine of five hundred marks, and, on another occasion, no less than two thousand.

## CHAP. II.

*The Jews are persecuted in many countries.—Wherever they are, their affections turn to Palestine.—There they expect to be awakened to a new existence.—Their seminaries flourish in the tenth and eleventh centuries.—A prince of the captivity acts tyrannically.—Jom Tob is sent by prince David to preside over the academy.—His incapacity renders it necessary to invite Rabbim Saadiah from Egypt.—He undertakes important reforms, but is displaced by the prince.—David himself is overthrown.—He is restored, and Rabbim Saadiah is exiled, but eventually recalled.—The Jews increase in numbers.—Rabbim Saadiah writes various important works.—He dies.*

THE cruel treatment which the Jews experienced in England was but a repetition of what they endured in other countries at that period. Notwithstanding their invincible attachment to Palestine, circumstances, which



have been described, had materially diminished their numbers in the East; but in Europe, wherever they found themselves, they still loved to call themselves strangers; and hoped, if they might not return to it living, that after death their bones might find in that land their last resting-place. They professed to think the very air of the country which had belonged to the Israelites necessarily made men wise; a fact which is not easily deduced from their former history. They also declared that it insured them happiness in a future state; and "great wise men," it was said, "panted to kiss the verge of the Holy Land, to bow before its ruins, and humble themselves in the dust." It is certain that vast enthusiasm prevailed on this subject; and a belief was generally instilled into the Israelites, by their Rabbins, that he who found a grave in Palestine was as perfectly reconciled to his Creator as though he were interred beneath the altar. The departed who slumbered in the land of Canaan were to be first returned to life, when the Messiah should appear in the world; while he who breathed his last out of the Holy Land was said to die a double death; and their Rabbins Simeon is represented to have taught, that those buried out of the land of Canaan must perish eternally; with certain exceptions, however; as for the just, a passage would be provided, through profound caverns in the centre of the earth, by which, with persevering labour, they might make their way to Israel. Having performed this task, which, as mentioned in a former chapter, was termed "the trundling passage," and at length reached the blessed soil. God would there breathe new life into their nostrils, and they would rise with renovated strength to enjoy a happy existence.

Their numbers had greatly diminished in the Byzantine empire; but, from the report made thereof, it would appear that those laws which subsequently gave the Jew his distinctive character had scarcely begun to operate, and they engaged in most of the common occupations of life. At Constantinople there were two thousand silk workers and merchants; at Thebes, the same number of silk workers and dyers; the same industrious pursuits occupied those resident at Patras and Lepanto; and two hundred Jews cultivated the soil at the foot of mount Parnassus.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Jewish chroniclers speak of an improvement in the condition of the Jews of the East. A taste for learning had been kindled, in consequence of which their seminaries were in a more flourishing state than ever, and such learned preceptors as now graced them, the same writers declare, had never been known. Their glory was but short-lived through the discord that arose among themselves; and the appearance of the Crusaders, who, when they approached a Jewish settlement, thought the merciless slaughter of all the Hebrews who fell into their hands was an appropriate and sanctifying preparation for their grand enterprize against the Infidels in the Holy Land. A chief of the captivity is mentioned, whose name was David. He was proud and tyrannical, and quarrelled violently with the chiefs of the acam ie. The seminary of Sora had raised itself to great importance, when it was the pleasure of David to send a Rabbins named Jom Tob to preside over

it. This was a matter of favouritism, as Jom Tob was so illiterate, and in every respect so ill-qualified to the high station he was destined to fill, that it became absolutely necessary to send for a certain Rabbins Saadiah from Egypt, to save the establishment from ruin. On his reaching Sora, Saadiah, who was really a man of learning and capacity, industriously applied himself to oppose the Pythagorean notions as to the transmigration of souls, which had intruded on Judaism. Jom Tob took alarm at this, and made such representations to the prince of the captivity, that he thought it expedient to interfere with the reforms which Saadiah had judged it necessary to make. The Egyptian Rabbins had too much spirit to forsake his principles in order to preserve his office, and he accordingly withdrew. The prince, incensed at his disobedience, threatened him with destruction; but Saadiah, having communicated this to his scholars, their violent resentment broke out in furious opposition to the prince, and mustered in such strength, that the tyrannical David was deposed, and his brother Joseph appointed his successor. A change, however, soon took place; and the friends of Saadiah being less united, David was restored, and Saadiah was compelled to fly, and for seven years to owe his safety to concealment. While he was in retirement he composed certain books, which appeared after his death. Eventually he was pardoned by David, and reinstated in the academy, which situation he retained till some years after the death of the prince. "The Jewish nation," says the author of the "Universal History of the Nations of Antiquity," "was at this time so numerous and powerful, that there are said to have been no less than 900,000 of them in a city named Pherutz-Shiboor, which stood about five miles distant from Babylon, and is by some supposed to have been built by Sapor II., king of Persia, a great conqueror, who built many cities in that kingdom. Others ascribe the honour of it to Rabbi Shiabour, or Sapor XV., though he only founded the academy of Pherutz-Shiboor." We are told a new academy was founded here under Rabbins Sherira, under whom it flourished during thirty years. This sage person was bitterly opposed to the Christians, more especially to the monks. He was, however, highly respected by his own scholars, who named his son Ray to be his successor in the chair; and he was held in such great estimation, that he obtained the title of the "Most excellent of all the excellent." He claimed to be the lineal descendant of David, and bore the lion in his arms as the kings of Judah had done in fulfilment of the prophecy of Jacob relative to their tribe. As a writer he was celebrated; and treatises from his hand on the ordinary business of life, on buying and selling, on lending on pledges, and on the regulations of wages, were deemed in those days of great value. He also wrote a work on the art of interpreting dreams, which remained down to a comparatively modern date, when it was reprinted, as was his Mishphete Shebugboth, or Judgments and Oaths. He employed his pen on many other subjects, and was a great cabalist. He undertook to explain all the mysteries of that art, and such was his fame, that scholars resorted to the academy from many distant parts, and he was chosen to preside over that of Pundebita, as well as over the seminary at Pherutz-Shiboor. This eminent man died in the year 1037, after holding his high situation about



about forty years. Rabbin Ray was the last of the Gaousor sublimes, and was reputed to be the greatest as well as the last. Hezechias, who succeeded him, was put to death with all his family, except two of his sons, who fled into Spain. The academies were then closed, and the preceptors were forced to retire. Facts and dates are so confounded in the accounts given of this period, that we must here content ourselves with again resorting to the writer last quoted, to furnish an epitome of the condition of the Jews in the East.

"Here it is that most authors place the total extinction of the dignity of the princes of the captivity; though, if we may believe the Jewish travellers, Benjamin de Tudela, and Rabbi Petachia, who visited those parts in the twelfth century, they still found one of those chiefs among the dispersed Jews in Persia, who was called Samuel, and boasted himself lineally descended from the great prophet of that name. As for the academies, especially those of Sora, Pundebita, and Pharutz-Shiboor, it plainly appears, that they were abolished in the year 1009; and if any schools were left in those parts that assumed the name of academies, they were too poor and obscure to deserve it. We have now nothing more to mention of them in the East, except the short-lived persecution which they suffered in Egypt, under the reign of Hakem, who pretended to set up a new religion, opposite to all others, and which was that of the Drusi, little known to us, if it was not the same with that of the ancient Druids, but which he had blended with a vast number of the most extravagant notions not worth repeating; which he affirmed to have had from the Deity. The vast number of disciples which he gained among the heathens, made him resolve to persecute the Christians and Jews, as the only sects that opposed his doctrine; the latter of whom he obliged to wear a mark of distinction, and ordered all their synagogues to be shut up, and they themselves to be scourged into compliance: but as he was of an inconstant temper, he changed his mind, and restored them to their ancient liberty before he died.

"Hakem was murdered by order of his sister, A. D. 1026, in the mountain of Moccata, to which he was wont to repair every morning, under pretence of holding intercourse with the Deity. Hamzah, who had been his master, took the advantage of the privacy of the fact, to persuade his disciples, that he had only disappeared for a time, and would return again after a while; and the Drusi, his disciples, who are now masters of mount Lebanon, of Berythus, and some other places in Syria, expect him as much as the Jews do their Messiah."

### CHAP. III.

*The Jews are repeatedly accused of crucifying Christian children.—Miracles are pretended to be wrought at the grave of one of them.—Taking interest on money lent is condemned as usury.—Ecclesiastics borrow from Jews.—Money is raised on the consecrated vessels of the church and on holy relics.—Cruel treatment affects injuriously the Jewish character.—Heraldic honours are reported to have a Jewish origin.—Jews for the most part occupy themselves as money lenders during the reign of Henry II.—That monarch dies, and is succeeded by his son Richard.*

MORE than once during the reign of King Henry II., Christian children were said to have been crucified by the Jews. It was shrewdly remarked that their propensity to commit that horrid crime was very strong upon them, whenever the king was greatly in want of money. At Bury St. Edmund's, where there were some flourishing monkish establishments, the crucifixion of a child was proclaimed to have taken place, and the mangled remains of an infant were produced and buried with great pomp. A shrine was erected over the grave; and in a short time, so the story ran, many miracles were wrought there. Curiosity was thus excited; and the pious who visited the spot did not fail to leave some donation for the benefit of the church, which at once rewarded the past, and encouraged future imposture.

While the credulous were thus duped for the profit of those connected with the Christian establishment, the monks were most bitter against the Jews for their imputed love of gain, which led them to claim interest on money which they lent, and which, in those days, was stigmatised by the odious name of usury. While such was the case, it was natural for the Jews to feel unwilling to meet the views of borrowers, and, in most cases, could only be prevailed upon to do so on inviolable secrecy being promised, together with large interest. Too often, the confidence they reposed in parties they assisted was cruelly betrayed. They were in consequence denounced by the church, though it is in proof that some of its members had invited them thus to transgress. At Bury St. Edmund's, certain ecclesiastics did not scruple to pledge a portion of the consecrated vessels belonging to the service of the altar. Those who received them were fined twenty marks; and no less than twenty pounds were claimed from Benet, the Jew, of Suffolk, for advancing money on priests' vestments.

Besides receiving such articles as from their intrinsic worth it might be supposed would in any case command a good market, the Jews did not refuse to make advances on properties of a different character. Sainted relics occasionally came into their possession. One abbot, named William de Waterville, was deposed for being concerned in such a transaction. Determined, at all events, to procure money, he entered the church with a party of armed men, and took thence the arm of St. Oswald, the martyr, to pledge them to the Israelites (*pro denariis ad Judæos invadendis*). Fiercely as lending was condemned, the highest dignitaries in the Chris-



tian church did not disdain to borrow. One of the charges preferred against the celebrated Thomas à Becket by King Henry was, that he had borrowed five hundred pounds of a Jew.

It was in the nature of things that the Jewish character should suffer with the fortunes of the persecuted. When every pretext was deemed allowable to plunder the despised Hebrew, how could he pass through life without having feelings of indignation aroused, and without studying artifices to baffle the designs of his enemies? From being constantly exposed to lose what he possessed, he was naturally anxious to gain that which might cover his losses as speedily as possible; for what but the possession of wealth could console the unhappy Israelite, under the odium heaped upon him, and the scorn of which he was the object, which he dared not publicly to "resent, when taunted or spat upon by the supercilious followers of the Lamb."

Notwithstanding the profound contempt in which Christians affected to hold the Jewish race, those whose business it was to flatter the proud of heart did not disdain for the sake of increased antiquity to trace heraldic honours to a Hebrew origin. The following extract from "Curiosities of Heraldry" will serve to show that they pretended to be acquainted with the arms of the patriarchs. To give armorial bearings the dignity of high antiquity, the pomp of heraldry was gratified with the intelligence subjoined:

"Noah, according to the Boke of St. Albands, 'came a gentilman by kynde . . . and had iij sonnys begetyn by kinde . . . yet in theys iij sonnys gentilnes and ungentilnes was fownde.' The sin of Ham degraded him to the condition of a churl; and upon the partition of the world between the three brethren, Noah pronounced a malediction against him. 'Wycked kaytiff, I give to thee the north parte of the worlde to draw thyne habitacion, for thee schall it be, where sorow and care, cold and myschef, as a churle thou shalt live in the thirde parte of the worlde wiche shall be calde Europe, that is to say, the centre of churlys.

"'Japeth,' he continued, 'cum heder my sonne, thou shalt have my blessing dere . . . I make thee a gentilman of the west parte of the world and of Asia, that is to say, the centre of gentilman.' He then in like manner creates Sem a gentleman, and gives him Africa, or the centre of tempurness.

"Of the offspring of the gentleman Japheth, come Habruhum, Moyes, Aron, and the proffettys, and also kyng of the eight lyne of Mary, of whom that gentilman Jhesus . . . kyng of the land of Jude, and of Jues, gentilman by his modre Mary pryncesse of cotarmure! . . . Jafet made the first target and therein he made a ball in token of all the worlde."

"Morgan's researches do not seem to have furnished him with the arms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but those of the twelve patriarchs are given by him and others. Joseph's "coat of many colours," Morgan, by a strange oversight, makes to consist of two tinctures only, viz. black chequered with white—in the language *chequy sable and argent*,—to denote the lights and shadows of his history,

"The pathetic predictions and benedictions pronounced by the dying patriarch Jacob to his sons furnishes some old writers with one of their best pretences for giving coat-armour to persons in those remote ages. The standards to be set up around the Israelitish camp in the desert are likewise adduced in support of the notion that regular heraldry was then known. The arms of the twelve tribes are given by Morgan in the following hobbling verses.

"Judah bare gules," a lion couchant or;  
Zebulon's black ships like to a man-of-war;  
Isaachur's asses between two burthens girt;  
As Dan's sly snake lies in a field of vert;  
Ashur with azure a cup of gold sustains;  
And Nephtali's hind trips o'er the flow'ry plains;  
Ephraim's strong ox lyes with the couchant hart;  
Manassah's tree its branches does impart;  
Benjamin's wolf in the field gules resides;  
Reuben's field argent and blew bars wav'd glides;  
Simeon doth bear his sword; and in that manner  
Gad having pitched his tent sets up his banner.

The same authority gives, as the arms of Moses, a cross, because he preferred "taking up the cross," and suffering the lot of his brethren to a life of pleasure and dignity in the court of Pharaoh. The "parfight armory of Duke Joshua," given by Leigh, is *partie bendy sinister, or and gules, a backe displayed sable*. The arms of Gideon were *sable, a fleece argent, a chief azure gutte d'eau*, evidently a "composition" from the miracle recorded in the Book of Judges. To Samson is ascribed, *Gules, a lion couchant or, within an arle argent semie of bees sable*, an equally evident allusion to a passage in the bearer's history. David, as a matter of course, bare a golden harp in a field azure."

Claims like these would not have been undervalued, whatever may be thought of them now by many who despised the Jews at this period. They, however, did not boastfully set them forth. To escape notice, and to thrive unmolested, was the height of their ambition. To some extent they were successful. For the most part they followed the trade of money-lending, accumulated wealth, and were generally esteemed to be the chief repositories of all the ready cash in the realm. Though the interiors of their houses were not deficient in the appliances of luxury which the age could yield, externally they wore a mean appearance, in order not to invite the rapacity of the spoiler.

Such was their condition while Henry II. swayed the sceptre. At his death his son Richard ascended the throne; and he, as he had been an undutiful son during the life of his father, notwithstanding the penitence he professed on that account, did not when he had become the wearer of a crown, feel himself in any way bound by the principles which had governed his predecessor's conduct.



CHAP. IV.

*Visits to the Holy Land continue to be the rage.—The Bishop of Cambrai commences a pilgrimage with three thousand persons in his train.—Pilgrimages are attended with great disorders.—Peter the Hermit originates the Crusades.—Jews are forbidden by Richard I. to approach his palace on the day of his coronation.—Some of the Jews venture to disobey the king's command.—They are driven back with blows.—A general massacre ensues.—Richard orders the offenders to be punished.—But few of the guilty suffer.—Writs are issued to save the Jews from further molestation.—The conduct of the Londoners is imitated in other parts.*

THE rage for pilgrimages had not subsided. Even the dangers which attended visiting the Holy Land excited many adventurous minds to engage in such an undertaking. A character wholly different from that which had belonged to them, when pious individuals went singly to visit Mount Calvary or the Holy Sepulchre, attached to pilgrimages as they were now frequently seen. When the Bishop of Cambrai set out for the Holy Land, three thousand persons accompanied him. That prelate passed through various barbarous lands, and encountered savage tribes (some of whom were awed into reverence by his venerable aspect), who impeded his progress; he found many of his followers indisposed to proceed, and was himself at last persuaded to return home, without having accomplished his object. Duke Robert, commonly called Robert the Devil, the father of William the Conqueror, induced, it is said, by remorse for having poisoned his brother Richard, was moved to visit the Holy Land, and endured unrepiningly all the hardships and indignities to which pilgrims were ordinarily exposed. The evils encountered and the outrages suffered were described in glowing terms on their return, and perhaps enlarged upon by the pilgrim narrator, to magnify his own courage or meekness. They encountered much hostility, but in many cases they provoked it by their own improper conduct. During several centuries pilgrimages were anything but what they were originally designed to be. In the "Life and Times of the good Lord Cobham," it is said of them, "While piety was their professed object, gross, riotous, sensual enjoyment was the real one; and this the accommodating clergy did not scruple to connive at; however little it served the cause of religion, or assisted the practice of morality, it at least had the merit, in their eyes not a small one, of promoting that spiritual commerce, which gave them ease and affluence. They were permitted, no doubt on this account, to escape severe censure, and, to the many who joined them, they presented all the attractive mirthful uproar of a moving fair. Married females, who had not been blessed with children, were among those who favoured them, in the expectation of being released from the stigma of barrenness. The vows and pious exercises which they made and shared on such occasions, were thought in many cases to have the desired effect." The relations

made by the pilgrims of their mal-treatment created in all parts of Christendom a strong feeling of hatred and of dread for the infidels. Men who were of a warlike or romantic turn, contended that it was disgraceful to let the grave of Christ remain in the hands of unbelievers who scoffed at the mention of his name; and a strong opinion began generally to prevail, that if the followers of Jesus were but to unite a small portion of their forces, Jerusalem might be snatched from the unhallowed grasp of the Saracens, and everlasting glory won by the conquerors. The minds of men were thus disposed, when the zeal and indefatigable exertions of Peter the Hermit put the torch to the accumulated combustibles, and the force, long with difficulty repressed, exploded with irresistible violence.

It is not intended here to give the history of the Crusades. They are only glanced at to explain the circumstances out of which the next visitation of the Jews arose. The crusaders, at first brilliantly successful, had experienced severe reverses. Jerusalem and the wood of the true cross had been recovered by the Saracens when Richard became king of England. Already it may be presumed he was dreaming of the fame which he looked to gain by engaging in a new crusade; and to mark the horror he felt for all who were not of the Christian church, he thought it fitting to put upon the Jews the affront of forbidding them to approach his palace at Westminster at the time of his coronation. Such an intimation of the royal pleasure, made by public proclamation, as it had been provoked by no recent outbreak or disobedience, surprised and distressed those who were the subjects of it. They could not but conclude that some enemy had access to the new king, and wished to prejudice him against them. In order to guard against such an evil, they prepared costly presents; and some of their number, provided with such efficient means, as they deemed them, of disarming the royal anger, did not scruple to neglect the mandate which forbade their appearance at the expected celebration. They were bold enough to present themselves at the entrance of the court yard, and even to pass within the gate; they were forced in, according to some accounts, by the crowds collected to view the magnificent pageant of the day. Their dress, their speech, and their persons, rendered recognition easy, and the guards or attendants promptly accused them of setting the king's proclamation at naught; and not content with giving them harsh words, drove them back with blows. A cry was maliciously raised that the king ordered that they should all be put to death, and this supposed command was on the instant savagely acted upon. The unhappy men who had mingled with the crowd were torn to pieces; and not content with shedding their blood, their houses were next sought for and most of them burnt or pulled down. Their inmates fared not better than the first victims of popular frenzy.

Richard, though he did not wish for the presence of the Jews on this occasion, was not guilty of ordering their wanton butchery. When intelligence of it was first conveyed to him he was at the banquet table; but he gave immediate orders to Ranulph de Granville, his Lord High Steward, to check the rioters and punish



the outrages which had been committed. Accompanied by several of the nobility, Ranulph repaired to the scene of disorder; but it was not in his power at once to restrain the infuriated mob. His authority was disregarded; his own person was in danger; and he was reluctantly compelled to retire. All that night the tumult continued, and many residences of the hated Israelites were forced and plundered, and some burned to the ground. The perpetrators of these enormities, while engaged in them, pretended vast anxiety to promote the interests of the orthodox church. Some of the unfortunates who fell into their hands were told they should be spared if they changed their faith. In the confusion which ensued, one Israelite, being seriously injured, desired to be baptized; but when brought before the king and examined, he abjured the Christian faith. Richard upon this asked of his hierarchy what should be done to the recusant, when the archbishop of Canterbury replied: "Nothing; if he will not be a child of God let him be a child of the devil;" but there were others who would have proceeded to great extremities. The rumour of what had happened at court presently reached London. A multitude of rioters invaded the principal Israelitish dwellings, which they sacked and destroyed. Many perished in the flames thus kindled; and those who escaped that dreadful death were slaughtered by their infuriated persecutors. The work of bloodshed and plunder went on from the noon of one day till two o'clock in the afternoon of that next following. A few of the most conspicuous ruffians engaged in this disgraceful scene were brought to condign punishment; but no active or general enquiry was set on foot to make an example of the guilty which should prevent a recurrence of such a catastrophe. Those who actually suffered, it is said, were sacrificed because, in their thirst for rapine, they had plundered the residence of a Christian, or damaged Christian property, in their frantic crusade against the Jews.

Then, as now, it would appear that whatever attracted great notice in the capital was coveted or imitated in most parts of the country. The butchery of the Jews in London was supposed to warrant a similar attack on their persons and property elsewhere. In order to put an end to these disorders, the king issued his writs forbidding farther molestation of the Jews. But for a time they proved of little avail. At Dunstable they were tumultuously assailed, and with ferocity equal to that of Mahomet when he called upon them to "choose between the Koran and the sword;" they were told they must abandon the faith of their forefathers, or die.

Fatal strife was witnessed at Lynn. A Jew seems really to have been converted to Christianity; and this subjected him to the scorn and hatred of his brethren, who waylaid him as he passed through the streets. He saw they intended to offer him violence or insult, and fled for safety to a church. There he was followed by his exasperated pursuers. A party of sailors, belonging to the shipping then in the harbour, took part with the latter; and declaring it was their intention to murder him for becoming a Christian, they attacked the Hebrews, and compelled them to retire. Not content with this, the cry at first raised against a

few, who were wrongdoers, was kept up against all their fellows. The townsmen joined with the sailors, and the houses of all the Jews established there became the object of indiscriminate attack. The sailors carried a rich booty on board their ships, and were soon, in the then state of the police, beyond the reach of justice: but all the blame was thrown upon them by the townsmen, when the latter were called upon to account for their outrageous conduct.

"By this time," says Mr. Blunt, "King Richard had passed over to the Continent, to join the King of France in the crusade to Palestine. Those who had taken the Cross were assembled in most of the principal towns, preparing to follow him. The greater number were ill provided with funds to defray the expenses of their journey to the Holy Land; and their zeal in the sacred cause readily justified any conduct whereby the pious object to which they were pledged might be advanced. They observed, with envy, that the Jews were possessed of wealth; they regarded them as infidels; and persuaded themselves that they should render good service to God, if, by wresting the riches from the hands of unbelievers, they obtained the means of aiding in the overthrow of the enemies of Christianity. In Stamford, Lincoln, and Norwich, the houses of the Jews were plundered by the crusaders, and many Jews were slain. The like outrages were committed in several other parts of the kingdom."

## CHAP. V.

*Benedict, a Jew of York, embraces Christianity, to save his life, but dies from the maltreatment he had received.—The people of York rise against the Jews.—They are sheltered in York Castle.—They suspect the governor of intending to betray them, and bar him out of the place.—The sheriff orders the castle to be attacked.—He revokes the order, but it is too late.—The Jews besieged in the castle are reduced to despair.—They appeal to their Rabbin for advice.—He counsels self-destruction.—The Jews kill their wives and children, and afterwards themselves.—Those who forbore to act on the Rabbin's advice, are murdered by the populace.*

AT no place was the fury of the populace more fearfully excited than at York. From various accidents, the minds of men were there influenced to an extraordinary pitch of madness; and this led to a deplorable sacrifice of life. The features of the case present some of the bold and appalling features of the Greek tragedy, rather than those of events belonging to authentic history.

There was an Israelite, whose name was Benedict, who, finding himself in cruel hands, and threatened with death, consented to become a Christian. This occurred at some distance from York; but he had been so seriously maltreated before he submitted to baptism, that his apostacy was unavailing, and he died



of his wounds when returning to his home. One Jocemus, who possessed great wealth, had accompanied Benedict, knew all the severity which had been exercised, and witnessed the melancholy exit of his friend. On reaching York, Jocemus naturally communicated to his friends what had taken place; and he seems to have been persuaded that conduct so atrocious would be condemned by all men. He deceived himself; for the multitude, excited by what was reported to have taken place in London with the sanction of royalty, exulted in the brutality which had hurried Benedict from existence; and, gathering crowds fast assembling, prepared to subject all of the same faith to similar treatment. They commenced their operations by attacking the house of Benedict, which they forced; and having put to death the members of his family, who were found there, and their friends, they destroyed the building. From the menaces launched against them, it was evident that the Hebrews generally would next be attacked by the populace. In their distress they resorted to Jocemus for advice; and he, it appears, had sufficient influence to persuade the governor of York Castle to admit him and his brethren within its walls, there to remain till the tempest should subside.

Their persons were for a time secure, but their property was seized by the rioters. Such of the Jewish fraternity as had lingered behind, in the hope of saving their effects from depredation, lost their lives, with the exception of a few, who were spared in consideration of their renouncing Judaism, and joining the Christian community.

Sad experience rendered those who had found an asylum in the castle ill at ease. The place was strong enough to resist an assault from without, but the Jews observed, with no small apprehension, something mysterious in the conduct of the governor. He often left the castle without any ostensible object in view, and on his return was apparently absorbed in pondering on some great undertaking. Fear suggested that he was negotiating for delivering them up to the frantic multitude, who had already destroyed their dwellings, and under this impression, when he next went abroad, they adopted the resolution of barring the gate against his re-entrance. Whatever his intentions had been, he was greatly incensed at this outrage. He complained of it to the sheriff of the county, representing it to be a proof of the black ingratitude of Jews, who could thus requite the efforts he had made, and the dangers he had encountered to save them from destruction. It required little eloquence, and less grounds of offence than were here apparent, to raise a formidable party against those who had so irregularly possessed themselves of the castle. As they refused to open the gates, it was ordered to be immediately attacked by the military. The excited citizens, eager to shed Jewish blood, joined the soldiers in this operation. The fury they manifested caused the sheriff to repent the precipitate step he had taken, and the order which he had issued was revoked. Unhappily it was too late; the indignation, which in the first instance had been provoked, was now sustained by the hope of gain, or the desire of stifling for ever the voices which might otherwise claim restitution of the property which they

had daringly appropriated to themselves, or wantonly destroyed. Though it appears the higher classes did not countenance this movement, they had no power to restrain it; and the clergy, who were appealed to on behalf of the devoted, answered the application by denouncing them as the objects of Divine wrath, and as therefore having no claim on the sympathy of man. They are even said to have encouraged the ruffianly assailants to proceed; and one of them, a canon regular, placed himself at their head. Charity must conclude that he was insane, as, exposing himself to the greatest danger, he wore only a surplice, which he regarded as a coat of mail. This fanatical priest, to render his person perfectly invulnerable, swallowed every morning a consecrated wafer. Then, deeming himself protected against every weapon, he fearlessly issued forth, and led on the crowd to the walls of the castle, exhorting them to give no quarter to the unbelieving Jews, but to destroy the enemies of Jesus. His career was but short. Neither surplice nor wafer could efficiently protect him; and a fallen fragment of the wall, shaken by the besiegers, or wilfully hurled at them by the besieged, crushed the frantic zealot to death. His fall did not save the Jews. The populace, more than ever exasperated, persevered in their attacks; and the besieged had before them the melancholy certainty that their enemy must prevail.

Such was the state of things, and the imprisoned Jews were now in a state of great despondency, when a memorable council was held. Their senior Rabbin, who had been invited from a distant part, was applied to for his advice. He consented to preside over a meeting, and at the solemn hour of midnight the council assembled. The sorrow of those who attended on this occasion was too great for expression. Distracted with bewildering anxieties and withering alarm, they knew not what to resolve. In this state of melancholy confusion, they were addressed by the venerable person whose counsel they had solicited.

"Men of Israel," said he, "we know that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is omniscient and omnipotent. It is not for the creatures he has fashioned to say, 'why dost thou this?' He knows our present affliction; and ought we not to conclude, since he withholds relief, that he commands us to die for his law, for that law which we have never ceased to view with reverence, since it was first given to Moses, and which, in all our sufferings, in all our wanderings, it has been our care to preserve. In scenes the most trying, it has proved our consolation, our unfailing source of immortal hope. In its cause, since we are now barbarously pursued on account of our religion, should we not bravely die? By sacrificing our lives, we shall teach posterity to revere the sacred truth which will thus be sealed with our blood. It will illustrate our sincerity by our despair, and confirm in the true faith those who may live after us. Death we cannot escape. It is yet in our power to secure a speedy, a comparatively painless one: shall we not prefer this to one of lingering, ignominious torture, reserved for us by our enemies? Such is the spirit of Christianity! While they liken the spirit of God to a dove, while they point with affected admiration to the meek Jesus, they covet nothing so much as our blood. They now beleague this



castle, eager as famished wolves to seize their prey. Say then, shall we not fly from the cruelty of man, and becoming our own destroyers, solicit the mercy of the Almighty? In these painful circumstances, can it be a crime in us to surrender our existence, such as it has become, to Him from whom it originally proceeded? I am persuaded that this great act is now required from us. The mighty Jehovah calls upon us to deny the followers of the Nazarite the triumph they seek. Suicide, where death is inevitable, as it obviously is in our case, is justifiable. Of this, examples are furnished in the story of our forefathers. Be it then our decision, men of Israel, to die for the law."

The aged Rabbin ceased; and though he spoke with firmness, tears bedewed his cheeks. His purpose remained unchanged. The listeners to whom his speech had been addressed had not expected such counsel from him. Some of his hearers shrunk from approving it in sadness and dismay; but, looking at the dreadful alternative, protracted suffering and death, amidst insulting enemies, many were found to applaud the suggestion as that which prudence commended and religion could not disapprove. The Rabbin again rose, and addressed them in support of what he had previously urged, but remarked that, as there appeared a want of unanimity among them, it would be well that those who declined to act on his counsel should withdraw from the assembly. Scarcely knowing what they did, a few retired from the meeting in unutterable grief. The rest, gathering round the Rabbin, declared it to be their firm resolution to govern their conduct by his advice, to remain with him, and to die with him.

This resolution adopted, all applied themselves to defeat, as far as lay in their power, the avarice of their pursuers. Whatever they had in their possession, which would be regarded as a valuable booty, they committed to the flames. They then took upon themselves the dreadful task of guarding against the resolution they had come to not being carried fully into effect through the weakness and timidity of women and children. Each husband proceeded to deprive his wife and offspring of life, and finished his dreadful task by terminating his own existence. Horrible was the spectacle then presented within those walls. The trembling wife saw her blood shed by the hand which was pledged to protect her from peril, and the weeping child sank beneath the dagger of the parent from whom he derived his existence. The work of death steadily proceeded, till the Rabbin, the author of this dreadful act, and Jocemus, were the only survivors. Jocemus, on account of the high position he held among his brethren for his family and wealth, had the dismal honour of falling by the hand of the Rabbin, and this performed, the latter instantly turned the fatal weapon against himself. The darkness of night had not yet passed away, when the Rabbin and all who attended to his counsel were no more; and in the morning, flames raging within the castle walls announced to the populace without some act of wild desperation. The miserable survivors of those who had perished now gave the besiegers entrance, and pointed to the remains of their brethren weltering in their gore. The frightful spectacle did not appease the rancour of the intruders; and they put to the sword the few helpless survivors who had remained to tell the story of their ill-fated brethren.

## CHAP. VI.

*King Richard is indignant at the treatment of the Jews.—The Bishop of Ely is ordered to punish the offenders.—He proceeds to York, but most of the offenders escape.—The governor of York Castle is deprived of his office.—King Richard prepares to return from the east, and concludes a truce with the Saracens. Passing through Germany disguised as a pilgrim, he is made prisoner by the Duke of Austria.—On reaching England he institutes enquiries respecting the Jews.—An ordinance somewhat favourable to them is issued.*

NOT fewer than fifteen hundred Israelites lost their lives through the outbreak described in the last chapter. Richard, then in Palestine, received the news of what had occurred with just indignation. While he saw with pleasure vanquished Saracens sink beneath his conquering sword, and is reported to have savagely adorned his saddle with the bleeding heads of the warriors he had slain, he was anxious to punish the frantic disobedience which had caused a portion of his most inoffensive subjects to lose their lives, under circumstances so appalling. To his chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, he immediately sent instructions to bring the ringleaders to condign punishment, and that prelate proceeded to York with a strong body of armed men, to execute the king's order. But in those days, such a movement could not be made with rapidity and secrecy, and the culprits were consequently soon apprised of their danger, and fled from the scene of their crime before the bishop had arrived. Some of them sought for safety in the Holy Land. Whether to expiate their guilt, or to endeavour to make their peace with their greatly offended sovereign, must be left to conjecture. The governor either considered that he could justify his conduct, or omitted to withdraw till it was no longer in his power to get away. He was arrested, and his conduct became the subject of a formal investigation, which led to a decision so unfavourable to him that he was deprived of his office. The cruel men who had been most active in promoting the hostilities which produced so fearful a tragedy were never brought to condign punishment. A heavy fine was imposed on the inhabitants generally. Other motives concurred in recommending this course, besides a love of justice. Any pretext, by which money could be raised, without provoking a general revolt, Richard was not unwilling to use.

His return to England in person was delayed by untoward circumstances, on which he had not calculated. In May, 1192, he moved forward to make his last attack on Jerusalem. He encamped in the valley of Hebron; and, hearing of the conspiracies which were being formed against him in England by the perfidious machinations of his brother John, he felt that he had no time to lose in the east, if he wished to preserve his crown. He withdrew his army to Acre, and under the walls of that town his last battle was fought. It was a desperate conflict; his good fortune seemed to abandon him; he was dismounted, and his life in imminent danger, when such was the admiration his valour had inspired, that he was



remounted by a generous enemy, and enabled to continue the strife till night-fall. The kindly feeling manifested during the fight was subsequently so wrought upon, that a temporary pacification was effected, and a truce for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, concluded with the Saracens. Richard now returned to Europe; and attempting to pass through Germany in the disguise of a pilgrim, was unfortunately discovered to Leopold, Duke of Austria, whom he had affronted in the Holy Land, and he was in consequence detained by that prince as a "prisoner" for more than a year and a half.

When at length he regained his liberty and returned to England he did not forget the wrongs which the Jews had endured, and justices itinerant were appointed to proceed through England, in order to ascertain the true causes of the disorders which had occurred during his absence. The justices were also instructed to ascertain the nature and extent of the various properties which had been in the possession of the Jews who were slain, and also to cause an exact return to be made of the debts that were owing to them either upon mortgage or other securities. No doubt he concluded that in these consisted in some measure their supposed guilt, and that the ardour of the pretended champions of the true faith was not a little stimulated by the hope of washing away an inconvenient debt in the blood of the Hebrew creditor. Another ordinance framed at this period seems to have been dictated by benevolence and wise policy. A registry was ordered to be made of all the estates of the Jews. This, as it established their claim on unquestionable authority, and rendered it easy at all times to shew their title to property, was likely to save them from much harassing litigation, to which they had been exposed from the shuffling of dishonest debtors, and the perverted ingenuity of rapacious lawyers. It was decreed in the ordinance that their claims for monies advanced, their mortgages, their lands, &c., should be registered on oath; and it was also ordered that, in all contracts made with Jews, indentures of two parts should be used, one of which was to be deposited in chests provided for the purpose, to be placed in the care of the officers, in whose presence they had been previously executed. Generally, the ordinance seems to have been conceived in a spirit of kindness; but as it was the fashion of the day to charge the Israelites with perpetrating or prompting all sorts of crimes, in order to prove no disposition existed on the part of the government to spare men who could be guilty of such enormities, all Jews were required to make oath that they would, when in their power, secretly supply information to the king's justices of any falseifiers and forgers of charters and clippers of money, whose practices might be known to them. To give effect to these ordinances, a court was shortly afterwards formed, which was called a Court of Exchequer of the Jews. Good laws, however, may sometimes be made the source of evil, and such was the case here. Blunt very justly remarks: "Whatever may have been the avowed intention for which these laws were framed, it is clear, that the regulations which they imposed rendered the property of the Jews more easily available to the purposes of the crown; and though the

records of the few remaining years of this reign do not furnish us with any instances of their being turned to purposes of oppression, yet it will be found that succeeding monarchs continually took advantage of the power thus placed in their hands, to seize upon and appropriate to their own use the possessions of the Jews."

In Spain the Jews continued during the early part of the eleventh century to escape molestation. The Spaniards were busy in defending themselves against the Moors. The Jews seem to have been respected for their learning and skill; and one of their number was physician to the king of Aragon. They were admitted to the high places; but how very insecure their footing, the following passage from De Mariana will show: "The year of our Lord 1104 was unfortunate for the death of three great persons. Peter, son to the king of Aragon, and his sister Elizabeth died upon the same day; and the king himself, whether for grief, or through some other distemper, is not known, departed this life the month following. Alonso, brother to the late king, succeeded him in the throne. In the second year of his reign, he married D. Urraca, daughter to king Alonso of Castile. This match was made by the king, contrary to the desires of all the nobility, who would have had her married to D. Gomez, earl of Candespina. None of them durst open this to the king; therefore they charged a Jew, who was the king's doctor, upon the first opportunity to acquaint him with their thoughts. This Jew, as the king was one day diverting himself, broke the business to him. It highly offended the king that the nobles should presume to dispose of his daughter, therefore he for ever forbid the physician coming into his presence." Of this king we are told by the same historian, that after his death he was buried with great pomp; and it is gravely added, that "at the foot of the altar, where the priest used to stand at mass, in the church of St. Isidorus, in Leon, the stones shed water, not where they joined, but in the very middle, for the space of three days continually, which were Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, according to Pelagius, who then lived. This happened eight days before the king's death, and betokened the tears of all Spain." This fact may not be wholly irrelevant, serving as it does to show what gross impositions could be imposed on the Spanish people. The slaves of a grovelling superstition, they were well prepared to become the unfeeling tools of a vile priesthood. In Spain, about this time, a learned Hebrew, named Moses, was converted, and induced to write against his brethren, which he is said to have done so effectually, that through his means many Moors as well as Jews were added to the Christian community.



## CHAP. VII.

*Benjamin of Tudela journeys from Saragossa.—He was an unlearned merchant.—He reaches Tarragon, and proceeds to Gerona, Narbonne, Montpellier, Marseilles, and other places.—Condition of the Jews at Genoa.—Rome, in the twelfth century, as described by Benjamin.*

SOME interesting particulars respecting the condition of the Jews in various parts of the world in the twelfth century we derive from the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. This was a Hebrew merchant, who is believed to have visited Rome about the year 1160, Constantinople in the following year, and to have closed his journeyings in 1170. A narrative of such antiquity is entitled to attention. Through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the veracity of the writer was not called in question. Subsequently doubts arose, not only whether some of the statements of Rabbin Benjamin ought to be received with caution, but whether such travels were ever performed at all. By some learned commentators it has been urged, that the object of the writer was not to furnish real information, but to aggrandise his nation. Supposing the latter to be the chief aim of his ambition, it is not easy to conceive by what perversion of mind he should hope to accomplish it through exhibiting to the world a series of falsehoods, some of which, however difficult it might be to refute the whole of them, must have been speedily detected. Of late years, belief has returned to the itinerary of Benjamin. He is believed to have been a plain unlearned merchant. A partiality for his brethren may be remarked; but many of the representations which he makes of the countries which he visited have about them evidence which almost carries conviction to the mind that they are well founded. It cannot be denied that some of his relations are ridiculously fabulous; but as in the first instance he takes care to make a distinction between what he *saw* and what he *heard*, though we may smile at the credulity which could seriously repeat the tales imposed upon his unsuspecting simplicity we are not on that account only to condemn his judgment. It is to be remarked that, when he lived, miracles were so frequently reported, and on such high authority, and supported, too, by such positive testimony obtained from voluntary and apparently disinterested witnesses, that a mind of ordinary power could, under the circumstances, hardly have doubted the truth of what was so solemnly affirmed, though none of their wonders had come under the individual's own observation, any more than a man of modern times, from the accusations preferred and the evidence given, can doubt that horrid murders are perpetrated, though for his own part, in the course of a long life, he never saw anything of the kind.

Making just allowance for the different degree of importance to be attached to what he saw and what he heard, and bearing in mind the opinions which then prevailed, Benjamin of Tudela will be found entitled to respectful attention, and his accounts of the condition of the Jews in various countries which he reached will be

perused with interest. The naïveté of his opening, rendered by Ashur, will strike. He thus commences:—  
“Thus,” says R. Benjamin, “B. Jonah of blessed memory:

“I first set out from the city of Saragossa, and proceeded down the river Ebro to Portossa.

“Two days’ journey brought me to the ancient city of Tarcakon, which contains many cyclopæan and pelagic remains, and similar buildings are found nowhere else in the whole kingdom of Spain; the city stands on the coast. Two days from thence lies Barcelona, in which place there is a congregation of wise, learned, and princely men, for instance R. Shesheth, R. Shealthiel, and R. Sh’lomo, B. R. Abraham, B. Chisdai o. b. m. The city though small is handsome, and is situated on the sea shore. Merchants resort thither for goods from all parts of the world; from Greece, from Pisa, Genoa, and Sicily, from Alexander in Egypt, from Palestine and the adjacent countries.

“A day’s journey and a half brings you to Gerona, which city contains a small Jewish congregation.

“Three days further lies Narbonne, a place of considerable eminence in consequence of the studies carried on there. From thence the study of the law spreads over all countries. This city contains many very wise and noble men, principally R. Calonymus, son of the great and noble Theodorus, o. b. m., a descendant of the house of David, as proved by his pedigree. This man holds landed property from the sovereigns of the country, of which nobody can deprive him by force. There is further R. Abraham, the president of the university, R. Makhir, R. Jehudah, and others of much merit and learning; altogether the number of Jews amounts to about three hundred.

“Four parasanges from thence lies the city of Beziers, containing a congregation of learned men, the principals of which are R. Sh’lomo, Chalaplitha and R. Joseph, B. R. Nethanel, o. b. m.

“From thence it is two days to Har Ga’ash or Montpellier, a city conveniently situated for the purposes of trade, being within two parasanges from the coast. You there meet with Christian and Mahometan merchants from all parts: from Algarve (Portugal) Lombardy, the Roman empire, from Egypt, Palestine, Greece, France, Spain, and England. People of all tongues are met there principally in consequence of the traffic of the Genoese and of the Pisans. The Jews of that city belong to the wisest and most esteemed of the present generation. R. Reuben, B. Theodorus, R. Nathan, B. R. Sekhariah, R. Sh’muel, their Rabbi, R. Shelemiah, and R. Mordekhai, o. b. m., are the principal among them; others are also very rich and benevolent to all those who apply for assistance.

“Four parasanges to Limel, a city containing also a holy congregation of Jews, who employ all their time upon the study of the law. This town is the place of residence of the celebrated Rabbi R. Meshullam and his five sons. R. Joseph, R. Jitschak, R. Ja’acob, R. Aharon, and R. Asher, all of which are eminent scholars and rich men. The latter is an ascetic, who does not attend to any worldly business, but studies day



and night keeps fasts, and never eats meat. He possesses an extraordinary degree of knowledge of everything relating to talmudic learning. R. Moshe his brother-in-law, Rh'muel the minister, R. Sh'lomo, co-heir and the physician, R. Jehuda B. B. Thibbon, of Spanish origin, are also inhabitants of Lumel. All foreign students who resort thither with the intention of studying the law, are supplied with food and raiment at the public expense during the whole time of their stay in the university. The Jews of this city, amounting to about three hundred, are wise, holy, and benevolent men, who support their poor brethren near and far. The town stands within two parasangs from the coast."

To various places of note Benjamin proceeded. Marseilles he found to be a city containing many wise men. Three hundred Jews then resident in it formed two congregations, one being established in the Lunar town on the coast of the Mediterranean, and the other in the upper part near the fortress. A great university was supported by the latter, and he enumerates a number of learned persons who gave it the aid of their talents. "Here," says he, "people take ship for Genoa, which also stands on the coast and is reached in about four days. Two Jews from Ceuta, R. Sh'muel, B. Khilam, and his brother reside there. The city is surrounded by a wall; no king governs over it, but senators chosen by the citizens and of their own body. Every house is provided with a tower, and in times of civil commotions war is carried on from the tops of these towers. This is remarkable from its likeness to what has been seen in modern times, but what he adds is equally so from the wonderful contrast it presents. "The Genoese," Benjamin reports, "are masters of the sea, and build vessels called galleys, by means of which they carry on war in many places, and bring home a vast deal of plunder and booty to Genoa."

His description of Rome in the twelfth century is worth transcribing.

"The city of Rome is divided into two parts by means of the river Tiber which runs through it. In the first of these divisions you see the large place of worship called St. Peter of Rome, there was the large palace of Julius Cæsar. The city contains numerous buildings and structures entirely different from all other buildings upon the face of the earth. The extent of ground covered by ruined and inhabited parts of Rome amounts to four and twenty miles. You there find eighty halls of the eighty eminent kings who are all called Imperator, from king Tarquin to king Pipin the father of Charles who first conquered Spain, and wrested it from the Mahometans.

"In the outskirts of Rome is the palace of Titus, who was rejected by three hundred senators in consequence of his having wasted three years in the conquest of Jerushalaim, which task according to their will he ought to have accomplished in two years. There is further the hall of the palace of king Vespasianus, a very large and strong building; also the hall of king Galba, containing three hundred and sixty windows equal in number to the days of the year. The circumference of the palace is nearly three miles. A battle was fought here in times of yore, and in the palace fell

more than a hundred thousand slain, whose bones are hung up there even to the present day. The king caused a representation of the battle to be drawn, army against army; the men, the horses, and all their accoutrements were sculptured in marble, in order to preserve a memorial of the wars of antiquity.

"You there find also a cave under ground, containing the king and his queen upon their thrones, surrounded by about one hundred nobles of their court, all embalmed by physicians, and in good preservation to this day.

"Also St. Giovanni in Porta Latina, in which place of worship there are two copper pillars constructed by king Sh'lomo o. b. m. whose name 'Sh'lomo Ben David' is engraved upon each. The Jews in Rome told him, that every year about the time of the 9th of Ab, these pillars sweat so much that the water runs down from them.

"You there see also the cave, in which Titus the son of Vespasian hid the vessels of the temple, which he brought from Jerushalaim, and in another cave on the banks of the Tiber you find the sepulchres of those holy men o. b. m., the ten martyrs of the kingdom.

"Opposite St. Giovanni de Laterano stands a statue of Shimshon with a lance of stone in his hand, also that of Abshalom the son of David and of king Constantine, who built Constantinople, which city is called after his name, his statue is cast in copper, man and horse are gilt. Rome contains many other remarkable buildings and works, the whole of which nobody can enumerate."

## CHAP. VIII.

*Benjamin visits the Jews at Naples, Salerno, Amalfi, Thebes, Negropont, and Wallachia.—He describes Constantinople.—Humiliating situation of the Jews at Pera.—The Samaritans are found in Naples.—They offer sacrifices at Mount Gerizim.—Benjamin of Tudela describes Jerusalem as it appeared in the twelfth century.—The remains of the Holy of Holies are still seen.—The tomb of the Jewish kings is discovered and closed up again.*

AT Naples our traveller found five hundred Jews, at Salerno six hundred, at Amalfi but twenty. At Thebes there were two thousand; at Negropont, two hundred. The people of Wallachia he describes to be "nimble as deer." He speaks of the Jews as being treated with especial favour by the Wallachians: they called them brethren; and he adds, with bland approval, "when they meet an Israelite they rob, but never kill him as they do the Greeks!"

There is something very striking in the description the author gives of Constantinople. Its circumference was eighteen miles, one half of the city being bounded by the continent, the other by the sea. He proceeds: "Great stir and bustle prevails at Constantinople in consequence of the conflux of many merchants who resort thither, both by land and by sea, from all parts of the world, for purposes of trade. Merchants from Babylon and from Mesopotamia, from Media and Persia, from Egypt and Palestine as well as from Russia,



Hungary, Patzinakia, Budia, Lombardy, and Spain are met with here, and in this respect the city is equalled only by Bagdad, the metropolis of the Mahometans.

"At Constantinople is the place of worship called St. Sophia, and the metropolitan seat of the Pope of the Greeks, who are at variance with the Pope of Rome. It contains as many altars as the year numbers days, and possesses innumerable riches.

"These are augmented every year by the contributions of the two islands and of the adjacent towns and villages. All the other places of worship in the whole world do not equal St. Sophia in riches. It is ornamented by pillars of gold and silver, and by innumerable lamps of the same precious materials.

"The Hippodrome is a public place near the wall of the palace, set aside for the sports of the king. Every year the birthday of Jisho the Nazarene is celebrated there by public rejoicings. On these occasions you may there see representations of all the nations, who inhabit the different parts of the world, and surprising feats of jugglery. Lions, bears, leopards and wild asses, as well as birds, that have been trained to fight each other, are also exhibited, and all this sport, the equal of which is to be met with nowhere, is carried on in the presence of the king and the queen.

"King Emanuel has built a large palace for his residence on the sea shore; besides the palace built by his predecessors, this edifice is called Blachernes.

"The pillars and walls of this palace are covered with sterling gold. All the wars of the ancients as well as his own wars are represented in pictures. The throne in this palace is of gold, and ornamented with precious stones. A golden crown hangs over the throne suspended on a chain of the same material, the length of which exactly admits the emperor to sit under it. This crown is ornamented with precious stones of inestimable value. Such is the lustre of these diamonds that, even without any other light, they illuminate the room in which they are kept. Other objects of curiosity are met with here which nobody can adequately describe.

"The tribute which is collected at Constantinople every year, from all parts of Greece, consisting of silks and purple cloths and gold fills many towers. These riches and buildings are equalled nowhere in the world. They say that the tribute of the city alone amounts every day to twenty thousand florins; this revenue arises from rents of hostleries and bazaars, and of the duties paid by merchants who arrive by sea and by land.

"The Greeks who inhabit the country are extremely rich, and possess great wealth of gold and precious stones. They dress in garments of silk, ornamented by gold and other valuable materials; they ride upon horses, and in their appearance they are like princes. The country is rich, producing all sorts of delicacies, as well as abundance of bread, meat, and wine, and nothing upon earth equals their wealth. They are well skilled in the Greek sciences and live comfortable, every man under his vine and his fig-tree."

He adds an affecting picture of the condition of his brethren whom he found in the city of Constantine:—

"No Jew dwells in the city with them, having been

expelled beyond the one arm of the sea. They are shut in by the channel of Sophia on one side, and they can reach the city by water only, whenever they want to visit it for the purpose of trade. The number of Jews at Constantinople amounts to two thousand rabbanites and five hundred caraites; they live on one spot, but a wall divides them. The principal of the rabbanites, who are learned in the law, may be called: the Rabbi R. Abtalion, R. 'Obadiah, R. Aharon Khupos, R. Joseph Sargeno and R. Eliakim the elder. Many of them are manufacturers of silk cloth; many others are merchants, some of them being extremely rich; but no Jew is allowed to ride upon a horse except R. Sh'lomo Hamitsri, who is the king's physician, and by whose influence the Jews enjoy many advantages even in their state of oppression. This state is very severely felt by them; and the hatred against them is enhanced by the practice of the tanners, who pour out their filthy water in the streets and even before the very doors of the Jews, who being thus defiled, became objects of hatred to the Greeks. Their yoke is severely felt by the Jews, both good and bad; they are exposed to be beaten in the streets, and must submit to all sorts of bad treatment but the Jews are rich, good, benevolent, and religious men, who bear the misfortunes of the exile with humility." The quarter inhabited by the Jews is called PERA.

In the large city of Antioch he found but ten Jews. His account of the followers of the "old man of the mountains," is consistent with the other notices which have come down to us of the Assassins. Sheikh-al-Chashesin was the name of their old man, or leader, at this period. He merely obtains a view, *en passant*, of the ruins of Tyre "the crowned." At Acre he finds two hundred Jewish inhabitants. There were none in Nablous, but about a hundred Cuthaneans were there established, who observed the Mosaic law only, and were called Samaritans. They had priests who were said to be the descendants of Aaron, who did not intermarry with other families; but they were priests only of their own law, and were accustomed to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings in their synagogue on Mount Gerizim, in accordance with the language of Scripture, "Thou shalt put the blessing on Mount Gerizim." On pass-overs and holidays, burnt offerings were laid on the altar erected on Mount Gerizim, with the bones put up by the children of Israel after they had crossed the Jordan. They claimed to be of the tribe of Ephraim, and reported that they were in possession of the tomb of Joseph, the son of Jacob, as was proved by the words of Scripture, "The bones of Joseph which the children of Israel brought up with them from Egypt, they burned in Sh'khem."

In due time our traveller reaches Jerusalem, which at this period was strongly fortified with three walls. It contained a numerous population, composed of "Jacobites, Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, Franks, and, in fact, people of all tongues." The Jews at this date had again found their way into their ancient city. They rented a dying house of the king, and had the exclusive, of carrying on trade as dyers. Two hundred of them dwelt in one quarter of the city under the tower of



David. There were two hospitals which supported four hundred knights. "The large place of worship," he says, "containing the sepulchre of that man (Jesus), was at that period visited by all pilgrims. The city had then four gates, called those of Abraham, David, Jehosophat and Sion, the latter stood opposite the place of the Holy Temple, which was occupied by a building called Domino Omar Ben Al-Khataab. In front of it the master's wall, one of the walls which formed the holy of holies of the ancient temple, was then standing. It was called the Gate of Mercy, and Jews usually repaired to that spot to offer up their prayers. The stables of King Solomon, the vestiges of the canal near which the sacrifices were slaughtered, he also mentions, and the pillar erected on Absalom's place, with the great spring of Siloa, which ran into the brook of Cedron. Passing from the valley of Jehosophat, the traveller reached the Mount of Olives. Two parasangs distant from that stood the pillar of salt, into which Lot's wife was metamorphosed, of which, he says, "although the sheep continually lick it, the pillar grows again, and retains its original state."

On Mount Sion the sepulchres of the house of Sion and the kings of his race were found; and Benjamin gives a very formidable story, which Asher thus translates:—"Fifteen years ago, one of the walls of the place of worship on Mount Tsion fell down, which the patriarch ordered the priest to repair. He commanded to take stones from the original wall of Tsion, and to employ them for that purpose, which command was obeyed. About twenty journeymen were hired at stated wages, who broke stones from the very foundations of the walls of Tsion. Two of these labourers, who were intimate friends, upon a certain day treated one another, and repaired to their work after their friendly meal. The overseer questioned them about their tardiness, but they answered that they would still perform their day's work, and would employ thereupon the time, during which their fellow labourers were at meals. They then continued to break out stones, and happened to meet with one which formed the mouth of a cavern. They agreed with one another to enter the cave and to search for treasure, in pursuit of which they proceeded onward until they reached a large hall, supported by pillars of marble, encrusted with gold and silver, and before which stood a table, with a golden sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of David, king of Israel, to the left of which they saw that of Sh'lomo, in a similar state, and so on the sepulchres of all kings of Jehuda, who were buried there. They further saw locked trunks, the contents of which nobody knew, and desired to enter the hall; but a blast of wind, like a storm, issued forth from the mouth of the cavern, strong enough to throw them down, almost lifeless, on the ground. There they lay until evening, when another wind rushed forth, from which they heard a voice, like that of a human being, calling aloud, Get up and go forth from this place. The men came out in great haste and full of fear, proceeded to the patriarch and reported what had happened to them. This ecclesiastic summoned into his presence R. Abraham el Constantini, a pious ascetic, one of the mourners of the downfall of Jerushalaim, and caused

the two labourers to repeat what they had previously reported. R. Abraham thereupon informed the patriarch that they had discovered the sepulchres of the house of David and of the kings of Jehuda. The following morning the labourers were sent for again, but they were found stretched on their beds and still full of fear; they declared that they would not attempt again to go to the cave, as it was not God's will to discover it to any one. The patriarch ordered the place to be walled up, so as to hide it effectually from every one unto the present day. The above-mentioned R. Abraham told me all this."

## CHAP. IX.

*Benjamin sees the monument of Rachel.—The tombs of Abraham, Jacob, &c., and the house of Abraham, are still preserved.—Benjamin of Tudela reaches Damascus; Tadmor in the desert and Bagdad.—The Caliph of Bagdad maintains himself by working as a manufacturer.—Ten colleges are found established at Bagdad.—The Prince of the Captivity is still maintained in great state.—He describes the ruins of the tower of Babel, and the synagogue of Ezekiel.—A lamp continues burning, which was lighted by the hand of Ezekiel.—Benjamin visits the men of Thema.—He reaches the tomb of Ezra, and the sepulchre of the prophet Daniel.—A war is carried on by the rich against the poor for the coffin of the prophet.—David-el-Roy makes war on the Persians.—He performs several miraculous feats.—The Jews are treated with rigour at Bagdad.—David-el-Roy is assassinated by his father-in-law.—The Jews of the mountains of Khazvin are the allies of infidel Turks, who successfully make war on the Persians at Candy.—Jews are found living with Druses, who are fire worshippers.*

At Bethlehem the traveller beholds the monument of Rachel, formed of eleven stones, to commemorate the number of children which she bore to Jacob. It was customary for every Jew passing to carve his name on the tomb. Six other sepulchres were said to be those of Abraham, Jetsehak, Sarah, Jacob, Leah and Rebecca. The pilgrims were expected to pay money to see the grave of their forefathers, but if an additional fee were paid, an ancient iron door was opened; and descending with a candle, the stranger was led through two empty caves, to a third, in which the remains of the holy person named above rested, each inscribed "This is the sepulchre of our father Abraham, Jacob, &c." or something to that effect. The house of Abraham is mentioned as being then standing near the field of Alakhphela.

Continuing his progress, Benjamin reaches Damascus, where he found a Mahomedan mosque, which was called "the synagogue of Damascus." Report said it had formerly been the palace of Ben Hadad, and that one of its walls, composed of glass, had been raised by witchcraft. He describes the place to contain houses richly ornamented with gold and silver, and states the rib of a giant



king to have been there preserved, which measured nine spans in length, and two spans in breadth. He offers no conjecture as to the stature of its former proprietor; but in proof of his having been a very great king, he adds, his name Abkhamus was found engraved on his tomb, with an inscription which told that he reigned over all the world. Three thousand Jews, many of them both wealthy and learned, were then resident in the city.

Tadmor in the desert he visited. It was surrounded by a wall, and inhabited by two thousand Jews, who were constantly at war with the Christians and with the Arabian subjects of Nureddin.

Some interesting facts are given in connexion with Bagdad, at which, after passing through a number of places of small importance, our traveller at length arrives. This was then the metropolis of the caliph Emir Al Numenin al Abassi, who was of the family of Mahomet. His palace was three miles in extent, but so describing it, Benjamin meant to comprehend a large park, containing all sorts of trees, and all sorts of beasts, and a large sheet of water drawn from the river Tigris. The caliph was very favourably disposed towards the Jews, was acquainted with their language, and well read in the Mosaic law. This prince was one of singularly primitive habits. We are told he enjoyed nothing but what he had first earned by the labour of his hands. Accordingly, Numenin was accustomed to manufacture coverlets, which he stamped with his seal, and then caused them to be offered for sale to the nobles of the land. In modern times some monarchs have been worse employed.

The general character of this ruler was excellent. The Mahomedan pilgrims, on their way to Mecca, coveted to be introduced to him, and their wish granted, thus usually addressed him: "Our lord, light of the Mahomedans, and splendour of the true religion, show us the brightness of thy countenance." Of this it was customary for him to take no notice; and then his servants and officers, addressing him, proceeded: "O lord! manifest thy peace to those men who come from distant lands, and desire shelter in the shadow of thy glory." Graciously answering the petition, the caliph would then rise, and put one corner of his garment out of the window, which was eagerly kissed by the pilgrims, and an attendant lord would say: "Go in peace, for our lord, the light of the Mahometans, is well pleased, and gives you his blessing. Benjamin describes in detail the state observed by the caliph on particular occasions, and especially in the month of the Ramadan. Bagdad, he says, contained a thousand Jews, who lived in peace, comfort and honour, and it also contained ten colleges. These were presided over by four Rabbins, one of them being lineally descended from the prophet Samuel and he; and his brethren, it is remarked, were acquainted with the melodies which had been sung in the temple of king Solomon. The masters of the colleges were called the *Batlinim*, the idle; and for the singular reason, that on them was thrown the public business of the place; and they were expected to administer justice to their Jewish brethren every day in the week with the exception of Monday. On that day the Rabbin Sh'muel, master of the college Geon-Jacob, took the task upon himself, attended, however, by the ten *Batlimen*.

Daniel Ben-Chisda, descended from the house of king

David, was then prince of the captivity. In his presence it was the custom for every one to rise; and those who omitted respectfully to salute him were liable to be punished with one hundred stripes. He was wealthy, an excellent scholar, and so hospitable, that many Israelites were every day entertained at his table. The form already described, as reserved for an inauguration for a prince of the captivity, was still kept up. The city was so rich in palm-trees, gardens, and orchards, that nothing to equal it could be found in Mesopotamia. "Thither," says Benjamin of Tudela, as rendered by Ashur, "merchants of all countries resort for purposes of trade; and it contains many wise philosophers, well skilled in sciences, and magicians proficient in all sorts of witchcraft."

Of Babylon he says, "This is the ancient Babel; and now lies in ruins, but the streets extend thirty miles. Of the palace of Nebuchadnetsar, the ruins are still to be seen; but people are afraid to enter it on account of the serpents and scorpions by which it is infested. Twenty thousand Jews live within about twenty miles from thence, who perform their worship in the synagogue of Daniel, who rests in peace. This synagogue is of remote antiquity, having been built by Daniel himself; it is constructed of solid stones and bricks. Here the traveller may also behold the palace of Nebuchadnetsar, with the burning fiery furnace into which were thrown Shananiah, Mishel, and Asariah." The tower, built when the confusion of tongues was first known, stood four miles from the city, and was constructed of bricks, called al-ajur. Our author adds, "The base measures two miles, the breadth two hundred and forty yards, and the height about one hundred canna. A spiral passage, built into the tower from eight to ten yards, leads up to the summit, from which there is a prospect of twenty miles, the country being one wide plain and quite level. The heavenly fire which struck the tower split it to its very foundation."

On the banks of the Euphrates stood the synagogue of Ezekel. It was fronted by sixty towers, the room between every two of them being a synagogue. The place was considered holy. A lamp was kept burning day and night, which had never been extinguished since it was lighted by the hand of the prophet himself; the oil, and burners, or wicks, being renewed from time to time as often as was found necessary. To this place, which was the sepulchre of Ezekel, the inhabitants of the country were in the habit of conducting all their brethren, who resorted to it from distant parts. Here a library had been formed, and the books it contained were numerous, as, by law, those belonging to any one who died childless became the property of the establishment. At Kufa he found many Jews. According to some translators, their numbers amounted to seven thousand; but seventy thousand we find mentioned by Ashur.

A journey of twenty-one days, through the desert of Al-Yemen, from which Mesopotamia lies in a northerly direction, brought Benjamin to a community of Jews, known as the men of Thema; but sometimes called the children of Rekhah. Their city, called Tehema, or Thema, where their governor, Rabbi Canaan, resided, was large. These Jews claimed sovereignty over other cities, and they were



not subject to any Gentile prince. They were in the habit of combining with the Arabians, or Bedouins, to undertake warlike expeditions against their neighbours; and, when successful, divided the spoil. The Arabs lived in tents, and had no fixed abode. The Jews appear to have been more advanced in civilization. They cultivated the soil, bred cattle, and had among them many learned persons, who studied the law. Some benevolent arrangement had been established for maintaining their poor; and a body of ascetics, known as "The Mourners of Zion." These devotees abstained from meat and wine, were always dressed in gloomy attire, commonly lived in caves, and made every day a fast-day, Sundays and holy-days excepted. To sustain men who persevered in such habits, large funds could not be necessary. It was their business incessantly to beseech the Almighty to show mercy to the Jews in exile, to pray that he would have compassion on them for the sake of his own great name; and they especially included in their prayers the Jews of Thema and Telmas. The latter place contained about one hundred thousand Jews, governed by Prince Salmon, another of David's descendants. It was strongly fortified, and situate between two very high mountains.

On reaching the frontier of Persia, Benjamin found an object of no small Scripture interest, the sepulchre of Ezra, who died there when on a visit from Jerusalem to king Artaxerxes. A large synagogue and a mosque had been erected near the sepulchre, in honour of its revered inmate. Khurzestan, the Elam of Scripture, a large province, but thinly inhabited, is found at a distance of four miles from the synagogue. Here another object of reverence is pointed out to the traveller in the sepulchre of the prophet Daniel. The city was divided by the river Ulai; and the portion of it which contained the markets, and in which all business was transacted, was that in which the Jews were established. There lived all the rich, and the poor were located on the other side of the water. Jealousies arose between the poor and the rich; and it became the popular belief, that wealth and honour must for ever attend those who possessed the ashes of the prophet Daniel, and the poor prayed the rich to allow the bones of Daniel to be transferred to their side of the Ulai. So vast a boon the wealthy were not prepared to grant to their humbler neighbours; and a refusal gave rise to a war, which was the fruitful source of many calamities. At last, weary of miserable strife, the parties came to an agreement, under which the coffin was alternately to rest on each side of the river. So equitable an arrangement restored peace and harmony; but when Sanjar Shah Ben Shah succeeded to the supreme power, on visiting the place, and learning that the remains of Daniel were removed from side to side, he crossed the bridge with a very numerous retinue to enquire why this was done. On learning the facts, he declared it to be derogatory to the prophet to be shifted about, year after year; and, therefore, commanded that the distance between the two banks should be carefully measured, and that the coffin of Daniel should be placed within another, made of glass, and midway between the banks, secured by strong iron chains. This decision was speedily carried into effect, and the coffin remained pendant from the bridge in the time of Benjamin. It was further

ordered, out of respect to the prophet, that no one should fish within a mile on either side of the coffin.

He proceeded to Rudbar, thence to the river Hohvar, and afterwards to Amaria, where he found a community of two thousand five hundred Hebrews. They were descendants from the Israelites led into captivity by king Shalmanesser. They spoke the Syrian language, had many excellent Talmudic scholars among them, and were tributary to Persia. About fifteen years before the time of his being there, an individual excited great attention, who was called David-el-Roy, of the city of Amaria; he was an excellent scholar, well versed in the Mosaic law, and also in Rabbinical decisions. David was, besides, acquainted with the sciences; and, moreover, with the arts of the magicians. Thus gifted, he did not fear to rebel against the power of Persia. His skill as an enchanter enabled him, by pretended miracles, to impose on the Jews; and, when addressing them, he exclaimed, "I am sent by the Lord of all to conquer Jerusalem:" He found many who were willing to follow him. They were again persuaded that their Messiah had come, and hailed David by that name. This being made known to the king of Persia, he caused David to be brought before him, in the city where the court then resided; and the latter being asked, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" he replied, "I am." The king upon that ordered him to be secured, and placed with those under sentence of imprisonment for life, on the banks of a broad river, named Kizil-Ozein.

Having him now in safe custody, the monarch thought it expedient to advise with his nobles and officers to decide what should be done with regard to the disaffected Israelites, who had rebelled against his authority. While he was thus soliciting their counsel, on a sudden, though not called for, David appeared among them. Unaided by any one, he had found means to leave his prison, and now feared not to confront the monarch. The king gazed on him with surprise, and demanded "by whom he had been brought there; by whom he had been set at liberty;" David replied that if he were free, he owed it to his own powers, and boldly and affrontingly added, "For verily, I neither fear thee, nor all thy servants." Thus braved, the king ordered that he should be secured immediately; but his officers declared that they could not see David, and were not aware of his presence, but from hearing his voice.

Universal astonishment was manifested, which was increased when David, again addressing the king, said, "I shall now go my way;" and, while speaking, he withdrew. He was immediately followed by the king, and the nobles, though they could not see the object of their curiosity, also followed. David advanced to the banks of the river, and there he spread his shawl upon the surface of the water, and crossed on it, as if it had been a raft. At that moment he became visible to all. Boats were instantly manned and put out to pursue him, but to no purpose. The nobles and all present declared that such another enchanter could not be found on the face of the earth. That same day David-el-Roy travelled from the part of the Persian dominions, in which he had been confined, to Amaria, which was ordinarily considered a ten days' journey. This wonderful transit was believed to have been effected by means of the *Shem-Hamphorash*, that is,



by the explained name, the letters of the word Jehovah being cabalistically used. By some, the miracles of the Saviour were ascribed to his possession of this knowledge. When David had thus effected his escape, the King of Persia sent to the caliph of Bagdad, calling upon him to move the prince of the captivity, and the presidents of the colleges, to oppose David-el-Roy, and threatening, if the fugitive were not secured, to execute all the Jews in his empire. He lost no time, it appears, in distressing his Jewish subjects, and they, in consequence, wrote to the prince and the president at Bagdad, representing to them that all ought not to suffer for one, and admonishing them to punish the misdeeds of David, and to restrain him for the future, to spare the shedding of innocent blood. In consequence of these representations, the prince, with the other authorities of Bagdad, addressed David to the following effect:—"Be it known unto thee, that the time of our redemption has not yet arrived, and that we have not yet seen the signs by which it is to manifest itself, and that by strength no man shall prevail; we therefore command thee to discontinue the course thou hast adopted, on pain of excommunication from all Israel." Copies of this admonition were forthwith prepared and forwarded to Sakhai, the prince of the Jews in Mosul, and to others, with directions to forward them to David. It did not produce the desired effect; and David continued refractory, boldly declaring that he would conquer Jerusalem. He continued his career of outrage and defiance, till at length a vassal of the Persian king, Prince Sin-el-din, sent for David's father-in-law, and offered him a sum equal to ten thousand florins if he would compass the death of the disturber. The offer was accepted; and in the night, while David-el-Roy slept, his father-in-law assassinated him in his bed. This effectual removal of the main cause of the annoyance to which the King of Persia had been subjected, did not immediately cause his hatred of the Jews to subside. The monarch's anger was particularly directed against those who lived in the mountains. They called for the mediation of the prince of the captivity, which, with a present of a hundred talents of gold, purchased their pardon, and they were permitted to rest without further molestation.

Having reached the mountains of Khazvin, he found resident Jews who reported certain neighbouring cities to be inhabited by four tribes of Israel. The Jews of that vicinity, Benjamin states, were in alliance with certain infidel Turks, known by the name of the Caphar-Tarac, who adored the wind and lived in the desert; a nation who ate no bread, drank no wine, and devoured their meat raw. They are further described as having no noses, but only two small holes through which they breathed. That nation, eighteen years before, had invaded Persia, and taken and spoiled the city of Rai. The king, incensed at the outrages, raised the war-cry throughout the empire, and determined to extinguish the very name of the offending nation. Some difficulties opposed the execution of his design, as the ferocious wanderers he was resolved to annihilate he did not know where to find. A man however presented himself, who undertook to show him where the ravagers had pitched their tents. He told the king that it would be

necessary to take with him bread and water for fifteen days, as no provisions could be obtained on their march till they reached the enemy's country. The king put his host in motion; but when the fifteen days had expired, he saw not the foe he was impatient to attack, and could purchase no new supply of provisions. The ranks of his army were rapidly thinned with disease and death; and the spy, on being called to account, owned that he had mistaken his way, for which he was immediately doomed to lose his head.

Great distress now prevailed in the army. The beasts of burden and every thing eatable were consumed, and still the object of the expedition was not accomplished. Thirteen days more brought them to the mountains of Khasviun, where the Jews were established. With the fruit of their orchards the Persians were freely regaled; but no living being was found. On the distant mountains cities and towers were descried, and the king sent to enquire what nation was established there. His envoys proceeded till they reached a large bridge, which led to a city of considerable magnitude, and which was defended by towers and a gate. The Persians shouted, and a man appeared on the other side, who wished to know their errand. Being told that they came from the king of Persia, the mountaineer informed them that he had approached a community of Jews, who acknowledged no prince amongst the Gentiles. The Caphar-Tarac, or Turks, the Persians sought to discover, were claimed by them as allies. They were, however, ultimately prevailed upon to sell the Persian king what he required for the supply of his army, and to allow him and his host to reside among them for fifteen days; but during this period they made known what had occurred to the Caphar-Tarac, who, availing themselves of their superior knowledge of the country, secured the mountain passes; and, in the end, gave battle to the Persians with such success, that a total defeat ensued. The king and very few of his followers escaped.

Many other places were visited by Tudela. At the island of Candy, he says, he found twenty-three thousand Jews, living among a people called the Druses, who were fire-worshippers, and whose priests were expert necromancers. He describes the great of the country as occasionally taking a vow to burn themselves alive; and when the appointed day arrived, a sumptuous feast was prepared, and the individual threw himself into the fire, while music sounded, and all his kindred rejoiced in the spectacle.



CHAP. X.

*Rabbin Petachiah visits Tartary.—The Jews there are ignorant of the law of Moses.—Thence Petachiah proceeds to New Nineveh.—Samuel and David there preside over the Jews and exercise great authority.—Singing is an important part of their worship.—Petachiah reaches Persia and Judea.—The Jews are alternately dreadfully maltreated and favoured in Spain.—Thomas à Becket is murdered.—King Henry performs a solemn penance.—The Jews of France are accused of the murder of St. William.—They are subjected to new extortions and punishments.—Learning flourishes among them.*

A RABBIN named Petachiah, like Benjamin of Tudela, travelled and wrote in the twelfth century. A slight notice of what he has recorded may be desirable, though it wants the remarkable features which fix attention in the itinerary of the latter. Petachiah visited Tartary, and gives but an evil report of the Jews he encountered there. By them, the law of Moses, and the usages of their forefathers, were little regarded, or rather, not at all; for when he enquired why they were not respected and continued, the answer he received was, that they knew nothing about them. From their progenitors they had not been instructed in the ancient history of the Israelites. They were, notwithstanding, after a fashion, strict observers of the Sabbath, so much so, that the bread they were to eat on that day, was regularly cut on the Friday; and when the sabbath arrived, so resolute were they, that it should be a season of rest for man and beast, that they scarcely moved from their seats till it closed, even eating their food in the dark, that they might avoid the exertion requisite to kindle a lamp. They had become possessed of the psalms of David, and the prayers contained in them were the only ones they addressed to the Deity. The Rabbin afterwards proceeded to New Nineveh. The Jewish inhabitants there amounted to about six thousand. They acknowledged the authority of two chiefs, who like most of their leaders were reputed to be descendants from king David; they were named Samuel and David. Their authority would seem to have been recognised by the Babylonians as well as the Israelites, for they were entrusted by the former to levy a capitation-tax on the latter, half of which was claimed by the lieutenant or representative of the king of Babylon, and the other moiety was retained by Samuel and David to maintain their dignity. Petachiah states them to have enjoyed possessions of considerable value, including fields, gardens, and productive vineyards. Singing formed an important portion of their worship, but it was not customary for them to retain professed singers; an economical arrangement of the chiefs, who compelled the doctors they were expected to entertain to undertake that duty in turn. The saving thus effected was probably considerable; but it may be doubted whether the quality of the harmony produced was materially improved by the change of system. Samuel and David exercised to a considerable extent sovereign power;

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besides governing the Jews they claimed to punish offending strangers; and after a brief trial, if the result proved unfavourable, on their fiat the offender was committed to prison.

He visited other places, and among them Bagdad, where he found not more than one thousand Jews. Of these two hundred were disciples who studied under the chief of the synagogue, and were all regarded as men of learning. The state of the head of the synagogue, according to Petachiah, was sustained with no small pomp. He taught his followers from a lofty desk, over which a golden tissue was thrown. The disciples humbly seated themselves on the ground, and the twenty-four books of the Scripture were placed in the hands of each scholar. Mention is made of the delicacy and reserve of the Jewish women, who never walked forth without being closely veiled; and with strangers they were never accustomed to converse, either in the streets or at their own homes. When Daniel, who had presided over them, was removed by death, as he left no male successor, a new chief was to be elected. A division sprang up between the Jews, with respect to the merits of David and Samuel, and the result was, that power at the time of Petachiah's visit to Bagdad was vested in two which had formerly been exercised by one. The situation of the Jews, so far as the Babylonian monarch was concerned, suggested no cause for complaint. No tribute was paid direct to the king, but a piece of gold was demanded for the chief of the synagogue.

In Persia, Petachiah speaks of the Jews as being very numerous. He mentions six hundred thousand, but this must be an error; for it cannot be supposed that they resorted in such vast multitudes to Persia, where they experienced great cruelty, while so few, comparatively, were settled under the mild sway of the ruler of Bagdad. On account of the ill-treatment to which Jews were exposed, Petachiah only passed through one of the cities of Persia. This fact, alone, proves that he had no opportunity of making any extended inquiry into the number, or the condition, of his Hebrew brethren there.

Petachiah next proceeded to Judea; but the account he gives of what he saw is barren of interest. The pillar of salt into which Lot's wife had been changed, and which Benjamin of Tudela speaks of as to be seen in that vicinity, he looked for in vain. He declares it to be his opinion, that it no longer existed. He speaks of the sepulchre of Abraham, and corroborates what has been quoted from Benjamin, relative to the sordid tricks of those who were at that period entrusted with the exhibition of the grave of the patriarch.

In Europe the fortune of the Jews was chequered: they were alternately chased with merciless severity, and exalted beyond what they could have expected. With all their hatred of heretics, the Spaniards were content to live under a Jewish prime minister. In the reign of Alonzo, towards the close of the eleventh century, a Jew named Joseph is described to have held that high situation, and to have paraded the streets in a coach of state, attended by guards. One Gonzales, who had been subservient to many of his designs, seems to have moved him to act against his brethren. The minister had probably been converted to Christianity, and was induced by Gonzales to treat his brethren with such barbarity that they



had no security for property or life. Eight of the wealthiest Hebrews were through him beheaded, and their estates seized, "A share of the proceeds being given to the king, in order to reconcile him to this sanguinary proceeding. Gonzales is next described to have coolly proposed, as a matter of business, to treat for twenty more of the persecuted nation being given up to him, but the monarch, who coveted their riches rather than their blood, seems very rationally to have calculated that it would be better to confiscate their property, and take the whole of it to himself, than to put the unhappy men to death, and divide the spoil with another. This was intimated to the intended victims, and they, to save their lives poured large sums into his treasury, by way of ransom. He was induced to become more favourable to them through a passion which he conceived for a young Jewess, and after a time, from being scorned and hated, they were courted, and generally followed. The clergy complained that the Jews became insolent and overbearing, but the day of their prosperity was soon closed by the death of the favourite. The Jews represented the clergy to have removed her by poison, and to have afterwards contrived to alarm the king by the appearance of her spectre, which waited upon him at the midnight hour, to admonish him to lead a chaste and virtuous life, and not to tolerate God-forsaking unbelievers. Notwithstanding this awful admonition, he so far favoured them, that their numbers largely increased, and a Rabbin named Eliakim, wrote about this time the "The Ritual of the Universe;" a work in which the ceremonies used in every synagogue were described, and on his authority it is stated that the city of Toledo alone contained twelve thousand Jewish inhabitants. In Andalusia there were many who studied divinity, and they appear in this century to have obtained copies of the sacred Hebrew writings from the manuscript of Hillel, a celebrated Rabbin, who flourished at a former period. It is not known what ultimately became of this copy of the Scripture, of which two verses of the 21st chapter of the Book of Joshua were missing, p. 36, and 37, which mentioned the four cities of refuge appointed in the days of Reuben. Much confusion prevailed in Aragon, when William Aguillon Lord of Tarragona, killed Hugo, bishop of that city, for maintaining the privileges of his church. The death of Hugo fell on the 22nd of April, in the year 1171, which year had been remarkable for the death of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury in England, who was murdered on the same score, and afterwards canonized by Pope Alexander III., and soon honoured as a saint in Spain. His death caused a great sensation, as, after boldly opposing his king, he was accused by the latter of having set England on fire; and the monarch impatiently, a new offence having been given, exclaimed against him as "a wretch who had eaten his bread, as a beggar who had originally come to his court on a limping packhorse, with all his baggage on his back, being now in the act of trampling on him, his family, and his people." Inflamed by his complaints, four knights repaired to Canterbury, and knocked his brains out within the walls of the cathedral. In Spain, as in other countries, this caused an extraordinary sensation, Henry was denounced as a monster of iniquity, as surpassing Nero in cruelty, Julian in apostasy, and Judas in treachery. The storm rose so high that the

king was forced to affect contrition, and to submit to a severe penance. He went "in pilgrimage, barefooted, and fasting from all save bread and water, to the shrine of his victim, where, prostrating himself on the cold stones, and throwing off the upper part of his dress, he submitted to be scourged by all the ecclesiastics—numbering not less than eighty, who happened to be present. The bishops and abbots handled first the knotted cords, and then followed the monks—every one inflicting from three to five lashes."

The excitement thus created throughout Europe encouraged the catholics to attack all who were not of the orthodox church. In France, the Jews were accused of the murder of St. William; and several unfortunates perished in the flames. The rest of their brethren were outraged by the populace, who were ever ready to welcome any calumny against the Israelites which might furnish a pretext for plunder. King Philip Augustus confiscated their wealth and banished them from his kingdom, permitting them, however, to sell their effects, a privilege which was of very little value; for as they were obliged to complete the sale within a certain period, little or nothing was offered for their property, and they were reduced to the greatest imaginable distress. To keep up the feeling against them, it was reported that they had crucified a Persian youth, named Richard, and that this was their annual practice. The youth was committed to the earth in a common churchyard, but extolled as a martyr. Miracles were of course wrought at his grave, whence it was shortly after removed into the church of the Innocents. Policy or mercy induced Philip Augustus, about the year 1190, to allow the Jews to return to France. They availed themselves of this permission, and in consequence were subjected to new extortions; and a fresh charge being preferred against them, of having subjected a youth to be scourged, crowned with thorns, and crucified; no fewer than eighty of them are said to have been burnt alive.

While scenes so distressing were frequently witnessed, learning flourished among the Hebrews. Many of their rabbins obtained high consideration. A few of them, as described by Tomlins in his "Universal History of the Nations of Antiquity," deserve to be noted.

"We begin with the learned Rabbi Nathan Ben Jehiel, chief of the Jewish academy at Rome about the beginning of this century, and author of the book called 'Haruk,' wherein he explains all the terms of the Talmud in so copious a manner, that he has in some measure exhausted that subject: insomuch that those who have followed him have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great Buxtorf, who made frequent use of his remarks without quoting him.

"The next in time, though superior in learning and merit, was the great Aben Ezra, or as his name written at length imports, Abraham Ben Meir Aben Ezra, surnamed by way of excellence the Wise, one of the most learned of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last science he excelled all that went before him; and is chiefly admired by the Christians



for his judicious explications of the sacred books. He died in the 75th year of his age, A.D. 1174.

"His works are: 1. A learned comment on all the books of the Old Testament, a work very much esteemed by all the learned for its usefulness, clearness, succinctness, and elegance, and for being free from the puerile dreams and fables of the Jewish writers. 2. *Sepher Sodoth Hathorah*, a treatise of the hidden secrets of the law. 3. *Jessed Thorah*, the foundation of the law. 4. A comment on the Decalogue, since translated into Latin by S. Munster, with notes. 5. A new comment on Isaiah and the minor prophets, revised and corrected by him. 6. Ditto on Proverbs, the Canticles, Esther, and the Lamentations. 7. His epistle on the Sabbath in rhyming verse. 8. Another poem, entitled, 'Let the wakeful son live;' which treats of rewards and punishments. To this Bartolucci joins another, entitled 'Of the Kingdom of Heaven.' 9. 'Foundation of Fear.' 10. 'Sepher Hashem,' on the Tetragrammaton, or name Jehovah. 11. Eight treatises on the Hebrew Grammar. 12. One on Ethics. 13. One on Logic. 14. A poem on the Soul. 15. His Beginning of Wisdom, an astrological treatise divided into eight parts, treating of the influence of the stars and planets, their motions, aspects, lucky and unlucky days; of algebra and geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, of the world, of embolimal years, of chances, and judicial astrology. 16. His excellent poem on the game of Chess, translated by Dr. Hyde; and some others of lesser note.

"We have also in this century three famous Rabbis of the name of Levi, or Hallevi. One born at Cologne, who, after many conferences with the Christians, was baptized, and taught Latin under the name of Herman. Judah Hallevi, a good poet, and author of the dialogue entitled 'Chozar.' And Abraham Hallevi, a learned Rabbist and cabalist, whom some make father-in-law, and others first-cousin, to Aben Ezra, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the Caraites, though far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment; so that, not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to King Alphonso VII., to whom he had done some signal services, and easily obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced."

"Another celebrated Rabbi of this century," Mr. Tomlins continues, "was the learned Solomon Jarchi, styled by some the son of Isaac, and by others Rashi, which is only an abbreviation of his name, a native of Troyes in Champagne, who left it to travel into Judea and Persia, and upon his return, applied himself wholly to the study and teaching of the Talmud. His comment on the Gemarrah has been so highly esteemed, that it has gained him the title of Prince of Commentators; though his notes on the sacred books are so fraught with fables and Talmudic visions, that he is as much despised for it as he is admired for the other. He died at Trèves, in the 75th year of his age, A.D. 1180, and his body was carried to Prague, where his tomb is still to be seen. The Jews in general had many celebrated men in most sciences; namely, Kimchi in grammar; Judah Alcharisi, Rabbi Hellevi, Joseph Hadajian, of Cordova, and Aben Ezra, in poetry;

and the last named and Abraham Nassi, in astronomy. It were an endless task to particularize their celebrated professors; and we shall therefore only mention Isaac Hazaken, or the elder, who had sixty disciples so skilled in the Gemarrah, that they could dispute extempore on any point that was proposed to them out of it, and deduce arguments from it on either side of the question. One of these disciples was the celebrated Judah of Paris, who became very famous in the following century.

"Those of Germany made themselves remarkable rather for their piety, miracles and prophecies, than for their learning; and, if we may believe their authors, Rabbi Samuel, who lived at Vienna, gained the title of prophet, on account of the many oracles which he there delivered. His son Judah, surnamed the Pious, was no less famous for the miracles attributed to him, and fit only for a Jewish creed. This century likewise produced some learned women; and one of the Jewish travellers extols a daughter of the chief in the captivity of the East, who was so learned both in the law and in the Talmud, that she read lectures through the lattice of her window, to a great number of disciples, so that they only heard without seeing her. We have likewise seen in this chapter some Jews in the highest posts in the courts of several princes; others at the head of armies, exercising their several functions with great applause. Portugal, amongst others, produced a most celebrated Jew, who not only raised himself, by dint of merit, to the command of the army, but by his singular modesty, as well as his valour and success, eluded all the cabals and intrigues of the Portuguese ministry against him.

"This was the great Dom. Solomon, the son of Je-chaiiah, who was as great a philosopher as general. His merit raised him to the dignity of field-master-general, A.D. 1190, which was then the highest post in the militia; in which he behaved so well, that he obtained the command of the whole army. His valour and success raised him very powerful enemies among the grandees, whom he overcame by his humility; and not content with practising it himself, he inspired his nation with it; and, having observed that their riding on horseback along the streets was displeasing to the Portuguese, he prevailed upon them to leave it off, as well as the wearing of silk garments."



## CHAP. XI.

*The feudal system does not improve the condition of the Jews.—In Germany, they are deemed the special servants of the imperial chamber.—They are excluded from the cultivation of the soil; and, in consequence, they become money lenders and traders.—Great horror is inspired for the Israelites.—The Liber Penitralis forbids Christian women to receive the presents or attentions of unbelieving Jews.—Mass may not be celebrated in a church where an unbelieving Jew has been buried.—Seek to revenge the death of the Saviour, forgetful that he had suffered for all.*

AMONG the villeins or serfs of the feudal system, the Jews found no improvement in their condition. They were seldom recognised as belonging to that society with whom they were found, and to whose laws and usages they were forced to submit. They were differently treated in various countries. In Germany the whole Hebrew community were regarded as special servants of the imperial chamber; and the Emperor alone could make ordinances respecting them. "But," remarks Millman, "this imperial right would not have been recognised by the great vassals, as allowing the emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner to interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were persuaded by the Jews themselves to accept, dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their dominions. The high and remote tribunal of the emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Travelling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of free burghers, while he would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing Jews to pass unmolested. In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to guard them from the violence of the populace. In Italy, at least in the south, besides the doubtful protection of the emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope;" and the general effect, he satisfactorily proves, was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil.

Forced into this situation he was condemned for exercising his industry in other ways. That he lent money, and charged for the inconvenience as well as the risk to which he subjected himself, or that having purchased a jewel or other valuable, he should look for a profit on its sale, were offences which members of the Christian church seemed to regard with horror. They considered that the Jew, by pursuing such a course,

not only cut himself off from all comfort in the world to come, but was entitled to find no kindly treatment in this. Perhaps it ought to be remarked, in justice to the Christians generally, that it is plain they would have fraternised with the Jews had their spiritual superiors permitted. So much it is fair to infer from the many ordinances issued at different periods, to forbid such associations. In a work called the "*Liber Penitralis*," of Theodore, who is said to have been archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690, we have a striking instance of the dread and disgust which it was desired should be associated with the Jewish name. We there read, "If any Christian woman receive gifts from unbelieving Jews, to admit them to her embraces, she shall be separated from the church for one whole year, and shall live in great tribulation, after which she shall do penance for nine years. If she should have children, the penance shall be extended to twelve years. If she were even forced to give her company to an Israelite, the penance was not to be shorter than five years. In the same book it is provided, that "If any Christian should receive unleavened bread from an unbelieving Jew, or any meat or drink, or if he be a partaker in their impious rites, he shall do penance during forty days with bread and water." It was also declared, that "If any Christian shall sell a Christian man, although his own slave, into the hands of Jews or Gentiles, and by this separation from the Christian church he shall lose his Christianity, the master is not worthy to have a place among Christians till he shall redeem him." It further states, "It is not lawful to celebrate mass in a church where pagans, or infidels, or unbelieving Jews are buried."

Devotion and reverence for the Saviour of mankind, which might be expected to bend the fiercest heart to mildness and humanity, in the days of chivalry often produced anything but that tenderness which men are accustomed to regard as the characteristic of the sincere Christian. Brooding over the tortures to which the Redeemer was subjected, a frightful wish was conceived by some military enthusiasts, that they could revenge the outrages which their ancestors had been unable to prevent. This principle adopted, it was thought piety to assail those who did not assent to the truths of Christianity. The declaration of Clovis, the king of the Franks, that had he and his brave followers been at Jerusalem when Christ was crucified, the murderous deed should not have been perpetrated, was often quoted as a sublime exclamation breathed in the true spirit of religion. The blessed consequences which were to follow from the sufferings of Jesus were wholly lost sight of when this view of the case was taken, and vengeance was in numerous instances directed against innocent beings, whose only offence was that they had been educated in the Jewish persuasion. The higher orders of society sought the glories of knight errantry, and hoped, by vanquishing a Saracen, to prove their reverence for Jesus of Nazareth. But the lower classes, who could not hope so grand an opportunity for display, affected to console themselves for it by insulting or plundering the helpless Jew.

Gross as this sophistry was, it was upheld for centuries. The strange inconsistency is obvious where



thinking men believed all their own sins washed away by the atoning blood of the Lamb, judged it necessary to render themselves still more pure by shedding the blood of their fellow creatures, must be contemplated with amazement and sorrow. Had the true followers of the Messiah been heard, sentiments of mercy would have prevailed, as they would have taught their hearers that "He gave his life a ransom for all."

## CHAP. XII.

*The enemies of the Jews punished themselves.—St. Dominic the Cuirassier is distinguished among the self-tormentors.—He wears an iron cuirass next his skin.—The monks of Santa Croce flog each other.—The value of a hundred stripes, towards relieving a sinner from purgatory, is calculated.—St. Dominic inflicts upon himself thirty thousand lashes daily.—Eminent Jews appear to advantage by the side of Christian dignitaries.—Rabbin Maimonides obtains great celebrity for his learning.*

WHILE the Israelites were the subjects of such punishment, their enemies did not altogether spare themselves. The same Deity they expected would smile on the plunder or slaughter of Saracens and Jews, they supposed would be gratified by the sufferings of Christians. Distress and anguish, in almost any shape, were presumed to be an acceptable offering on the altar of goodness and mercy.

Among the avengers of the detested Israelites, in this way, St. Dominic the Cuirassier deserves to be mentioned, as one of the most (if not the most) remarkable fanatics of the age. He was called the Cuirassier because of an iron cuirass which he wore next his skin, and which was never taken off till it was necessary to replace it by a new one. Some account of his performances, as described in the "Retrospective Review," will give a lively idea of the faith cherished about the twelfth century. Dominic had been intended for an ecclesiastical life; but when he received priest's orders his parents presented a furred robe to the bishop who ordained him; and Dominic, conceiving that he had thus incurred the guilt of simony, not only refrained from performing mass, but resolved to do penance for the crime as long as he lived. For this purpose he entered into the congregation of Santa Croce de Fonte Avellana, the most extravagant of all the orders which had been produced by reforming the system of St. Benedict. The monks of this congregation never touched either wine or oil, and during five days in the week only bread and water; they were never allowed to speak, except for a short time on Sundays, and then only concerning spiritual things; they went barefoot, and every day, after every service, they flogged one another. In those days it was believed that a sinner might be flogged into a saint; but besides the general utility of flagellation as a means of obtaining the favour of Heaven, the actual value of

stripes—the price at which they were taken by the score in the treasury of good works—had been settled, according to the most minute and accurate calculation.

"It had been decided by the monks, that every mortal sin deprives the sinner of the grace of God, and makes him liable to eternal punishment; but if he repents and confesses, the mercy of God is so great that he restores the grace which had been forfeited, and commutes for temporal punishment that which should else have been eternal. How long a time a soul has to remain in purgatory for one mortal sin, or for many,—whether for one year, ten, twenty, or more,—is what the Divine majesty has revealed to none. The popes, however, granted indulgences, by some of which they remitted a certain number of years of purgatory, by others, half the term, and by others, the whole. The monks of Fonte Avellana had determined that thirty psalms, said or sung, with an accompaniment of one hundred stripes to each psalm, making in all three thousand, would be received as a set-off for one year of purgatory; the whole psalter, with the full complement of fifteen thousand stripes, would redeem five years from the same vast crucible; and twenty psalters, with three hundred thousand stripes, fairly entered in the recording angel's book, would be equal to a receipt in full for an hundred years of fire and torments in the world to come. This scale was sanctioned, if not formally approved, by the popes.

"Dominic the Cuirassier was ambitious above all men of laying up treasure of this kind in heaven. He tasked himself ordinarily at ten psalters and thirty thousand lashes a day, at which rate he would have redeemed three thousand six hundred and fifty years of purgatory per annum; and as Dominic is said never to have committed any other sin in his life than that of consenting to the present of the furred robe, one year of such discipline might have been thought full measure, and overflowing, for that offence. But, in addition to this regular allowance, he used to petition his superiors in Lent for a supplementary task of an hundred years; and then his day's work was two psalters and a half, with thirty-four thousand five hundred stripes.

"Even all this did not satisfy the ambitious Dominic. He was already creditor to a large amount in the angel's books: but no good works can be lost; all that were over and above the sum necessary for his own redemption from purgatory would go to the great sinking-fund of the holy Catholic church; and Dominic therefore continued to flog himself with more spirit than ever, for the good of his fellow-creatures. He entreated and obtained, during another Lent, the imposition of a thousand years; and St. Pietro Damiano affirms, that in these forty days he actually recited the psalter two hundred times, and inflicted upon himself sixty millions of stripes, working away during the recitation with a scourge in each hand. This was in addition to his regular task; 'and I neither know,' says Yepes, 'how his head should have been capable of repeating so many psalms, nor how his arms could have had strength to give him so many blows, nor how his flesh, not being of iron, could have endured so inhuman a battery.' In



him, however, increase of appetite grew by what it fed on; and he, in an heroic mood, determined-once to flog himself against time. In this noble feat, he so far outdid all his former outdoing, that beginning in the evening, and singing and flogging through the day and night, at the end of twenty-four hours he had gone through the psalms twelve times, begun them a thirteenth time, and proceeded as far as *Beati quorum*, the 32nd Psalm; the quota of stripes being 183,100; thereby reducing purgatory stock to the amount of sixty-one years, twelve days, and thirty-three minutes, to a fraction.

"This account rests upon the authority of Pietro Damiano, saint and cardinal; and he relates it, from his own personal knowledge, in an epistle to Pope Alexander II."

The writer just quoted does not put forth this statement as entitled to implicit belief. He remarks that "Calmet, living in a less credulous age and country, premising that the statement appears incredible, says that, after seeing it affirmed by S. Pietro Damiano, there ought to be no farther hesitation—*la chose ne doit faire aucune difficulté*. It seems, however, that certain awkward doubts respecting the possibility of Dominic's exploits obtruded themselves upon the minds of those who were very desirous of believing them if they could. It appears, upon calculating his great achievement of the four-and-twenty hours, that if during the whole of that time he had given himself two blows (that is, one with each hand, for he always used both,) in every second, the number would have been 172,800, being 10,300 short of the stated amount! Padre Maestro Castaniza supposes that Dominic's cats had ten tails each, and that every tail was reckoned: but this mode of reckoning would savour so much of vain-glory, not to say deceit, that other writers reject the solution, as derogatory both to the saint and his canonized biographer: they therefore agree with Castaniza, that 'the divine grace which the Almighty imparts to his servants produces in them marvellous effects, however weak they may be by nature;' and so they take the sum total without scruple."

Levity apart, it seems established beyond all doubt, first that self-inflicted punishments were declared agreeable to the Most High; and, secondly, that holy men distinguished themselves by the miseries to which they willingly submitted. To dwell on the merit or demerit of such observances is not necessary. They only claim notice as throwing light on the character of those who at that period were looked up to by Christians. It is hardly less irrational, though it is less abominable, than the senseless fanaticism which produced the melancholy catastrophe of the Jews at York.

By the side of such characters many Jewish names, appear to great advantage. Among them, Maimonides or Ben Maimon, deserves to be remembered. He was a rabbin, whose celebrity was so great, whose knowledge so profound, that the Jews called him, "The Lamp of Israel," "The Eagle of the Doctors." His merit gained him the situation of chief physician to the Sultan of Egypt. He was born at Cordova, in the year 1131, and was said to have been most profound in all

the learning of the age. Mr. Tomlins gives the following list of his works:—

"1. Pirush Hamishnah; or a comment on that book, begun in Spain, in the twenty-third year of his age, and finished in the thirtieth, in Egypt, and written originally in Arabic, in which language several copies are still found in the Vatican and other public libraries; and since translated, at different times, and by several hands, into Hebrew.

2. Jad Chazakeh, il Mishna Hathora; or the repetition of the Law; and divided into four parts, and these into fourteen books, which are still subdivided into various other titles.

3. This third treatise is entitled, Moreh Nevokim; or the director or expounder of perplexed texts or places of Scripture.

4. His fourth is the Sepher Haumitzvoh, the book of commandments, or an exposition of the precepts of the Mosaic law, both positive and negative.

5. His Epistle or Discourse on the Resurrection of the Dead.

6. His southern Epistle, or Letter to the Jews inhabiting the southern parts of the world, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the Jewish faith.

7. His letter to the doctors of Marseilles, in Provence, which is a kind of answer or confutation of the common Jewish notion about the infallible influence of the stars, and of a Jewish imposter who called himself the Messiah.

8. The Epistles to the Great Light, that is, to Maimonides himself, and written to him by the learned Jewish doctors of France and Spain, with his answer to them.

9. A set of Sermons, written by him, and mentioned in this treatise on the Sanhedrim, and by the author of the Shalsheth Hakkabalah.

10. This Logic, divided into fourteen chapters, the MS. of which is in the Vatican library.

11. This treatise on the Preservation of Health, dedicated to the king of Egypt, the MS. in the Bodleian library.

12. His physical Aphorisms, and other small treatises on Diseases and their Cures.

13. His Garden of Health, treating of animals, plants, stones, and other products of the earth.

14. Some other physical treatises in Arabic, and mentioned by Dr. Pococke.

15. His book of the knowledge of God, by the help of his creatures.

16. His treatise on the Soul.

17. Comment on Hippocrates.

18. Comment on the law.

19. Comment on Avicen.

20. Comment on the Gemarrah.

21. Pirke Moshe, or Physical Extracts out of Galen.

22. Questions and Answers concerning various customs.

23. Questions and Answers on other subjects.

24. On the thirteen Articles of Faith.

25. His manuscript copy of the Pentateuch, written with his own hand.



CHAP. XIII.

*Avarice, murder, and sorcery, are imputed to the Jews. —They put their children to death, and their wives destroy themselves from dread of the violence of the Crusaders.—Jews are snatched from drowning, to be hewed to pieces.—King John ascends the throne of England.—He pretends to be well disposed to the Jews, and several Charters are framed for their protection.—For these indulgences they pay four thousand marks.—An attack is made on them by the citizens of London.—The king, on being petitioned, interferes in their behalf.—They increase in numbers, and seem prosperous.—John throws off the mask, and despoils and tortures his Jewish subjects.*

It is unnecessary to repeat all the charges which continued to be brought against the Jews at this period. Of avarice, they were accused by the avaricious; of murder, by the bloodthirsty; and of sorcery, by the cunning and the foolish. The Israelite was a party attacked, if he made a display of wealth, for the offence of being rich; and he was plundered, if he wore the garb of poverty, because he was defenceless. The inhumanity, which has so often been described in the churchmen of the time, was ever ready, instead of offering succour to the oppressed, to mock their sorrow, and aggravate their misery. So general was the horror inspired, that, in some instances, whole communities abandoned themselves to despair. At the opening of the first crusades, when the fanatical multitude, led by Peter the Hermit, and Walter the pennyless, approached the city of Treves, to escape the expected violence of the soldiers of the cross, the men put their children to death; and the women, having attached stones or heavy weights to their dresses, threw themselves from the bridge, to avoid pollution. Those of the unfortunates who fled into the citadel, hoping there to find a refuge from danger, were met by the Bishop, who, instead of "forgetting their weakness in their woe," and admonishing them to "sin no more," assailed them with fierce reproaches, and loud condemnation. "Wretches," he exclaimed, "Your present trouble and consternation are the just punishment of your horrible sins, long since foretold. You have blasphemed, and murdered the Son of God, and calumniated his virgin mother. Hence springs the miseries which you now deplore. Persist in your present unbelief, and your souls will suffer everlasting destruction with your bodies." In an agony of alarm, expecting instant death, they were compelled to repeat a form prepared for the occasion, declaring that they renounced Judaism, and were sincere converts to Christianity. They suffered like cruelties at Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and Spire. To some the comparatively easy death by drowning was denied; and dying sufferers were snatched from the river into which they had plunged in their despair, to be wantonly hewed to pieces on dry land.

Years passed away, but brought no permanent relief; new actors came upon the scene; and the same sins

against common sense and humanity were witnessed in the course of the twelfth century, which had so long been mourned before. At its close, in England, the undutiful son, the perfidious brother, the murderous uncle, John, ascended the throne. This inglorious monarch, an exile from all virtue, did not, after a time, scruple to take his place among the enemies of the Jews. With his habitual dissimulation, however, in order that they might be brought completely into his power, he applied himself to dissipate the fears which had been excited by former severities. Intending but to despoil, he pretended to regard them with benevolence. With this purpose, in the first year of his reign, John gave them his royal permission to elect a High Priest of England, and the privilege was confirmed by a charter granted under his own hand. The charter guaranteed to a Jew who was named James the holding of the high situation to which he had been appointed during life. To shew still greater consideration for his Jewish subjects, the king granted their High Priest a safe conduct to all parts of the kingdom, for the more convenient discharge of his official duties. The instrument was couched in the kindest, most conciliatory language. The words of the charter order "all persons to allow the presbyter to pass freely, without impediment or molestation." Blunt remarks that a question has been raised, whether the office of *presbyter* mentioned in the charter (*Presbyter Judæorum*) was the same as High Priest. "Lord Coke and Mr. Selden," he adds, "were of opinion that the office was partly ecclesiastical; but Prynne, from finding that the same person who was presbyter acted sometimes as comptroller in the exchequer, thought the duties of the office were wholly of a civil nature. Dr. Tovey agreed with Lord Coke and Mr. Selden; and this seems the better opinion, as the two offices appear to have been sometimes held by different persons, though there does not occur an instance where the person who was appointed presbyter was not previously a priest."

Continuing his treacherous course, John sanctioned, in the following year, two other important charters, which embraced the Jews of Normandy, as well as those of England. By these they seemed to be fully secured the natural rights of subjects. The instrument which now appeared gave them permission to live freely and honourably in every part of the king's dominions, to hold lands, to have all their privileges and customs, and to possess the same as free from molestation as they had done in the time of the king his father. It declared that, when a Jew died, the king would not interfere with his possessions. It required, indeed, that his heir should discharge his debts and forfeitures; but that done, he should be at liberty to proceed where he pleased, carrying with him his chattels and property of every description, without let or hindrance. In this benign ordinance, the government appeared animated by a love of universal peace. Regulations were laid down, by which any difference that might arise between Jews should be promptly adjusted. So far as members of their body alone were concerned, all disputes were to be settled by reference to their ancient customs; but when a Christian had a plaint against a Jew, the ques-



tion was to be tried before a Hebrew jury, and judges appointed to that particular duty. This semblance of kindness, the promise of justice, they were not to have for nothing, and the Jews paid for these concessions four thousand marks; happy, no doubt, to believe they were secured from oppression at so reasonable a price.

They do not seem to have been free from molestation for more than two years. At the end of that period the citizens of London took umbrage at their conduct, and made a fierce attack on some individuals of their community. They regarded the king as their sure friend and powerful protector, and to him they appealed against the violence of the citizens, and implored him to interpose in their behalf, and redress their grievances. Their prayer was graciously received; John expressed an anxious desire to afford them efficient protection, and to prevent a recurrence of grievances like those which were the subject of their petition. He accordingly wrote a letter of reprimand to "the Mayor and Barons" of London, in which he intimated to them, that as they well knew it was his royal pleasure that the Jews should consider themselves under his special protection, he marvelled much that any ill had been suffered to come upon them. He commended them to the safeguard and care of the city authorities, and declared that if fresh disorders should occur, and any Jews be slain in the tumult, their blood should be required at the hands of the citizens who might presume to disobey his will.

The conduct thus far pursued by the king justified a hope on the part of the Jews, that under his rule they might rest in tranquillity; and accordingly great numbers of them took up their abode in England, and applied themselves to various trades and callings, with exemplary industry, and with ability which ensured success. They were soon prosperous; and cupidity was again roused to deprive them of their earnings and gains. John looked on their wealth with a longing eye, and eagerly sought for an excuse to make some of it his own. The mask he had hitherto worn was thrown aside. To plunder those he had affected to protect seemed to him a stroke of policy, not unworthy of a great king.

With this object in view, in the year 1210 he caused a tallage to be laid on the Jews of sixty-six thousand marks. They hesitated to comply with the unexpected demand. He enforced it not only with threats and reproaches, but by subjecting several of their body to imprisonment, and even to torture. Of some he barbarously put out the eyes, and various other cruel inflictions he used to enforce payment. An unfortunate Jew, of Bristol, he tortured by ordering one of his teeth to be torn out daily, till he furnished the sum required. Seven days he was thus dealt with. On the eighth his fortitude gave way, or the money which he had in vain sought to raise before was by some means forthcoming. The poor Israelite had then lost all his teeth but one. On this barbarity Hollingshed offers a half mirthful, half reproachful comment. The Jew, he unfeelingly writes, "paid the money to save that one tooth, who with more wisdom and lesse pain, might have done so before, and have saved his seven teeth which he lost with much torment, for those homelie tooth drawers used no great cunning in plucking them forth."

From this it may be inferred, that the minions of a tyrant thought a noble opportunity presented itself on

this occasion, for proving at once their loyalty and piety, by carrying into effect a brutal sentence against a poor helpless stranger, whose only crime was anxiety to save his property, in the most brutal manner.

It is not easy to believe that the disgust affected for the religious usages of the Jews, or for their origin, was sincere. While the Christian professed to worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there were in some of the nations of Europe idolators, and others whose practices were infinitely more repugnant to the followers of Christ. The virulence with which the Jews were followed, was in most instances promoted by rapacity; and pretended zeal in the cause of the Redeemer was but the thin disguise of the greedy, heartless spoiler.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*The Jews are taxed collectively, and plundered individually.—Phillip Augustus had set an example of cruel exactions, and Jews are banished from France.—John, in appropriating to himself the claims of the Jews, oppressed his Christian subjects.—The king's exactions on account of debts owing to Jews are provided against in Magna Charta.—King John is succeeded by Henry III.—Under the Earl of Pembroke's administration, and that of Hubert de Burgh, milder measures are adopted.—Unjust judges are removed.—Jews are required to wear a distinguishing badge.—It is said to have been imposed for their protection.—Jews resort to England from the Continent.—The wardens of the ports maltreat them.—They are protected by the Government.—The clergy pass ordinances against them, which are set aside by authority.*

HAVING once shown himself in his true character, John affected no moderation. He taxed the Hebrews collectively, and he plundered them individually. On property of every kind he laid violent hands, and spared not even their dwellings, which he often took away, and granted to some of his unworthy favourites. Committing these and similar outrages, he would enter into agreements and compromises with their debtors, occasionally remitting in full the sum which was due, or discharging the interest payable on the amount.

The mean and the dishonest, who, on any terms, were glad to be spared the necessity of paying their debts, soon found that the benefits which the crown looked to gain were so fiercely demanded, that they had no reason to exult in the wrong which had been done to their creditors. The bonds they had given to Jews were transferred to the king, and he became as merciless a creditor as the severest Israelite had been; but John had infinitely more power to press and extort satisfaction of his claim. They found their liabilities enormously extended, and great discontent was the consequence. In France, Philip Augustus had formerly aimed at making himself popular at the expense of the Israelites. In his earlier days, it was said it had come to his knowledge, that a Jew at Pontoise actually crucified a youth; and on his accession to the throne, to evince his



horror of such barbarity, he graciously condescended to relieve his subjects generally of any debt owed to the cruel Israelites, who were ordered to give up all pledges which had been left in their hands. With this tyrannical edict they were forced to comply; and a golden crucifix, and a gospel, adorned with precious stones, are mentioned among the valuables they were forced to surrender. Besides enduring such hardships, their persons were assailed. While assembled to hear the law read and expounded on their sabbath, their synagogues were surrounded, many of their most esteemed teachers were thrown into prison, while their goods were carried off, and all Jews ordered to leave France. The decree was carried into effect, especially in the South, with great severity; and the wretched precedent was, in a great measure, adopted by John as a model. The evils which it has been shown were produced by his mad exactions, distressed Christians, in many instances, as well as Jews. They were remembered in the days which speedily followed, when power passed from the sovereign to the subject; and the barons at Runnymede dictated Magna Charta to their unworthy prince. When that famous instrument was prepared, care was taken to regulate the claims which might be advanced to debts contracted with Israelites. Accordingly, it is declared, in the twelfth clause of Magna Charta, that if any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews, be it little or be it much, and shall die before the debt shall be satisfied, on such debt no interest can accrue, so long as the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and it adds if the debt should fall into the hands of the crown, the chattel only mentioned in the instrument should be taken.

In the next clause it is provided, that any one indebted to the Jews shall not cause his wife to lose her dower, and she shall be compelled to pay nothing for the debt of a deceased husband. It was also ordered, that if the deceased left children under age, "they should have necessities provided for them according to the tenement of the deceased;" and it is added, "out of the residue the debt shall be paid, saving, however, the service of the Lord." These provisions are supposed to have been then first made; but some writers are of opinion that the barons, in the year 1215, only demanded that the former law should be confirmed. According to Matthew Paris, in the year 1215, the barons came in arms to King John, at London, and demanded of him that certain liberties and laws of king Edward, with other liberties, granted to them and to the kingdom, and church of England, should be confirmed, "as they were contained and set down in the charter of king Edward I., in the laws above mentioned." The same historian, speaking of the *capitula*, or rough draft of the great charter, delivered to John by the barons, says that the articles thereof were partly written before in the charter of king Henry I., and partly taken out of the ancient laws of king Edward. In imposing such restrictions on the king, it was not the object of the barons to protect the Jew from outrage. On the contrary, when they had concentrated their forces in London, in order to compel the king to grant liberty and security to his subjects at large, the houses of the wealthy Jews were pillaged by their adherents, and pulled down, and even the materials car-

ried away. When Ludgate was removed, a stone, which is supposed to have formed one of these ancient dwellings, was found, inscribed, "The house of R. Moseh, the son of R. Isaac, the wise and the learned." Stowe and Doctor Tovey supposed such inscriptions to have been fixed in front of the houses of Jews, and of course concluded that it had been anciently the practice of the Jews, by thus making known the worth of their ancestors, to move their Christian neighbours to regard them with forbearance. In the thirteenth century, the stones which had formed their houses were appropriated to repairing the city walls.

It will thus be seen that, with some few exceptions, every change brought sorrow to the Jew. "The fate of this unhappy race," a modern writer remarks "was as extraordinary as it was distressing. Good men, sincere Christians as they professed to be, deriving all their hopes of mercy, happiness, and immortality from the revered book, which described the Jews as the chosen people of God, sought to honour that God by the most heartless persecution of his favoured race. Secret horrid rites were said to be connected with the exercises enjoined by their faith, which required the blood of a Christian to render them complete. Charges not less formidable than those preferred against the primitive Christians, on account of their Thyestian feasts, by the orthodox vindicators of the sacred name of Jupiter, were brought with mournful effect against the helpless sons of Abraham."

When the ignominious reign of John closed, and his son, then a child, was raised to the throne, such confusion prevailed generally throughout the land, that the Jews were almost overlooked. As a minister the earl of Pembroke had gained a high reputation for talent. The refractory he compelled to respect the just prerogative of the crown; and the equity of his measures commanded respect throughout the kingdom. On his death Hubert de Burgh succeeded to his authority; and while he remained in that high station it does not appear that new persecutions were permitted, but, on the contrary, some measures were adopted for the relief and protection of the Jews. Burdens previously imposed were removed; those who had been imprisoned were set at large; and writs and letters patent were addressed to the principal burgesses of each of the towns where the Jews resided, directing that they should be protected against injuries, either in their persons or their properties; and an especial order was given that the authorities should secure them against the murderous violence of the crusaders.

Nor was this all the favour extended to them; the charter granted in the beginning of the late reign was confirmed. This gave them very important privileges, as it guarded their property as well as their lives. They were also exempted from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, which, looking at the feelings that prevailed among the clergy, was no common boon. To enforce a better administration of justice, one signal act of virtue seems to have been performed. The unjust judges who had presided over the Jews' court of exchequer, and who were said greatly to have abused the powers vested in them, were removed from



their offices, and lawyers of eminence, and men of probity, named as their successors. But while these things were ordered in their favour, Jews were compelled to wear a distinguishing badge. We collect from authentic documents that a mark was ordered to be attached to their upper garment, which was to present two white tablets of linen or parchment, and worn on the breast. We can hardly divest ourselves of the idea that this was a great hardship imposed upon the wearers; but such is not the opinion universally entertained. Kindness is supposed to have ordered it not to oppress or degrade, but to protect from outrage; as, the Jew thus outwardly distinguished, those who violated the mandate of the government could not excuse themselves by pleading ignorance of their quality.

For some years they appear to have enjoyed an exemption from serious molestation. Their numbers increased; and, as usual, they were found thriving and opulent. At this period the harsh treatment to which Jews were exposed on the continent induced many to seek a refuge in England; but it would appear that, though favoured by the government, the people were hostile to them. The new intended settlers were assailed by the wardens of the ports on their landing, their goods were seized, and many of them were imprisoned. Informed of these proceedings, the government very properly interfered, and granted efficient relief. No time was lost in reproving the misconduct of the wardens; those foreign Jews who had been confined were set at liberty; and writs were forwarded to the functionaries at the various outports, enjoining them to allow all coming from the continent to establish themselves in England, and to live free from unnecessary restraint. The only conditions imposed on them were that they should enter their names upon the rolls of the justices of the Jews, and that they should not again depart from England, without notice being given and permission obtained.

Not long had they been thus happily circumstanced before the English clergy complained that such immunities granted to unbelieving Jews were an offence against true religion. A call was made on the government to reconsider their case; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln, under pretence of saving their flocks from contamination, issued a general prohibition against purchasing commodities from Jews, and against selling them victuals and the other necessities of life, or, indeed, having any communication whatever with them, as they, by the laws of the orthodox church, were excommunicated for their manifold crimes, their infidelity, sorcery, and usury. The government, on being petitioned, again interfered for their relief. The prohibition of the bishops, the sheriffs of the different counties and cities were directed not to enforce; and under an ordinance issued on the occasion, all persons were liable to be imprisoned who refused to sell provisions to a Jew. An edict to this effect was framed in the seventh year of King Henry's reign, and on the occasion referred to renewed; but when Hubert de Burgh had ceased to be minister, other counsels prevailed, and enormous exactions were again complained of by the Jewish people.

## CHAP. XV.

*The fable of the Wandering Jew obtains credit.—Several Wandering Jews are reported to have lived.—It was positively reported that one survived in the twelfth century who was contemporary with the Saviour.—He was named Calaphilus Samaran.—Another Israelite had been condemned to wander over the earth from the time of Moses.—A third, named Asuerius, is said to have been a shoemaker.—An Armenian prelate declares he had seen him.*

THE troubles of the times did not so occupy the people generally, but they could feel warmly interested in a report which was now circulated on what was held to be high authority; that the Wandering Jew, an Israelite who had cruelly mocked the Saviour's woes, when he was about to be crucified, and had been doomed in consequence to remain in this life till Christ should come in his power, was then known to exist.

The mysterious and the supernatural have such charms for the majority of mankind, that when once an idea is started of appalling extravagance, the mind is not easily disabused of it. Though rejected by reason, and refuted by positive evidence, again and again the fable is revived, and successive generations listen attentively to what their ancestors supposed had been set at rest for ever.

Such was seen to be the case through several centuries, in which the story of the Wandering Jew was confidently put forth, revived, and credulously received by many. There was something so striking in the idea of a sinful mortal being commanded by the Son of the Most High, to remain in this probationary state of being, till "the end of things created," to see ages lapse and races of men pass away; to be the survivor of his own posterity, and though numbering countless years, denied the prospect of repose in the grave, that grave the source of terror to others, the object of envy with him; in this there was something so fearful, that men told there was a voucher for it in Scripture, unfounded as the statement was, could hardly be persuaded that it was untrue.

The current reports familiarised to the vulgar, operated on some minds so as to produce a serious delusion. Reason failed, and bowed before reiterated falsehood; and not only were there men who seriously believed that such a person as the Wandering Jew had existed from the time of our Saviour, and would continue in this life till the day of doom, but there were individuals who severally believed themselves to be the man. The afflicting state of an individual who could yield to such a delusion, did not prevent his wild story from being believed. The intrepid assurance of madness has, in a thousand instances, carried conviction to the hearts of all beholders, and the unfortunate, who should have been secured in an asylum, has been followed as an inspired teacher, as a prophet, nay, as the Son of God.

The earliest report on this subject was probably circulated in the first century. In the twelfth, it was more than once repeated. Basnage tells us, that in 1229 there came into England an Armenian prelate, the bearer of letters of favour or recommendation, which the Pope had given



him, in order that he might see the relics of the saints, as also the manner in which God was worshipped in this country. Matthew Paris, who was then living, seriously relates, that many persons interrogated this person respecting the Wandering Jew, who was said to be at that time residing in the east, and of whom wonderful things had been reported, and they eagerly inquired if he were still there. The bishop, in reply, stated that the man was an Armenian, and one of the officers of his train related that the party mentioned continued to exist. He added that he had been the porter of pilate, named Cataphilus, who, seeing Jesus Christ dragged towards the prætorium, or judgment-seat, gave him a blow with his fist on the back, to push him forward more quickly, upon which the Saviour, turning to him, said, "The son of man will go away, but thou shalt await his coming." Cataphilus was afterwards converted, and baptised by Ananias, and called Joseph, "and," said the officer, "he will live till the end of the world. He reaches the age of a hundred years, and then he falls sick and into a trance, during which he grows young again, and seems to return to the age of thirty, which was his age when Jesus Christ was crucified." The officer asserted that Joseph was known to his master, at whose table he had seen him sit a short time before their departure. He farther stated, that Joseph answered questions put to him with the utmost gravity, and with a smile when inquiry was made as to facts which had occurred in his early life, such as the resurrection of the dead, when Jesus Christ was crucified; or relating to the apostles' creed; or the history of the saints. He lived in constant fear of the return of Jesus Christ to judge the world, for then he must die. The crime which he had committed in striking the Son of God made him tremble, but nevertheless he hoped for salvation, because he had sinned through ignorance. To refute fables like these, Basnage says, is unnecessary; but he remarks on the eagerness with which men propagate and listen to the grossest absurdities. "There were," he goes on to relate, "several Wandering Jews, or persons who had been so described. The first invention of the kind referred to him who cast or founded the golden calf in the desert, and who was condemned by Moses to wander for ever, as the punishment of so great a sin. He was named Samar. When he met any one he cried out aloud, 'Touch me not, for I am polluted.'" An Arabian geographer adds a second fable, and tells that there is in the Red Sea an island called Sameri, inhabited by Samaritans, who cry to those that pass them, "*Alsamas, touch me not;*" showing thereby that they are descended from the first wandering Jew named Samar. A third wandering Jew has been since imagined or invented. The first was a pagan, a porter to Pilate; the last was really a Jew, and a shoemaker, living near the gate by which Jesus Christ went forth on his way to Mount Calvary. He was called Assuerus; and seeing the son of God weary and faint, and disposed to rest against his stall, he struck him. Jesus Christ upon this said to Assuerus, "I will rest here, but thou shalt never rest, but shalt wander until I come again." From that moment he began his course; he followed Jesus Christ, and has ever since been a wanderer on the face of the earth. A Christian of

comparatively modern date has declared that he saw him in Hamburg, in 1457, and heard him preach (having been converted) in one of the churches of that city. He appeared to be a man about fifty years of age, of a good height, and wearing long hair spread over his shoulders. Assuerus was often heard to sigh, from which it was concluded that he was sincerely penitent.

We need not be astonished at the extreme credulity which could attend to such representations, as so many impostors have for a time commanded attention. A single passage in the Evangelist (St. John) was the origin of this delusion. It is there said that the Saviour remarked that there were some that followed him who should not know death till they had seen the Son of man in his glory; and it was then popularly believed that St. John should not die. Since, it has been reported, notwithstanding proofs of his death, and Georges of Trapezunce wrote a treatise to prove it, that John was still living. Some reported that if he had died, he came to life the next moment. It was added that he had been transferred with Elijah and Enoch to a place whence he would come with them and fight against Antichrist. Postel saw a man who preached at Paris, and who declared that he was the Evangelist St. John; but for this he was condemned as a blasphemer, and burnt alive at Tholouse. Wandering Jews have been many times imagined to have survived through centuries, and to them the words added by Jesus Christ to St. John have been supposed to apply. The Armenian archbishop, who found credulous believers in England, and who himself perhaps was one, persuaded them that there was really then living the true wandering Jew, as he himself had seen and eaten with him.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The course pursued by the government towards the Jews is equally unpolitic and cruel. — Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivoli are supposed to have prompted it. — They bring over a great number of foreigners. — The barons refuse to meet the king. — They call upon him to send away the bishop of Winchester and Peter de Rivoli. — Their demand is complied with. — Henry claims assistance from all quarters. — Heavy contributions are levied on the Jews. — A pestilence is supposed to be caused by their wickedness. — The Flagellants come forward to obtain mercy from above for their fellow men.*

It was about the fifteenth year of king Henry's reign that a change in the policy of the government took place with regard to the Jews in England. We in vain seek to discover a reason for it. They were peaceable and industrious, and a body of unoffending happy subjects. It might have been supposed any sovereign, any minister, would have been too happy to leave them unmolested, instead of converting them into malcontents by unjustifiable rigour.



Peter, bishop of Winchester, was, probably, the author of the hostile proceedings, as he, with Peter de Rivoli, his kinsman, governed the king, and all the public affairs of the kingdom. The bishop had taken the place of Hubert de Burgh, and had rendered himself most obnoxious to the barons. He and De Rivoli were foreigners, and had invited over Poitevins and Bretons, to the number of two thousand knights and servants, who were entrusted with the defence of various castles; and to these, also, the king committed the wardship of the nobility, which was afterwards said to have much degenerated from the matches which the prelate and De Rivoli concluded for them with foreigners. In those days, old writers report, "If Englishmen complained of their burdens and oppressions to the king, they were denied all redress, through the powerful influence of the bishop of Winchester." By these means, continues the historian, "the flame that burnt so fiercely in his father's time, was again lighted up in the kingdom; for Henry having sent out his letters, to call the barons together to a council, to be held on the feast of St. John, in the year 1233, at Oxford, the barons absolutely refused to obey the king's command, by reason that they feared the treachery of the foreigners, who then swarmed at court; and because they had conceived a just indignation against the king for preferring the Poitevins to his own natural subjects." This refusal they had delivered to the king in a very solemn manner, who, being much exasperated at the barons for this affront offered to his authority, took advice of his lawyers how he should compel them to obey. The king was advised to summon them a second and a third time, to try whether they would obey or not. But one in the council being so bold as to tell him that it would be to no purpose, nor would the barons ever obey his mandate, or he enjoy any peace, unless he would remove Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivoli, from his councils, the king sent again to his barons to summon them to meet at Westminster on the 10th of July following; and then, by their advice, he promised to amend whatever were amiss, or, by right, ought to be amended. But when the barons had heard that the king only sought to ensnare them; that he had actually got over from abroad a set of banditti, or robbers, with arms and horses for that purpose, they could see no signs of concord, and again refused to come to him; sending special messengers to the king, with this positive demand, "That, if he did not, without more delay, dismiss Peter, bishop of Winchester, with the rest of the Poitevins, from his court, they would never obey any of his summonses; but instantly drive him, and his evil counsellors, out of the kingdom, and elect a new king." The king attempted to maintain his dignity, opposing force to force; but, ultimately, he was forced to yield. The bishop of Winchester was ordered to retire to his see, and Peter de Rivoli was stripped of all his unjustly acquired wealth, and commanded to go into holy orders immediately, on pain of having his eyes put out.

From this glance at the general condition of the people, it will be seen that much confusion prevailed. Through the dissensions which separated a feeble monarch from his perverse barons, all parties were in a state of excitement; and when the king and the nobility could for a moment agree to lay aside their hostility, they

commonly turned their rancour, diverted from each other, against the unbelieving Jews.

Henry was not nice about the means by which he raised supplies. Baker says, "in the year 1238, having first required Yew Year's gifts from the Londoners, he shortly after writes unto them his letters imperiously deprecatory to aid him with money, and thereby gets twenty thousand pounds, for which, the next year after, he craves pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continually taking up all provisions for his house, that he lessens his housekeeping in no honourable manner. And then seeing he could get nothing of the states together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every nobleman apart, declaring his poverty, and how he was bound by charter in a debt of thirty thousand pounds to those of Burdeaux, and his Gascoynes (who otherwise would not have suffered him to part home) at his last being in France: but failing herein in temporal lords, he addresseth his letters to the prelates, of whom he finds as little relief; by much importunity and his own presence, he got of the abbot of Ramsey a hundred pounds, but the abbot Burrough had the face to deny him, though the king told him it was more alms to give money to him than to a beggar that went from door to door. The abbot of St. Albans was yet more kind, and gave him three score marks. To such lowness," adds the historian, "did the necessity of this indigent king (through his profusion) bring him. The Jews, ever exposed to his will, feel the weight of these his wants. One Abraham, found a delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred marks; and Aaron, another Jew, protests, the king had, since his last being in France, taken from him at times thirty thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of gold given to the queen." This only proves that claiming from all who were capable of answering his demands, he was impartial in his exactions.

Superstition had enormous influence over the public mind. A pestilential disease prevailed in many parts of Europe, and the visitation was pretended to be caused by the horrible wickedness of the Jews. Pious people felt remorse not merely for their own misdeeds, but for their supineness in not having made war on Judaism. Children suffering from the plague would exclaim against the sins of the Jews, and the parents from whom they had derived these ideas, supposed the sounds they heard dictated by more than mortal intelligence.

Death stalked abroad, and terrified zealots taught those under their influence, that to appease the wrath of the Eternal, it was necessary not only to punish infidels but to distress themselves. Acting under such an impression, a fraternity was established, known as the brotherhood of the flagellants, and also designated Brethren of the Cross, or Cross Bearers. They undertook to offer up prayers to the Deity, and to afflict themselves in order to induce him to put an end to the all devouring pestilence. Multitudes were seen thus infatuated. They were chiefly, but not all, of the lower classes. Women and children swelled their ranks; and they marched through towns and cities, proudly assuming that their merits would save their fellow-men from the heavy judgment to which their own depravity exposed



them. They formed imposing well arranged processions, preceded by sanctified leaders, and attended by singers, the heads covered as far as their eyes, looking on the ground, and their whole aspect deplorable, intended to be received as the evidence of heartfelt contrition. Their garments were of a sombre hue; they displayed red crosses on the breast, the back and the head covering. Triple scourges they carried in their hands, not only well provided with knots, but also armed with hooks or points of iron. Saint Anthony repot has named as the author of this folly.

About the middle of the century, they became very conspicuous in Italy. To cure a polluted land, nothing less than endless processions of self-torturers, it was thought, could prevail. "The fear of Christ," according to Hecker, as translated by Dr. Babington, "fell upon all: noble and ignoble, old and young, and even children of five years of age, marched through the streets with no covering but a scarf round the waist. They each carried a scourge of leathern thongs, which they applied to their limbs, amid sighs and tears, with such violence, that the blood flowed from the wounds. Not only during the day, but even by night, and in the severest winter, they traversed the cities with burning torches and banners, in thousands and tens of thousands, headed by their priests, and prostrated themselves before the altars. They proceeded in the same manner in the villages; and the woods and mountains resounded with the voices of those whose cries were raised to God. The melancholy chaunt of the penitent alone was heard. Enemies were reconciled; men and women vied with each other in splendid works of charity, as if they dreaded that Divine Omnipotence would pronounce on them the doom of annihilation. The pilgrimages of the Flagellants extended throughout all the provinces of Southern Germany, as far as Saxony, Bohemia, and Poland, and even further."

## CHAP. XVII.

*Henry III. compels the Jews to give up one-third of their moveables.—He grants them permission to erect a synagogue, and, when completed, takes it away from them.—Numerous claims are made on the property of the Jews by the crown.—Of this authentic proofs exist.—The principal Jews are wanted to treat with the king, and ordered to find him a supply of twenty thousand marks.—They are charged to assist the sheriff in raising it.—The barons send a reproachful answer to an application made to them for a supply.*

FROM Matthew Paris and Hollingshed, we learn that in one year Henry III. demanded and obtained from the Jews in London the surrender of one-third of their moveables; and this robbery had not long been submitted to when they experienced new cruelty. Having applied to the king for leave to erect a new synagogue, permission was granted in due form. Relying upon his good faith, a magnificent structure was speedily reared at their expense. No objection was made to the

building while it was in progress, but when completed the owners were told, that though the king had given them permission to erect so splendid an edifice, he had not promised to leave it in the hands of those who deemed Christ an impostor; and it was accordingly taken away, and presented, in all probability for a valuable consideration, to the brothers of St. Anthony, of Vienna, and by them converted into a church.

Blunt gives, in a note, a formidable list of impositions of which the Jews had to complain. He says: "In the years 1230 and 1231 the tallages levied upon the Jews amounted to 15,000 marks; Prynne Dem. 21 b. In 1233 they were taxed at 18000 marks: Tovey Angl Jud. p. 91. In 1236 to the same amount: Ib. p. 26. The next year they are again mentioned to have been taxed, but the amount is not stated; Madox, p. 152. Prynne, Dem. 27. In 1239 they were forced to pay a third of their goods, and in 1241 to raise 20,000 marks; Dem. 25. Madox, p. 152. In 1244, 20,000; Ib. 153. In 1245, 60,000; Ib. Matt. Paris says, the king received this tax with his own hand, p. 605. In 1246, 10,000 marks; Dem. 36. In 1247, 5525 marks were levied: Mad. In 1249, 10,000 marks, Dem. 38. In 1250, a great part of their goods were taken; Hol. p. 242. In 1251, 5000 marks of silver and 40 of gold; Mad. p. 154. In 1252, 3500. marks; Prynne, Dem. 42. claus. 36 to 3. In 1253 the Jews gave the king 5000 marks in July to be exempt from taxes till the Easter following; Ib. p. 42, b. In 1259, 5000 marks; Ib. p. 48, b. In 1269 the Jews agreed to pay the king 1000l. a year to be exempt from tallage for three years. In 1271 they were again forced to raise the sum of 6000 marks; Rot. Pat. 55 Hen. III. m. 12. Tovey, 192. There were probably other tallages than those which are mentioned in the text, though we have not now evidence of them. In the latter years of the reign, however, the money which was exacted from the Jews seems to have been, commonly, raised by mortgaging the whole community: we may well suppose that the mortgagees would not fail to make the most that they could by the bargain. The following authorities on the value of money, at the time these taxes were imposed, will enable us the better to estimate their burden. Bishop Fleetwood says, in his *Chronicum Preciosum*, that 'since the Norman conquest, a mark has been only a denomination, and early after that period was, as at present, 13s. 4d. From the Norman conquest the pound weight of silver contained twenty merely nominal shillings.' Anderson, in his *Introduction to his History of Commerce* says, 'When we read or speak of any sum of money in our histories, from the Saxon times to the year 1344, we are ever to consider it on an average, as about thrice the weight and value of the like sum in our time.'"

A moment's reflection will show that demands so exorbitant, must, in numerous instances, have involved those who had to satisfy them, in total, irretrievable ruin. No evasion was permitted. Not only were the imposts sternly demanded, and enforced by imprisonment or by seizing the property of the Israelite, but his wife and children were taken from him, and held as pledges for the punctual payment of the sums required. The



wealthier members of the Jewish community were forced to give security for their poorer brethren. This is no fabulous or doubtful tradition. It is established beyond all doubt by the rolls of parliament, and other authentic records, that such monstrous proceedings disgraced the reign of the feeble Henry. Proof exists that in one instance, writs were issued to the sheriffs, under which they were compelled to summon six of the wealthiest Jews to treat with the king at Worcester. It was significantly hinted, that the contemplated meeting was to be for their mutual advantage. They were graciously invited to repair to that city, *ad tractandum nobiscum, tam de nostra quam sua utilitate*—"to treat with us, as well for our advantage as theirs." The Jews failed not to repair to Worcester at the proper time, hoping perhaps that some amelioration of their own unhappy condition was intended. If such their expectation, it was speedily dissipated, for being assembled, his highness plainly told them the object of his calling them to that place, was to require, at their hands, the sum of twenty thousand marks, which must be paid within a year from that time; and they were commanded to assist the sheriff in raising it, and threatened, in case of failure, with the forfeiture of their goods and estates, and with imprisonment. Some of the writs then issued are still extant: one of them, which authorised the Jew to levy contributions for the use of the king, contains these expressions: "*Sociatis quod à vobis requiremus, si quid de prædicto tallagio nostro, in terminis nostris defecerit, et tam graviter contra vos manum nostrum aggravabimus, quod poena vestra erit omnibus ad terrorem*; which may be rendered, "Know we require this of you, and if of the aforesaid tallage any part should eventually be wanting, we will subject you to severe punishment, that your example may be a warning to others."

It is true, as indeed has already been seen, that the Jews were not the only class of subjects who had abundant cause for complaint. How the king dealt with the barons, may be conjectured from the answer to an application for aid, which he, on one occasion, received from them, in which they said, "they admired the king did not blush at making such a demand of them, because he had given them his charter when the last demand was granted, to which the lords scarcely consented, that he would not again load his subjects with such exactions; that he was greatly to blame for calling over of foreigners, on whom all the good things of the kingdom were scandalously and prodigally wasted; that even the daughters of the nobility were, by his means, married to ignoble strangers, without that mutual consent which is the cement of matrimony, and his own natural subjects set aside and despised." According to Matthew Paris, in respect to eatables, drinkables, and, more especially as to wines, the king was accustomed to take them by force from the owners and venders, thus injuring his own subjects, as well as foreign merchants, who brought goods into the kingdom. "The nation," they represented, "was thus scandalized and impoverished, while the merchants got nothing from the king, but law-suits, or some mean trifle in return, whence thousands of terrible curses were called down on him, to the danger and disgrace of the whole kingdom. To get

greater gifts and premiums from merchants, he had seized upon their wax, silks, and other merchandize, to make them pay for the return of the same, to the dishonour of himself and the whole kingdom, and not without grievous offence to God. That in all things he so tyrannized and studied to be cruel, that even the poor fishermen on the sea-coasts, who take herrings and other fish, were not permitted to dispose of them according as they liked, nor dared the inhabitants of the towns on the sea-coasts to purchase them; but the poor men thought it safer to put to sea in stormy weather, in order to dispose of them in foreign markets. That these miserable traders were so cruelly treated by the king's collectors, that punishment was added to loss; for after receiving injury upon injury in their proper persons, their carts and horses were taken away from them, and driven into secret places. That he kept in his hands several rich bishoprics and abbeys, founded by their pious and noble progenitors, and made himself both guardian and governor of them, to their utter destruction, contrary to the solemn oath which he principally swore at his coronation. Lastly, the king was very much blamed by all, and singular the complainants that he had neither chief-justice, chancellor, nor treasurer in his council, as he ought to have, and as his most noble predecessors had before him; but those officers he had, were allowed to do their own will and pleasure, provided he gained thereby; not promoting the public good, but seeking only their own preferment; being suffered to get as much money as they could, provided his customs and rents were but first paid."

It is more than probable that the leading men among the Jewish community, on whom King Henry imposed the task of raising the sum which he claimed, had great powers given to them for coercing their brethren, who might be reluctant to obey the mandate. To exercise these, was to make themselves odious, and was perhaps exactly that which the royal schemer desired. The man of wealth, by incurring the hatred of his humbler neighbours, could the easier be pounced upon by an insatiate despot at the proper season, as those he had been made to oppress, resentful of the wrong they had sustained at his hands, witnessed his fall with little emotion. In any case, it was poor consolation to the Jews to find that others were to a great extent victimized like themselves. Companionship in suffering, though sometimes thought desirable, when gained, is found to afford slender relief. The Jews remained unhappy, notwithstanding the Christians, among whom they resided, were loud in their complaints against violence and arbitrary taxation.



CHAPTER XVIII.

*Individuals are proceeded against for imposts demanded from the whole Jewish community.—Crimes are charged that pardons may be purchased.—They are supposed to worship God by shedding the blood of Christian infants.—A child is murdered at Lincoln.—To save his own life, a Jew accuses his brethren.—He is put to death, as are eighteen persons inculpated by his confession.—They are charged with collecting combustibles at Northampton, to fire London.—The Jews are not permitted to leave England.—New exactions reduce them to despair, and they are resisted.—The king angrily declares money he must have, by whatever means it may be procured.*

THE tallages imposed on the whole Jewish community, were enforced against opulent individuals, and on every occasion, when property changed hands, large payments were to be made, which were claimed by the crown. He who succeeded to the property of a parent or relative was subjected to a fine, without which the king's permission to enjoy it could not be obtained. Many offences were laid to the charge of the Hebrews, some of which it was impossible for man to commit, in order to extort donations as the price of a pardon. The charge of crucifying the children of Christians, was renewed over and over again. Judaism was declared to be an abominable religion, which identified the most horrid crimes with adoration of the Supreme Being. Strange to say, this accusation they pretended to justify by that Bible which the Christian affected to revere as the source of all true religion. Because they read in the Old Testament, that sacrifices to the Lord might not be redeemed, but should assuredly be put to death, that declaration with respect to animals destined to be sacrifices, and the severities commanded in the case of certain vanquished idolators, were held to be unquestionable evidences that the Jews hoped to find favour in the sight of their God, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by brutally destroying all who professed a different faith. The bloody character of Jewish observances they held to be proved by the vow of Jephthah. Though they had no voucher for the fact, they boldly affirmed that the innocent child had fallen by the hand of the Jewish father; and because one Jew, as they declared, had sacrificed his own child, they deemed it certain that all Israelites in all subsequent ages would be prepared to murder the children of Christian parents in cold blood. In fiend-like derision of the sufferings to which Jesus Christ had been doomed, they imagined a burlesque crucifixion was annually coveted by the ferocious Hebrew zealot. The solemn and interesting observances of the passover were hideously misrepresented. Instead of describing that festival to be a peaceful grateful commemoration of mercies, received by their ancestors from the God they worshipped, associated with devout petitions for future blessings—instead of representing them to congregate at certain seasons to establish and perpetuate kindly feeling among their own brotherhood, they were

said only to meet to degrade themselves by celebrating orgies of the most dreadful and revolting character. Instead of the paschal lamb, it was proclaimed that a Christian infant must bleed to heighten the enjoyment of a Jewish banquet. Their prayers, and their humbling themselves before the throne of the Almighty, were averred to be in Hebrew estimation of no avail, if divine benevolence were not invited by shedding innocent blood from Christian veins.

"Such frightful cruelty," says the author of the Life and Times of the Good Lord Cobham, "it was pretended, was perpetrated in conformity with the ancient Jewish law, and the punishment of it was promoted by bishops, who could not but know, that in scripture the children of Israel were most positively enjoined 'to eat no manner of blood,' yet the blood they were supposed to crave was supposed to be used for making unleavened bread. The commandment, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' was as binding on the Jew as on the Christian; but it was supposed the minds of those it was the practice of the age to pursue with such detestable rancour, were so perverted, that the slaughter of a helpless child, would not be regarded as murder. Had this been possible, still there were no grounds for charging the Jews with using the blood, even of animals, for the purpose described; as, in the sacred volume, the Eternal himself declares, 'Flesh, with the life therein, which is the blood, shall ye not eat. And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man—at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'"

A child was declared to have been murdered at Lincoln; and the fact was supposed to be placed beyond all doubt by the full confession of one of the Jews, who had disclosed the names of his accomplices. This wretched man, in the hope of saving his own life, which he was assured would be spared, if he inculpated others, declared the crime in question, the crucifying of a Christian child, was repeated every year, and added that the leading Israelites from all the neighbouring towns never failed to grace the ceremonial with their presence. Such was the hatred of the Jews which then prevailed, that their pursuers cared not to keep good faith even with the wretched being who made himself their accomplice. In the case of this accuser, the promise made to save him was unblushingly violated. He was dragged, we are told by Matthew Paris, at a horse's tail to a place of execution, and there suspended in chains, as one writer playfully expresses it (levity being considered not at all out of its place when treating on the sufferings of the Jews), "his body and soul were made a present of to the demons of the air." While the poor wretch lived, his gaolers gave him every opportunity of enlarging his confessions; and the dread of death caused him to attend to any suggestion which his heartless tormentors might offer. He told them, among other things equally extravagant, that, when a child, he had been stolen from his parents, in order to be crucified; he was fed, for a time, on milk, because such diet, it was presumed, would make him more susceptible of agony. The betrayer was also made to



describe a sort of drama, the representation of scenes, acted in connexion with the Passion of Christ. The assembly having met, one of their number was appointed to sustain the character of Pontius Pilate, attired as a judge, and placed on the judgment seat. An application was then made to him, in form, praying that the child there introduced, as the offending Jesus, might be given up to the vengeance which he had provoked. Pilate, of course, was made to comply with their prayer, and the helpless young Christian was condemned to die. He was then led away, and mercilessly scourged, till the blood flowed from his person; after which a crown of thorns was placed on his head, and, amidst shouts of derision, he was ironically hailed "King of the Jews," buffeted, and spit upon. A cross was next produced, to which the sufferer was nailed; he was compelled to drink vinegar; and, after many a hand had been raised to plunge a knife wantonly into his flesh, his heart was pierced by a spear. The bowels of the victim were then taken out, and, according to this notable confession, used for operations connected with sorcery!

It would be idle to dwell on the absurdity of revelations extorted from a wretched being, in the hands of merciless enemies. His testimony, however, was so far satisfactory to those who had obtained it, that they immediately proceeded to use it against eighteen of the richest Jews, who were charged with being accomplices in the horrors he had disclosed. What support his testimony received from other quarters we know not; but convictions are stated to have been procured, and the individuals prosecuted were hanged, and their property confiscated. Others, who had been present at such scenes, were imprisoned in the Tower for different periods; and some stealthily fled the country to escape a like visitation.

Next to the eagerness of Jews for crucifying children, they were supposed to desire to add them to the number of the circumcised. It was believed that many children were stolen for this purpose; but, says Blunt, "No offence was, indeed, too improbable to be laid to their charge. They were even accused of plotting against the state, and of attempts to overturn the government; but the most absurd accusation brought against them was, that a party of them had collected together large quantities of combustible materials at Northampton, for the purpose of employing them in the destruction of London by fire. Upon this incredible charge, many Jews were burnt alive, and their effects seized into the king's hands. Matthew Paris, who lived in this reign, and was an eye-witness of the oppressions to which the Jews were subjected by the crown, gives a distressing picture of their sufferings. He concludes his account of the manner in which the king practised his extortions, with these words: "*Non tamen abrando, vel excoriando sed eviscerando extorsit.*"

Petitions and remonstrances were offered on the part of the sufferers, but the wail of sorrow offends the ear of power, and those who had done wrong were provoked to doom the Jew to additional pain, because he complained of what he had already borne. Unable to gain the slightest redress they solicited permission to leave England, but this poor boon was not granted. Proclamations were put forth, which ordered that no Jew

should be suffered to depart without the king's license, which of course could only be obtained by submitting to new exactions. This brutal treatment seems to have inspired them with the courage of despair, and the language of complaint now assumed a bolder tone than heretofore. Some of their principal men adopted the opinion that as humble submission had subjected them to violence, manly resistance could expose them to no greater evil, and when some of their number were ordered to appear before the Earl Richard of Cornwall, brother to King Henry, and the council, they answered a threat of imprisonment and death, unless new contributions were forthcoming, with a sternness of resolution, to which the royal ear had been unaccustomed, where they were concerned.

"O noble Lords," exclaimed Elias, the High Priest of the Jews, who was spokesman on the occasion, "now do we undoubtedly see that our lord the king purposeth to cause the Hebrew race to vanish from the face of the earth. We entreat you, for God's sake, to intercede with him, that he may give us his license and safe conduct to depart out of his kingdom, in order that we may seek a home in another land, and under a sovereign who will have some bowels of mercy for our unhappy race, and some stability of good faith, and benevolence. We are ready to depart, never to return, leaving our houses and all our household stuff behind. From him, miserable Jews as we are, we have no hope, seeing that he spares not his own natural English, seizing their commodities and ruining their commerce. His interference has not been confined to usurers, who by unmeet practices keep up large stores of money. They in truth are spared. Let the king rely upon them henceforth. Christian money-lenders have supplanted the Jews, yet this the king would seem not to know, and would fain exact from us sums which we cannot supply, even though his royal mandate should pass to pluck out our eyes, to cut our throats, or to flay us alive."

On a subsequent occasion, they deemed it prudent to address a memorial to the king, in which they addressed him to this effect.

"Your Jewish memorialists, Sir King, have seen that thy hand spares neither Christians nor Jews, but aims at impoverishing all. No hope of gaining a livelihood remains to us. The usurers of the Pope have supplanted us. Permit us to leave the kingdom with safe conduct, and we will find for ourselves elsewhere, such a home as we may."

What has been stated with respect to the wretched oppression and the grinding policy of Henry, will abundantly explain to what the Jews refer in these appeals to royalty. The complaint of the usurers of the Pope may require a brief notice. The successor of St. Peter had for some time engaged Italian traders, who were denominated *Causini*, to proceed to England, and there employ money, at an exorbitant rate of interest, for the benefit of his Holiness. To avoid the charge of usury, the *Causini* were accustomed to lend a person, who required a loan for half a year, the sum asked for three months only, without interest, but with a covenant that they should be entitled to fifty per cent, for every month during which the principal remained un-



paid after the six months had expired. It was demed that usury could attach to such an arrangement, as the money was lent, when first advanced, without any interest being claimed, and what was ultimately received depended altogether on a contingency which might or might not occur. The *Causini* were ordered to be prosecuted in the thirty-sixth year of this reign, when they pleaded, in bar to the proceedings, that they had only acted as servants of the Pope.

The strong language employed by the Jews did not produce any favourable change. The king was incensed at the freedom used, and replied, as related by Matthew Paris, "Can it be marvelled at that I covet money? It is a horrible thing to imagine the debts wherein I am held bound. By the head of God, they reach no less than 200,000 marks; nay, should I say 300,000, it would not be to outstrip the truth. I am deceived on every side. I am a maimed and humbled king; yea, I am no more than half a king. There is a necessity for me to have money, at all events, let it be gotten from what place soever, and by what means soever, and from whomsoever."

## CHAP. XIX.

*A new sect, called the Albigenses, is established in the twelfth century.—The simple inhabitants of Albis become heretics.—They follow in the footsteps of the Waldenses.—Miracles are reported to be wrought among them.—A deacon opposes the heresy.—He hazards a bold prediction, which is justified by the event.—The heretics are overpowered, but the heresy is not subdued.—Rigorous punishment is said to be the only cure for the evil.*

THE appetite for persecution, which had feasted so long on the Jews, was stimulated by a novelty, to which it turned with great eagerness at the commencement of the twelfth century. Nothing could be more startling to the orthodox Catholic than the opinions held by a new sect, called the Albigenses, and which were condemned as most wicked and abominable, and tending fearfully to disturb the peace of the church. In France, near Cahors, in Albis, a city which had also been known by the name of Alba Augusta, supposed to be the same which is called by Cæsar, in his Commentaries, Helvii. The inhabitants of this country are described to have been a simple and open-hearted race. They were peaceably disposed; but their very virtues were supposed to have rendered them more accessible to the tempter of man, when he approached them in the shape of an unbelieving Jew, or that of some other foe to religion, to seduce them into heresy. Not using the necessary circumspection, they suffered themselves to be corrupted; and, strayed into the paths which had been trodden by the Waldenses years before. In former times, says De Mariana, "all nations agreed in point of faith, and all followed, and professed the same doctrine. There was no difference betwixt the German and the Spaniard the Frenchman and the

Italian, the Englishman and the Sicilian, as to their belief touching God, the immortality, and other mysteries, all of them had, as it were, one head, and spoke as with one tongue. The Waldenses, a wicked and abominable people, began, some years before this, to disturb the peace of the church, teaching new and extravagant opinions; and now the Albigenses, or Albienses, a sect no less odious, and a name hateful to the ancients, followed their footsteps, to the great disturbance of the Christian world. They taught that the priests, God's, and the church's ministers, had no power to forgive sins; that the true body of Jesus Christ, is not in the most holy sacrament of the altar; that the water of baptism has no virtue to cleanse the soul from sin; that the prayers used for the dead do not avail them. All new and false opinions, never heard of by the ancients. They also uttered blasphemies, and reproaches against the blessed virgin, which are not set down, for fear of offending the Christian reader. William Nangiacus, a Frenchman, who lived not long after, has left them all in writing. Their madness extended, even to reflect upon the familiarity that was betwixt our Saviour and St. Mary Magdalene. So says Peter, a Cistercian monk."

Some say this heresy was first known in Toulouse; others that it had its rise in Provence. Its history, however, which is not a little remarkable, De Mariana quotes from a devout writer, named Lucas de Troy, who had visited Jerusalem, most likely as a pilgrim, and who thus delivered himself on the subject of the Albigenses:

"After the death of the reverend D. Roderick, bishop of Leon, the clergy could not agree about choosing his successor. Which opportunity the heretics, who are enemies to the truth, and delight in such discord, laid hold of, to get into that city, then without a pastor, and to assail the flock of Christ. That their designs might succeed, they armed themselves, as they used to do, with inventions. They gave out that miracles were wrought in a certain filthy place, that served as a dunghill. In it were buried two criminals, one of them a heretic; another, who for murdering his uncle, was sentenced to be buried alive. In that same place, there was a spring, which the heretics discoloured with blood, that the people might look upon it as a miracle. The fame thereof, as is usual upon light occasions, was spread abroad. They, underhand, had corrupted some persons to counterfeit themselves blind, lame, possessed and afflicted with various diseases; and that having drank that water, they were healed. From these beginnings the cheat was carried on, till they dug up the bones of the heretic, whose name was Arnaldus; and he had been buried sixteen years in that place. They gave out those were the bones of a most holy martyr. Many of the ignorant clergy, under the cloak of devotion, forwarded the laity therein. The fraud proceeded so far, as to raise over the spring a strong house; and it was intended to place the bones of the infamous murderer on a high place, that the people might worship them; it being given out that he had been a very holy abbot. In short, when the heretics had brought things to this pass, they owned the deceit among themselves, and so made a scoff at the church, as if the other miracles, performed by holy bodies, were of the same stamp; and there were



some who gave credit to them, and forsook the true belief."

Not a few of those appealed to were prevailed upon to treat the new sect with respect, and to adopt its creed. At this, according to the Spanish writer, "the enemies of truth rejoiced and triumphed: they affirmed publicly that the miracles wrought in that dunghill were more certain than all the rest, performed in the church by the bodies of saints, held in veneration by Christians. The neighbouring bishop declared all those excommunicated who frequented that cursed worship; but their care was of no use, for that the devil had full possession of many, and had secured to himself the disobedient children. A deacon, who abhorred the heresy, heard at Rome what happened at Leon, at which he was much concerned, and resolved to return speedily to his country to oppose that mighty evil. Being come to Leon, he inquired farther into the business, and began passionately, both in public and private, to condemn so ill a thing, reproving his townsmen, and accusing them as favourers of heretics. Though his friends advised him to be more moderate, he could not restrain himself, as believing the city was departing from the law of God. He went to the common council, and told them that accident was an affront to all Spain; that, where formerly just laws and constitutions were enacted, as being the head of a kingdom, there at present unheard-of villanies and heresies were invented. He added, God would not give them rain, to bless the fruits of the earth, till they had cast down that church and thrown away those bones they worshipped. For so it was, that ever since that superstition began, which was now ten months, it never rained, and there was a dearth in the country. The judge, in the presence of all the assembly, said to the deacon, 'Do you assure us, that the church being cast down, God will give us rain, and water the country?' The deacon, full of faith, answered, 'Give me leave to demolish that house, and I promise, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon forfeiture of life and goods, that within eight days our Lord will send the necessary rain in abundance.' He repaired to the place, with labourers appointed, and many of the citizens, levelled the church, and scattered the bones about the dunghills. It happened, to the great astonishment of them all, that as the church was falling down, among the timber was heard a noise, as it were of a trumpet, to show the devil forsook that place. The next day a great part of the city was burnt down, for the wind being very high, the fire could not soon be stopped from spreading far. The multitude mutined, and ran to find out the deacon, with a design to murder him, saying, 'that instead of rain, he had been the cause of that great fire.' The heretics appeared, scoffing at the clergy, and said 'the deacon deserved death, and that what he had promised would not come to pass.' But the Almighty had mercy on his people, for at the end of the eight days appointed, he sent abundant rain, so that the fruits of the earth recovered, and there was a plentiful harvest that year. The deacon, encouraged by this success, went on prosecuting the heretics, till he obliged them to quit the city. Thus far are the words of this author by which, it appears, that this pestilential

heresy spread in Spain; but its greatest fury fell upon Toulouse, whence ensued great mischiefs, and the unhappy death of the king of Aragon, who would uphold it, as shall appear in the sequel."

The war which followed, and the triumph of the catholics it is known to every reader of history failed to extinguish those opinions which had been so fiercely condemned. That we find most satisfactorily established by the bigoted De Mariana, who admits that "Whatever was gained by many being converted from their errors, chiefly the preaching of St. Dominet, and the miracles he wrought in several parts, no less was the number perverted by the heretics. For who can reduce an incensed rabble to reason? Who can restore to their wits men lost and hardened in error" The method of cure, however, is happily obvious to this amiable writer, who adds, "A limb that cannot be healed must be cut off, and the safest method is in such cases to use rigour in time."

This was in the true spirit of the inquisition. The holy tormentors, who presided over that hateful establishment, wished the world to believe, and perhaps were themselves half persuaded, that such was really the case, men so easily admit excuses for their own actions, that parental love only aimed at saving the immortal soul, while ruthless hands and horrible tortures were destroying the body of the expiring victim, and their only fear was that the rigour so long delayed, was not yet sufficiently sharp.

Doubtless it was in this spirit that the Spanish ecclesiastics pursued the Jews under various monarchs. Designing priests and the blind dupes who were content to follow them, while consigning a fellow mortal to the stake, took credit to themselves for generous zeal to rescue him from that perdition towards which he was being carried by Judaism.

## CHAP. XX.

*France, England, and Spain rival each other in zeal to punish unbelievers.—Louis VIII. of France relieves his subjects from all debts owing to Jewish creditors.—Complaints of the usurious practices of the Jews are multiplied.—Taking and paying interest is sanctioned by the Jewish law.—Receiving interest is discouraged among the Romans, but subsequently recognised and sanctioned by law.—St. Louis forbids money-lending in his dominions.—The Jews are attacked by the populace in Paris, and in other cities.—All debts due to them are swept away, and Christians are authorised to keep any property in their hands belonging to a Jew.—St. Louis orders all copies of the Talmud to be burnt.—The Rouelle or mark to distinguish them is ordered to be worn by all Jews and Jewesses.—Jews are invited to confer with ecclesiastics only to be subjected to insult and violence.*

THE mind is naturally led to inquire why the Jews did not wholly withdraw from lands in which they were so



repeatedly outraged, but reflection will suggest that the hostility excited against them was so general that to get beyond its reach, if practicable, was no easy matter. France vied with England and Spain in punishing infidelity. Superstition and cruelty were firmly established on the Continent. In France, when Louis VIII. ascended the throne, his barons, a greedy set, threw a longing eye on the wealth of the children of Jacob; and the new king, to ingratiate himself with them, affected generously to give what was not his to bestow. A decree was issued, which relieved his Christian subjects from the necessity of paying any interest upon sums which they had borrowed from Jews, and allowed them three years to pay off the principal by as many instalments.

Till a much later period the feeling excited where usurers were concerned, (and that odious name was given to all who claimed interest on money lent,) was sedulously kept up. By one representative of St. Peter, usury had been placed next to theft, and in many cases it was visited with as much severity. The selfishness of the Jewish faith was declaimed against, as the Mosaic law, while it forbade them to take interest from their brethren, sanctioned their receiving it from strangers. It might have been added that they were also permitted to pay interest on what they borrowed, and therefore their law did not condemn lending money on interest as *malum in se*, and contrary to the law of nature or of nations. It has been remarked that nearly the same regulations had obtained among the Romans at an early period of their history; but when commerce flourished, loans, before discountenanced, as tending to create discord, which might prove dangerous to the republic, and the rates at which advances might be made, was determined by authority. The highest rate of interest, from the time of Cicero and Justinian, was the *centesima*, or twelfth part, paid every month, or twelve per cent. per annum. Evasions of the law were, however, common, and three or four times the amount of legal interest was in many cases extorted. Usurious profit might be realised under the semblance of a sale and repurchase, or of letting to hire; or might be stipulated for in consideration of gain to be made by the borrower, or of the loss which the lender suffered from being kept out of his money.

Not only were the Jews deprived of all right to claim interest from their debtors, but they were assigned to feudal chieftains as property, and declared attached to the soil. They appeared to have been occasionally required to take part in the Crusades. Raymond, seventh count of Toulouse, was in one instance restrained from employing Jewish officers.

It will easily be conceived that Louis IX., a monarch who gained the high distinction of being named Saint Louis, would not fail in that profitable piety, which could be displayed by appropriating to himself or his favourites the goods of the Jews. He denied them all right to claim interest on what they had placed in other hands. To this he was said to have been moved, from the crucifixion of a Christian child having come to his knowledge, while he was a minor. He subsequently insisted on their abandoning the business of money-lending in all his dominions. In the year 1234, Louis, we are told, with a view to promote the future happiness of his immortal part by conciliating Heaven, annulled one third of the principal of all debts

claimed from Christians by Israelites, and it was provided that no officer or person connected with the law might arrest or in any way maltreat a Christian on account of his engagements with the unbelieving race. As usual on such occasions, the bigoted population adopted the views of their sovereign. The Lombards and Cahorsiens manifested pious alacrity to further and participate in the depredations he commended. He is said to have been really moved by conscientious feelings as well as by policy, it being his object to compel the Jews to turn to virtue and abstain from money-lending, and become traders or artisans. The populace, animated by very different feelings, in the year 1239, rose tumultuously, and ravaged that quarter of Paris in which the Jews principally resided. They committed many atrocities; and in Orleans and other cities in France, the wretched example was but too exactly imitated. The feudal lords, far from repressing these violences, approved and participated in them. At the assize of Brittany, over which John the Red presided at Ploermel, the Jews were denounced as a curse to any country which endured their presence. It was declared that husbandry was ruined by their usurious practices; and, in consequence, they were ordered to leave Brittany. To render the labours of tyranny and injustice complete, any debts claimed by them were totally swept away; and all Christians, who held property belonging to a Jew, were authorized to regard it as their own. Not content with this, it was declared that the Hebrew must no longer be in any way protected from personal violence; and no Christian who might kill a Jew was to be called to an account for the murder.

St. Louis, besides seeking to abate their profits, annihilate their property, and wholly change their habits, wished also to make himself illustrious by striking a blow at the faith of the Hebrews. An ordinance was promulgated, accusing them of blaspheming the name of the Saviour, and condemning the Talmud as the source of their impiety. The secrets contained in that book were believed to be of great moment, and fraught with infernal mystery; and, it was added, cabalistic spells were thence derived, which had the power of enchantment to bring ruin and disease on the helpless Christians. The Talmud was, in consequence, ordered to be publicly destroyed; and twenty-four cartloads of volumes were publicly burnt in France. This proceeding, though tyrannical, was impotent. Copies of the proscribed book were preserved, and viewed with greater reverence than ever.

In addition to these severities, the council of St. Louis forbade the Jews longer to act as physicians. It was universally admitted that in medicine their skill was great, but it was pretended that that skill, being derived from a hellish source, could not be lawfully exercised to relieve a suffering Christian. Hence the Jew, who through a long life had carefully applied himself to become a proficient in the healing art, found himself denied the privilege of profiting from the labour he had undergone, and the researches he had made, and forbidden to relieve the distress of his fellow man.

When this royal saint prepared to set out on a crusade, a new attack was made on Jewish property, to enable him to carry his design into effect. That the excited populace might not easily overlook a Jew who had come in their way, he was ordered to wear a mark



of distinction, which was called the *Roulette*. This indeed was intended for both sexes, and consisted of a patch of blue cloth on the front of the external garment, with a corresponding one behind. It had been directed by the council of Lateran under Innocent III., as a device which ought to be adopted generally throughout Christendom. The suggestion was approved by councils, which sat at Rouen and at Arles, and by St. Louis it was formally made a part of the law of France.

Such was the iniquitous course pursued by a monarch who was subsequently canonized by the pope. It is possible the saint had some compunctious visitings when he felt that he was summoned to appear before the King of kings. Addressing his son he said, "The first lesson I would impress upon thee, and command thee to observe, is, that with all thy soul, and above everything thou lovest God, and keepest thine heart open with kindness and compassion for the poor. Look diligently that all thy subjects live under thy rule in peace and rectitude." In that moment the conscience-stricken saint might with reason have lamented, that he had lost the opportunity of giving effect to humane precepts by his own royal example.

The spirit which animated this monarch with regard to the Jews, would be sufficiently proved if further illustration were required by a story found in Joinville. It was the practice during the middle ages frequently to invite the Rabbins to a conference, as it was pretended, with a view to settle for ever the points of faith on which Jews and Christians differed. They commonly ended not in convincing either party; but in subjecting the Jew to insult or violence. On one occasion the aged abbot of Clugny, when arguing with a Jewish doctor, was obviously worsted by his adversary. A valiant knight, who was present, and leaning on his staff, seeing the course things had taken, requested the abbot to allow him to deal with the Jew, to which the latter consented. Upon this, the knight proceeded to enquire of the Rabbin whether he believed in one of the great mysteries of Christianity. He was answered by the Rabbin, that that was what he had undertaken to refute. The knight, upon that, indignantly replied, "Then you are mad, and insolent too: since being a vile unbeliever, you have presumed to enter into Christ's house (the Rabbin had been invited to the monastery of Clugny), and for this, you shall lack no remembrance of him." Without further speech, he dealt the Rabbin a heavy blow under his ear, which felled him to the ground. The Jews who had accompanied him, finding their Rabbin thus maltreated, precipitately withdrew. The mortified pride of the abbot made him affect to complain of the conduct of the knight. "You have committed," said he, "a great folly, by knocking the Jew down with your staff, just when I was about to confute him by argument." "You," replied the knight, "committed a much greater folly, in bringing these Jews with their long arguments before an assembly of good Christians." Joinville received the story from St. Louis, with this comment on it: "None but learned clerks should dispute with the Jews; but every layman ought to oppose to him a sharp edged sword." St. Louis, remarks "D'Israeli, inferred that the doughty

knight did wrong to confute the Jew, but right in knocking him down."

## CHAP. XXI.

*Strong measures are found necessary to guard against Jewish converts to Christianity returning to their ancient faith.—The second council of Nice orders Jews to declare themselves.—Crowds of Jews are driven to baptism.—They are anew condemned.—Origin of the Maisons des Miracles in Paris.—A Jewish money lender is charged with abusing the host. He is committed to the flames and all his property is confiscated.—The Jews in France are again plundered, banished the country, and permitted to return.*

It would be an endless task to recount all the brutal acts perpetrated under the pretence of converting the Jews in the middle ages. When they firmly adhered to the faith of their fathers, they were reviled, banished, and punished in various ways. When, terrified by the threats held out to them, they consented to renounce Judaism, stringent measures were deemed necessary to guard against their relapsing into unbelief. In some cases it was provided that a Hebrew should be a catechumen for six months before baptism, and the second council of Nice, in consequence of its being known that certain converted Jews made a jest of the solemn observances of Christianity, required them to declare that they were still of the Jewish persuasion. Vincent Ferrer had in Spain a great name as a converter of infidels. Large bodies of Hebrews, marshalled by him, were paraded in public, as having been happily led "out of darkness into marvellous light," and become true Christians. We read in the "Spirit of Judaism:" "Eight thousand Moors, fifty thousand Jews, and one hundred thousand bad Christians, afterwards called *Christianos novos*, baptised but suspected of Judaism, were the quiet victims of his intrigues. At that period, the saving grace of Christianity, such as Christianity then was, seems to have consisted in driving herds of them to the river-side, as their driver held a crucifix in his hand. These mighty conversions, splendid in their exterior, were hollow within, and they never lasted. These flocks of Jews were still secretly preferring the baptism of blood to the baptism of water, and still feasted on their paschal lamb in some hiding-place of this new Egypt."

The cry against the Jews on account of their usurious practices was diligently sustained. The miserable zealots, who have been mentioned as the Flagellants or brothers of the Cross, made this the theme of their chaunt as they paraded the cities which they were permitted to infest. Their strain ran thus:

"Woe, usurer, though thy wealth abound,  
For every ounce thou mak'st a pound  
Shall sink thee to the hell profound.  
Ye murderers and ye robbers all,  
The wrath of God on you shall fall!  
Mercy ye ne'er to others show;  
None shall ye find, but endless woe.  
Had it not been for our contrition,  
All Christendom had met perdition."



The multiplied insults they received, and the wrongs they sustained, no doubt tempted the Israelites to express contempt for Christianity, as it made them feel abhorrence for its professors. But the stories told of the scorn which they laboured to show for certain Christian rites, especially for the Host, are perfectly incredible. We subjoin from the "Life of Lord Cobham," one ridiculous but melancholy specimen:

"The *Maison des Miracles*, a chapel which graced Paris in the fourteenth century, and had been raised to perpetuate the miraculous discovery of a sacrilegious act committed by an Israelite, originated in extravagances most gross, contemptible, and cruel. The history of the edifice sets forth, that in 1290, a French woman, who had pledged some wearing apparel with a Jew, named Jonathas, for the sum of thirty sous, asked him to allow her the use of them on Easter Sunday, promising honestly to return them. The Jew is stated to have consented, but upon this condition, that she should bring him a consecrated host, and that done, he would not expect to receive the clothes again. The bargain was concluded, and the woman having received the communion on Easter Sunday, brought the host to Jonathas, who laid it on a table and pierced it with a penknife, when blood began to flow, after which he drove a nail through it, and the wafer continued to bleed as freely as before. To destroy it, the Jew then tossed it into the fire, but could not effect his purpose, as it still hovered about the flames, and was not consumed. He next put it into boiling water, which became dyed with crimson, but the host remained entire. After these experiments, the son of the Israelite, who had witnessed the doings of his father, seeing the Christians repairing to the celebration of mass, called out to them, "It is of no use for you to go to church to worship your God, for my father has killed him." On this being told, in order to ascertain if there were any meaning in what the boy had said, a woman made an excuse for entering the Jew's house in a friendly way, and there finding the host in a wooden bowl, she carried it to the curate of *Saint Jean en Grève*. The Bishop of Paris ordered Jonathas to be arrested, and on his refusing to become a Christian, caused him to be burnt, and all his property to be confiscated. On the ground which had belonged to this Jew, a pious citizen built a chapel named as above, and Guy de Joinville founded a monastery there, which Phillipe-le Bel enlarged in 1299, and endowed with the whole of the property taken from the murdered Hebrew, together with some adjacent buildings. The ancient chapel exhibited this inscription, "*Ci-dessous le Juif fit bouillir la sainte hostie.*" The penknife of the Israelite, and the bowl in which the host had been received, were preserved in the church of the convent as relics. They were carefully deposited in the interior of two human figures, one of which held a representation of the knife, and the other of the bowl in their hands, the originals being too precious to be constantly exposed. The host which was reported to have been so strangely outraged, was guarded with no less care, and exhibited at certain seasons with great solemnity, in the church to which it had been carried by the accuser of the Jew, that of *Saint Jean en Grève*, as a proof of the awful vengeance which Divine wrath could pour on the impious."

During the reign of Philip Augustus, no relaxation of the severe laws framed in the time of Louis IX. was allowed. In the time of Philip IV. it was attempted to wean the Jews from their ancient habits, but the attempt eventually proved unsuccessful. The consequence was, they were again ordered to leave France. In the year 1306, the persons of a number of wealthy Hebrews resident in Languedoc were seized, and their property confiscated. At the same time, the Jews in Paris were treated with like severity. Their synagogues were no longer permitted to exist as such, but were used as Christian churches; their cemeteries were destroyed and their gravestones removed to be used as building-materials. Notwithstanding the hatred thus manifested, in a few years, when Louis X. had ascended the throne, they were permitted, if not invited, to return; and the Jews, with a degree of confidence in their persecutors which we must regard with some amazement, were content to pay for the privilege of again residing in that France where they had suffered so much. Permission was granted them to establish themselves there for twelve years. Their cemeteries and synagogues, and their sacred books; such of them as had escaped being committed to the flames, were restored, and they were allowed to claim any debts which the royal commissioners had not collected in their absence. This was not a very great privilege, had it been what at first sight it may be supposed to be: but it will appear perfectly insignificant when it is known that, of the sums thus recovered, one-third only was to belong to them, and two-thirds were regarded as the property of the crown.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Jews are occasionally persecuted in Spain.—Moses Nachmanides withdraws to Judea, where he founds a synagogue.—The Spanish Jews are accused of murdering Dominick, a young Chorister.—His remains are miraculously discovered.—Alfonso, king of Castile, is assisted by learned Jews in preparing the Alfonsine tables.—A corpse is placed in the house of a Jew and a false charge of murder preferred.—The Jews are assailed by the populace, and in consequence send a deputation to court to vindicate their name.—Zachariah announces the coming of the Messiah.—The Emperor Frederick II. shows kindness to the Jews.—Edicts against them are issued by the councils of Lyons and Vienna.*

IN Spain those feelings of malevolence which had been cherished against the Jews from a very remote period, frequently burst out in fierce accusations and violent outrage. One learned Rabbín, named Moses Nachmanides, more commonly called Ramban, who had been looked up to with great admiration, withdrew from the severities to which his race was exposed, and repaired to Judea, where he established a synagogue. He was one of the most celebrated cabalists of the time. He wrote an exposition of the cabalistical law, and many works which were greatly admired. Among them



we may enumerate a prayer on the ruin of the temple; an essay on the holiness of marriage, with rules to ensure parents the blessing of virtuous children; the garden of desire; an epistle to his son on moral subjects; a defence of Maimonides; the treasure of life; a cabalistical disquisition; an exposition of the Jewish law; a treatise on deliverance from banishment; a sermon before the king of Castile on the excellence of the law of God; a treatise on the wars of the Lord; on the coming of the Messiah; on the pomegranate, a cabalistical essay; directions how men should behave in sickness, in mourning, and at the time of death, with reflections on the hope of a future life. Other works, the titles of which present nothing remarkable, are also ascribed to him.

The Spanish Jews, in the year 1250, were charged with having stolen, in order to crucify, a youthful chorister, named Domenick. He had been engaged in the cathedral of Saragossa; and his pious demeanour, and the melody of his voice, were supposed to have made him obnoxious to the envious Jews. The story is, that having been put to death by nailing him to a cross, his mangled remains were privately committed to the earth by the sea-side. A miraculous light was observed to hover on the spot, in consequence of which the ground was opened and the body discovered, which was then placed in the church to which the chorister had belonged. Malignant industry could bring no proofs that the Jews had in any way contributed to the death of Domenick; but the rumour was enough, being generally credited, as all such stories were by the populace, to cause them to experience additional insults wherever they appeared. The effect it produced is reported to have been eminently good, as it led to many conversions. Raymond Pennafort, a Dominican, was then confessor to James I., king of Arragon. He rejoiced in the numbers thus brought into the Christian church, but had the humanity to check the violence of the multitude, and to adopt a more rational scheme for forwarding the good work, by ordering a number of individuals of good ability to be taught the Hebrew and Arabic tongue, in the hope that through their means the Israelites might be brought to admit the truths of Christianity. The scholars produced by this wise and humane expedient detected and exposed many of the extravagant fables which the Rabbins had countenanced, and successfully contended with some of the most learned Jewish doctors in argument. Several works of great merit were produced by the same parties in vindication of the Christian faith.

The Alfonsine tables, *las partidas*, about this period were produced by Alfonso X., a king of Castile, who had the reputation of being a great astronomer. He seems to have been kindly disposed towards the Jews, and to have encouraged those of their Rabbins who were eminent for learning. Under his patronage, the astronomical works of Avicenna were translated by Judah de Toledo, who introduced a new division of the stars, which were formed into forty-eight constellations. Aben-Raghel and Alquibits de Toledo assisted him, and were called by him his masters. He was further aided in the laborious task by Aben-Musio, Mahomad de

Sevilla, Joseph Ben Hali, and Jacob Abvena, of Cordova. In various respects he treated them with great kindness; but kindness usually proved to the Jews a source of pain. It caused jealousies to be conceived, and new accusations to be preferred. In this case, in the city of Orsana, in Andalusia, three persons contrived to place a dead body in the house of an Israelite; and then made such representations on the subject, that it was believed by the inhabitants that the man had been murdered there. A general rising against them was the consequence; and many Jews, without any form of trial, were put to death. Some appealed to those Christians whom bigotry had not rendered strangers to humanity, and were received into their houses; but it being then the time of the passover, the friends who protected, could not offer them unleavened bread; and as, during that period, their religion forbade them to partake of leavened bread, many of them were almost starved to death from their resolute anxiety not to violate the law. At Palma they were attacked by the populace, and many were slain. Upon this it was resolved to send a deputation to court, to pray that such outrages might be repressed. Scarcely had the deputation commenced their journey, when they found themselves watched and pursued by infuriated enemies. They did not, however, abandon their design; but, quitting the highway, advanced through woods and by-paths, and, at length, reached their destination. The head of the deputation, a Jew, named Joseph, pleaded the cause of his brethren admirably, and they were solemnly acquitted of the crime which had been laid to their charge; but the king seized that opportunity of commenting on their usury and extortion. Some of those who were about the king recommended that the Jew, in whose house the dead body had been found, should be put to the rack, with a view to obtain a confession of the murder. He escaped the torture by doing now what it might have been well that he should have done before. The corpse having been recognized, the grave in which it had been buried was opened, and found empty; and it was thus clearly established that the body had thence been stolen, and placed in the dwelling where it was discovered.

James I., king of Aragon, who has already been mentioned, on many occasions availed himself of the knowledge of the Jews. He even used some of their prayers in his private devotions, and is believed to have drawn moral lessons from their history.

At various periods we have seen bold impostors claiming to be received as the promised Messiah. Several of these appeared in Spain. About the year 1258, a person named Zachariah declared, after studying the prophecies with care, that he found himself enabled exactly to state when the Messiah would appear; and he added, the time of his coming was at hand. He ventured to name the day on which his advent might be expected; and the Jews, having prepared themselves for the great occasion, by fasting and by alms-giving, on its arrival were in a state of high expectation. They repaired to their synagogues, clothed in white, with reverend hope and joy. Of course they were disappointed; but a Jew who was subsequently converted, and became a monk, reported



that they were astonished when there assembled, to find their garments miraculously covered with red crosses; and what he affected to deem still more wonderful, they subsequently discovered that the linen which they had left in their houses was marked in the same way. It does not appear that Zachariah was punished for the deception; and it is told of him that he flattered a belief which they entertained, that he who could attain to the true pronunciation of the name of God, would be enabled to perform miracles. He pretended that he had found out how the awful name should be spoken; and he published a description of the way in which it should be uttered, which he caused to be distributed through all the Spanish synagogues. Another impostor, named Moses de Leon, fabricated copies of the book Zohar, which purported to be complete, and which, till his time, could only be obtained in fragments. It was in the end discovered, that the parts supplied were his own invention, and the cheat was exposed to merited derision.

In Germany, during a considerable portion of this century, the emperor extended some degree of favour to those who were so harshly dealt with elsewhere. Frederick II., on this account, and through the stand he made against papal tyranny, was supposed to be a lukewarm Christian. That he should protect or spare those who were declared to be for ever accursed, was viewed as an offence against the church, and against heaven: it was thought nothing but great depravity caused him to turn a deaf ear to calumny. When it was reported to him that three Christian children had been found dead at the time of the Passover in the dwelling of a Jew, he listened incredulously to the implied charge, and coolly replied, "Let them be buried then:" He did more than this. Not content with simply declining to persecute, he caused an enquiry to be made into the truth of the charge, so often and so fatally repeated, that the religion of the Hebrews demanded Christian blood should be shed to render the performance of some of their rites complete. This gave them a real triumph. It clearly established that their sacred books called for no such sacrifice, and a resolution adopted by the grave theologians, to whom the question had been submitted, declared them to stand fully exonerated on that point.

Malice was on the alert to invent new charges. When the Mangolian Tartars overran a considerable portion of Europe, it was pretended that the Jews recognised them as descendants from Abraham; and, to favour the Tartars, made a feigned league with them, engaging to supply them with wine, which they promised their adversaries to mingle with poison. Passing a bridge over the Danube, they were detained by a toll-collector, who, on opening the casks, is said to have found them full, not of wine, but of arms.

The council of Lyons, which sat in 1240, passed a decree of excommunication against all Christian princes who should omit to compel the Jews in their dominions to refund to persons engaging in the crusades any sum which they had received from them in the shape of usurious interest. Twenty years afterwards, the council of Vienna relieved Christians from the engagements they had entered into with Jews, under the pretence of saving them from the extortions practised by unbelievers. It was further ordered, that Jews should be separated

from the rest of the people. They were forbidden to enter a Christian inn, or to use baths frequented by Christians. They might employ no Christian servant, and were permitted to farm no public toll. Severe penalties visited their forming any amorous intimacy with a Christian woman; and to distinguish them, they were directed to wear a pointed cap. While thus oppressed, they were called upon to show respect to the Christian religion, to pay dues to the clergy, but to abstain from all social intercourse with Christians.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Notwithstanding the prevalence of fanaticism, some ardent scholars advance the character of literature.—The Jews are again banished from France.—New diseases appear in Europe.—They are reported to be produced by the arts of the Jews, who are accused of poisoning the rivers, and of employing magical incantations to destroy the health of Christians.—Various discoveries are said to prove, beyond doubt, that the Jews had conspired, with the Moors, to poison the followers of the Saviour.—One hundred and sixty Jews are burned at Chinon.—At Vetry, forty Jews are killed with their own consent.—A female survivor is committed to the flames.—A rising of Shepherds and Peasants.—They furiously pursue the Jews.—The Shepherds commit dreadful outrages, but are, at length, dispersed.—Pestilence follows in their train, which the Jews are said to have caused.*

THE stern fetters which fanaticism imposed on a large portion of mankind at this period of the history of the world, did not prevent some ardent spirits from successfully labouring to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge. During the thirteenth century, "Vincentius Belovacensis became known as the author of 'Bibliotheca Mundi;' and Roger Bacon, in his 'Opus Majus,' gave, what was judged, a very accurate account of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and pointed to the possible existence of another vast continent to the west, which, two centuries afterwards, was discovered. Many ecclesiastics, of various countries, occupied themselves in the same way. A Westphalian monk, named Brocardus, visited Palestine in 1222, and failed not, on his return, to gratify his friends with the details of what he had seen, under the title of 'Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ;' and in 1254, Asechin, a Dominican, gave to the reading world a report of a mission, on which he had been sent by Pope Innocent IV. to the Cham of Tartary. Many other pious and learned men went through a similar task; and their success led, in the fulness of time, to the expedition of Marco Polo, and that of our own distinguished countryman, Sir John Mandeville, in 1322."

In the early part of the fourteenth century, we find in France a repetition of the banishments of the Jews, so often witnessed in earlier times. Under Philip the Fair, they were ordered to withdraw, being only allowed to carry with them such clothing and money as were necessary for them on their journey. Many went forth so scantily provided, that they perished by the way; but



the majority of them found a refuge in Germany. In consequence of this forced emigration, the German Jews consider themselves to be of French extraction.

From Germany, in due time, they returned to endure new outrages; and the manifestations of hatred, which were witnessed in this century, present a disgusting novelty. Not content with laying to the charge of the Jews crimes which they had little temptation to commit, they were accused of those evils which Providence only could inflict. The loss of life occasioned by the crusades was not limited to the slaughter which attended those mad expeditions. Parties engaged in them who survived, in numerous cases, brought with them diseases, till then, unknown in Europe.

“———et nova februm  
Terris incubuit cohors;  
Semotique prius tarda necessitas  
Lethi corripuit gradum.”

The climate and the miseries endured by the warriors who marched to the east, produced varieties of suffering. “At one period,” Joinville writes, “the Nile was nearly choked by dead bodies, which beginning to float, spread a pestilential miasma along the margin of the river. God knows,” he continues, “how noisome was the smell, and how miserable it was to see the bodies of such noble and worthy persons lie exposed. I beheld the Chamberlain of the late Count of Artois seeking the body of his master, and many more hunting after those of their friends; but none who were exposed to the infectious smell, while engaged in this office, ever regained their health.” The same historian proceeds to describe both the causes and the symptoms of the disease. “Fatal maladies, in consequence thereof, broke out in the army; the limbs of many were dried up and destroyed, and almost all were attacked by a complaint in the mouth, from which but few recovered. The chief sustenance of the army at this season—Lent had recently commenced—was of the most loathsome kind, the eel-pout of the Nile, which is a gluttonous fish, and feeds upon dead bodies. The agony which the patient experienced was dreadful. The groans of the sufferers,” Joinville adds, “seemed like to the cries of women in labour. The flesh on our legs was dried up to the bone, and our skins became tanned as black as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain behind a coffer.” The condition of those who were exposed to these evils was sufficiently calamitous; but, it need not be stated, it was not within the range of things possible, for the Jews to have been the cause of what they endured. Nevertheless, in the year 1321, it was declared, in most European countries, that the Jews and the Moors were the authors of the evil. They were said to have combined to destroy Christian health by poisoning all the rivers, wells, and fountains; and, not content with adopting these murderous expedients, they had recourse to magical incantations, to wreak their vengeance on true believers. Lepers were supposed to have joined with them to extend far and wide the ravages of disease. The wealth of the Jews, it was supposed, had been used to bribe these unfortunates; and hence a leper, instead of being viewed with compassion, became an object of hatred and abhorrence. Many facts were stated and received, as evidence of their guilt. At Poitou, a

bundle of rags was found, which had been dropped by a leper, which, when opened, was found to contain an adder's head, the feet of a toad, some female hair, which had been steeped in a black, fetid liquor, and these were immediately pronounced to be the undoubted instruments of sorcery. In other places, a disgusting compound of human blood, wine, and three sorts of poisonous herbs, were said to have been discovered; and, with these, the consecrated host had been mixed, dried, and reduced to powder, the whole forming a substance that was perfectly incombustible, and which was most virulently fatal to life. Further it was declared that letters, written in Arabic by the kings of Tunis and Granada, to a Jew named Sampson, had been intercepted, which left no doubt of the horrible machinations of the parties suspected. Their object was declared to be by destroying or enfeebling Christians, to gain an opportunity for seizing the riches of the helpless sufferers. The purpose which those who fabricated these calumnies had to further, is much more clearly brought before us. To plunder the Hebrew merchants, and to seize the funds which charity had furnished to support hospitals, moved them thus cruelly to inculcate the Jews and the lepers. The mind revolts at the charge alone, but we shudder to contemplate what followed. At Chinon one hundred and sixty Jews were burnt alive at one time, on the same pile, which was constructed in a large hole or ditch, dug for the occasion, and the sufferers were indiscriminately dragged to the place of execution without respect to sex or age, and it appears, without even the shadow of a trial. Many of the unfortunate victims precipitated themselves into the flames; husbands urged their wives to the like desperation, and mothers hurled their children into the blaze ascending from the kindled faggots, that they might escape the awful pollution of baptism, which they were taught to regard as infinitely more dreadful than death. At Vitry, forty Jews, in a state of utter despair, selected two of their number, an old man and a young female, to become their executioners. They acted the part assigned to them; and when they alone survived, the old man persuaded his companion to despatch him also. When this had been done, the female, with a view to put an end to her own existence, threw herself from the castle wall; but her fall being broken in part by her garments, she survived the shock, having only fractured her thigh-bone. In this situation she was discovered by those whose cruelty had caused the dreadful resolution adopted by her friends, and they, on learning what had been done, immediately threw the poor girl into the fire, which had previously been lighted to consume herself and those to whom she had been induced to give a less terrible death. No authentic record exists of the total number of innocent victims sacrificed on this monstrous charge; but it is told that heavy fines were exacted from the Jews, the Moors, and the Lepers, whose lives were spared. Not less than one hundred and fifty thousand livres were claimed from the first for permission to depart; and the unfortunate lepers suffered equally from the same inhuman rapacity.

A favourable ordinance had again waked delusive hope, when, in the year 1320, a rising of the lower classes, including many shepherds, took place, which



made fierce war upon the Jews. They reported that pious men returned from the Holy Land had brought to them prophecies that it could be recovered, and the true religion rendered triumphant for ever, only by the poor in spirit, the peasants and shepherds. They assembled in great numbers; a priest and a monk came forward as their leaders, and astounding miracles were reported to have been performed, to prove the divine origin of their revelation, and to assure them of victory. They advanced in large and increasing masses, affecting to avoid outrage, but claiming bread at the gates of the cities they approached, for the love of God, in a tone and with accompanying gestures which those to whom they appealed could not for a moment resist. What they would ultimately attempt was not declared; and it is believed they had themselves no definite idea of the work they were to perform. Still, as they advanced, their numbers were increased by the idle and the thoughtless. The flocks were left untended; the fields were no longer cultivated; and, carried away by the stream, several noblemen gave them the benefit of their presence, and professed their readiness to assist and protect them. They had no arms, and their progress was marked by a total absence of discipline; but they marched irregularly, following a banner which exhibited the image of a white cross. From Bourges they moved northward to Paris; and they overran Languedoc, creating confusion and alarm wherever they appeared. The utter impossibility of obtaining provisions for such crowds of idlers, soon rendered them frantic; they ravaged the country; they broke open the prisons, and, reinforced by their hardened inmates, they made themselves masters of several towns. They seized on all property which they could approach; but from the first they had avowed it to be their determination not to spare the Jews. The government was rendered powerless, and had not the means, if it had the wish, to protect the hated Israelites. The latter fled in some cases to fortified places. Five hundred of their number escaped to Verdun on the Garonne, where they were admitted into a castle; and the governor gave them a tower, authorizing them to resist their enemies. The place was immediately besieged, and the assailants declared they would give the Jews no quarter. The latter defended themselves with resolution, but the besiegers at length fired the gates; upon which the Jews threw their children from the walls, and then put each other to death, so that when the besiegers entered, they found its defenders were no more.

The madness which had caused this tumultuary movement soon became so formidable, that a determined attack was made on the advancing crowd, sanctioned by the authorities, with such effect, that their speedy dispersion, with an immense loss of life, followed. Miserable want always produces pestilence. Such was the case in this instance. The wretches were afflicted with countless maladies; and thousands of them dying by sickness or the sword, their wasting remains tainted the air, to generate fresh sickness. This was laid at the door of the Hebrews. Where they were concerned, accusation not uncommonly supplied the place of proof. Many of them were arrested and tortured. In some cases the resolution of the

sufferer gave way, and a confession was obtained, which was duly used to justify the perpetration of new murder.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Henry III. calls on the Jews for contributions.—Charters are granted to various towns excluding all Jews from them.—They are cruelly outraged at Norwich.—They are assailed at Canterbury, Oxford, and Brentford.—Seven hundred Jews are slaughtered in London.—King Henry restrains the violence of the common people.—Various ordinances are framed respecting the Jews.—Christians are forbidden to serve them as bakers, brewers, or nurses.—An establishment is formed in London for the reception and maintenance of Jewish converts.—King Henry dies.*

WE return to England. During the latter part of the reign of Henry III., his avarice or necessities often caused him to call upon the Jews for supplies. They were drained of their wealth; and being reduced to poverty, while it diminished their importance, it did not dispose their neighbours to regard them with more kindness. Blunt says, "It is probable, with a view chiefly to this consequence, that many towns obtained during the present reign from the king charters, or writs, directing that no Jews should reside within their walls." We accordingly find, that in consequence of such applications, charters were granted to license persecution, and exclusion, to the towns of Newcastle, Derby, Southampton, Wycomb, and Newbury. The privilege conceded to them was anxiously claimed by other places, and to them a like indulgence was extended; of course on terms that were not unfavourable to the royal exchequer. The Jews were in consequence forced to remove from places in which they had long been settled, and in which many of them had first seen the light. But thus unprotected, whither were they to proceed? A hospitable welcome awaited them nowhere; and in many places, as it was known they might be outraged with impunity, they were assailed with wantonness. The usual charges were preferred against them; guilt was inferred from mere rumours, and many of the ill-fated race perished before they could again find "a local habitation."

At Norwich it was declared that some of the Hebrew fraternity had stolen a Hebrew child—of course to be crucified; and that they who were forbidden by their law to eat the blood of any animal, might use an infant's blood in the making of their bread. On this pretext their houses were first plundered and then burnt to the ground.

The Jews of Canterbury experienced similar treatment, whether for the same alleged cause, for coining, or for sorcery, is not known. On this occasion, the clergy are described to have been on the alert, to show their zeal in the cause of heaven, by urging the populace to acts of cruelty, which might otherwise never have been perpetrated.



Oxford was disgraced by acts of violence, not less disgusting. In this case, the students of the university were anxious to prove that they could be as merciless as their teachers, and their most learned doctors. They quarrelled with the Jews, assaulted many of them, and then broke into their houses, and robbed those they had maltreated of everything that they deemed valuable. A second tumult of the same character occurred, at the same place. In this case, the Jews were said to have interrupted a solemn procession, and to have thrown down, broken, and trampled upon the holy cross, which was carried before the university authorities. For this grave offence, not merely the parties engaged in the outrage said to have been committed, but all who were found in the city were apprehended, thrown into prison, and there detained, till contributions could be exacted from them, sufficient to cover the expense of erecting a cross of white marble, adorned with golden figures of the Virgin and Jesus Christ; and also a red silver cross, to be carried in future solemn processions, on great holidays, before the heads of the university. The marble cross, according to Dr. Tovey, was erected on the site (in his time) of the brewhouse of the establishment, and it remained till the time of Henry VI., the ornament of Merton College.

At Brentford near London, the people rose against the Jews, and used great violence in stripping them of their property. The offence, however, was resisted with more severity than was common, where Jews were the aggrieved parties. Forty-five of the most active of the mob were taken up, and committed to prison. This was something; but a minister of peace and mercy, in the character of the bishop of Lincoln, soon came forward to intercede for those who had only been guilty of attacking and despoiling the unbelieving Jews. The prelate argued, that no man charged them with any crime or breach of the peace; and on this representation being made to the authorities, the rioters were set at liberty.

In London a more dismal scene was presented. A Hebrew having wounded a Christian, the populace rose; and, assisted by the military, fell on the Jews, sacked their houses, and killed seven hundred of them; and but two years afterwards another sanguinary scene, of which they were the victims, was witnessed in the capital. On the pretence that they had entertained treasonable designs, against the barons and the citizens of London, another fierce onslaught took place, which ended, as usual, in robbery and murder.

The barons, subsequently to the battle of Evesham, assembled an army in the eastern counties. One division of their force marched to Lincoln, where the Jews were again the sufferers. At Cambridge they were visited with the like unsparring violence. These cruelties became so common, that persons of ordinary sensibility regarded them as matters of course. Others considered that those who were so unscrupulously mulcted by the king and the barons, were out of the protection of the law, and might be assailed at pleasure. Henry, in such cases, manifested a disposition to interfere, not from any humane anxiety to spare the victims of unholy oppression, but because he considered that those who despoiled them snatched a booty which he had marked for his own. He however, took steps to restrain the violence of the common

people; and this was no slight boon, though it was not so full a measure of relief as ought to have been granted to the sufferers. In towns where they resided, twenty-six of the inhabitants were appointed to watch over the Jews, and to protect them from violence. The superintendants were to be punished with heavy fines if they proved negligent.

Among the ordinances framed in the time of Henry III. respecting the Jews, we may mention one of the thirty-seventh of his reign, which enacted, "that no Jew should remain in England, who did not render service to the king; that there should be no schools for Jews, except in places where they were wont to be of old; that in their synagogues, all Jews should pray in a low voice, according to the rites of their religion, so that Christians might not hear them; that every Jew should be answerable to the rector of his parish, for parochial dues, chargeable on his house; that no Christian woman should suckle or nurse the child of a Jew; nor any Christian serve a Jew, eat with Jews, nor abide in their houses; that no Jew or Jewess should eat meat in Lent, or detract from the Christian faith; that no Jew should associate with a Christian woman; nor any Christian man with a Jewess; that every Jew should wear a badge on his breast, and should not enter into any church or chapel, except in passing to and fro, and then they should not stay there, to the dishonour of Christ; that no Jew should hinder any other who was desirous to embrace the Christian faith; that they should not abide in any town, without the king's special licence, save in places where they were formerly wont to reside." Their property was to be seized in case of any violation of the law.

Drawing to the close of Henry's long and inglorious reign, we find, in the fifty-first year, by the statute of pillory, it was provided that "no person should purchase flesh of a Jew." Various other laws were passed to regulate the rights of the king when he seized on the estate and effects of a Jew, as in such a case the crown was supposed to be entitled to all the debts coming to him at the time; and consequently, as mentioned in a former chapter, the debtor to the Jew became the king's debtor. "It was," says Blunt, "the custom of the Jews, instead of advancing money on mortgage, to purchase certain rent-charges on annuities secured upon the landed estates of the debtor. These rent-charges had increased to a very large extent; and, by becoming vested in the king, were probably found to give the crown a dangerous hold upon the landed proprietors of the country. As a further consequence also of the title claimed by the king to the property and estates of the Jews, an encroachment was made upon the accustomed rights of tenure. When a Jew became entitled to any landed property, the fruits and privileges of the lord of the fee became immediately endangered or suspended; for, besides that the land was liable, at any time, to be seized into the hands of the king, who, upon feudal principles, could not hold of any inferior, the lord was deprived at once of his escheat, and the advantages of reliefs, as the king claimed in all cases to succeed to the lands of a Jew upon his death; and the heir, for permission to take the land of his ancestor, paid in relief to the king. In cases of outlawry, moreover, the king stepped in and deprived the lord of his escheat."



From these facts some idea may be formed of the condition of the Jews in England at this period. Two other ordinances, framed somewhat later, may be mentioned. One provided that all debts of Jews, secured as rent-charges upon the lands of the debtor, should be void; and that in future it should not be lawful to create any such change under pain of death to the Jew, and forfeiture of land by the Christian. The other declared that no Jew should thenceforward have a freehold in any manor, lands, or tenements, save for his own personal habitation, in the town or borough where he ordinarily resides. It was also declared that all feoffments and grants, by which any Jews then held land, should be annulled, and the land revert to the Christian to whom it had belonged, upon repayment of the money received for them; and that if, at any subsequent period, a Jew should take any lands or tenements, the same should be immediately claimed by the crown till the Christian redeemed it. A singular clause formed part of this ordinance; it provided that no Christian should be at liberty to serve a Jew, as baker, brewer, or as nurse.

Up to this time, it may be remarked, the Jews who had been induced to embrace Christianity, had here, as in other countries, been required to give up all their property to the king, and to depend for their future means on the benevolence of the clergy and laity. That was leaning on a broken staff. It was soon remarked that converts were almost invariably reduced to beggary; which fact, it was supposed, and with reason, opposed a very formidable bar to conversions. It was in consequence ordered, in the seventeenth year of this reign, that a house should be established for the reception of Jewish converts. One was accordingly provided in New Street, now Chancery Lane, in London, on the site afterwards occupied by the Rolls Court. It was placed under the care of an officer, who was called Custos, or Warden; and a church, for the convenience of the converted, was also erected, and funds provided for their support.

The arbitrary conduct of the king distressed the Jews in more ways than one. Impoverished by his extortions, when the barons triumphed over their sovereign, his victims were accused of having, in thus furnishing the monarch with "the sinews of war," sided with him against them and the nation at large; and they were plundered anew by these champions of the people. Till the hand of death was upon him, they had to complain of exactions on the part of Henry. He peremptorily ordered, in the last year of his reign, that all arrears of grants formerly claimed should be immediately paid. The mandate, which at that moment was wholly unexpected, overwhelmed those to whom it applied with consternation and dismay. Their grief and distress was such, that, for once, their rivals, the causini, or Pope's money lenders, were moved to pity and befriended them, at least by their intercession with Henry; and the friars and clergy are even said to have commiserated the harshness with which they were pursued. The death of Henry afforded the Jews, at least, a respite from intolerable oppression

## CHAP. XXV.

*Prince Edward is proclaimed king of England.—The Jews are promised peace and security, but the promise is not kept.—A heavy tallage is imposed upon them.—Those who do not pay it are ordered to leave England.—Jews are forced to wear a badge.—They are subjected to a poll tax.—They are forbidden to deny the divinity of Christ on pain of death.—A body of Dominican friars undertake to convert them.—But few are induced to forsake Judaism.—Jews are accused of clipping and coining, and two hundred and ninety-four Jews are executed in London.—In one night all the Jews in England are imprisoned.—They pay a large sum to be liberated.—Edward banishes the Jews from his dominions. Many of them are wilfully drowned.*

"As soon as king Henry was dead and buried," writes Sir Richard Baker, in his "Chronicles of the Kings of England," "the great lords of the land caused his eldest son, prince Edward, to be proclaimed king; and assembling at the New Temple, in London, they there took order for the quiet governing of the kingdom till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his father died." There, as elsewhere, he was distinguished for his bravery more than for his humanity. On his return to England, one of the first public acts which he sanctioned, after the manner of his father and grandfather, tended to favour the Jews. Proclamations of peace and security were issued by his command, which, it was made known, were to extend to the Jews as well as to the nation in general. The calm thus promised was not fully realised. It was soon found that the language of mercy used by Edward was but a matter of form; and that there existed in his mind no sincere anxiety to ameliorate the condition of those who had so long suffered the most cruel impositions. The large sums which his father had succeeded in extorting from them soon taught Edward to look that way for a supply. It was thought expedient to change the officers of their exchequer; and the restrictions to which the Jews had formerly been subjected were rigidly enforced. They were commanded to reside in particular towns and cities; and the sheriffs of counties in which they were established were directed to cause an inspection to be made of the registers of their debts and possessions. These returns were no sooner made than a new tallage was imposed upon them, which was ordered to be collected with great dispatch, and enforced if necessary with the utmost severity. The sums assessed upon them were to be levied on their goods and chattels, or any other convertible property; and if the amount claimed could not be thus obtained, the refractory, as defaulters were deemed, were forthwith to depart the kingdom; and those who should, after the expiration of three days, remain in England, were to be imprisoned as common thieves. The houses and lands of the parties were to be taken and sold, and the proceeds to be regarded as belonging to the crown. If these mandates were rigorous,



the execution of them was not less so. Indeed, the collectors are reported to have acted so brutally, that even the cold-hearted Edward was moved to compassionate the sufferers, and actually interposed to remit sums demanded from particular individuals. It was no common case of hardship that could induce such a monarch to relieve a Jew at his own expense.

The Statute de Judaismo passed in the third year of Edward's reign. It declared that the king and the royal progenitors had received large sums of money from the Jews; but added, that much mischief and many dispersions of honest men had been caused by their evil conduct and usurious practices; and, therefore, it was enacted, that thenceforth no Jew should lend money at usurious interest, and that no distress for any debt owing to a Jew should be so strictly enforced as not to leave the debtor a moiety of his lands and chattels for his subsistence; and it was further provided, that no Jew should have power to sell or alienate houses, rents, or tenements, without the permission of the crown first obtained. By this law they were still allowed to purchase houses in cities, as had been for some time the practice, and to take leases of land, to farm it for ten years; and they were free to transact business, and to devote themselves to various callings where they resided; it being, however, a proviso, that "they should not, by reason of any such dealings, be talliable with the other inhabitants of the cities, seeing that they were only talliable to the king, as his bondsmen; and therefore it was the royal command that they should only establish themselves in such cities and boroughs." Great care was taken to distinguish them from their fellow-subjects: every Hebrew, who had closed his seventh year, was required to wear a badge, in the form of two tables of yellow taffety on their outer garments; and all who were twelve years of age were subjected to a poll-tax of threepence, which was payable to the king at Easter. Care was taken to carry this law into strict execution; and writs were occasionally issued, which are still extant, to compel the Jews to confine themselves to certain cities which were named in the writs, to levy the sum just mentioned on all who had completed their twelfth year, and to insist upon the yellow taffety being worn by every Jewish child who was seven years of age. On this subject another edict was issued, to correct a deficiency in its predecessor, by ordering that Jewesses, as well as Jews, should wear the prescribed badge.

Among the various regulations adopted in this reign, we find that some had reference to their religious observances. Edward thought it politic to affect zeal for Christianity, and anxiety for the souls of those whose worldly possessions he was not remarkably anxious to spare. He therefore made it known that it was his royal pleasure they should respect Christianity; and, in the seventh year of his reign, proclamation was made, declaring that any Jew who might be heard publicly denying the divinity of Christ should forthwith be put to death, and, if convicted of blasphemy, punished according to law. A body of friars, of the Dominican order, undertook, at this period, the conversion of the Jews. They declared themselves ready to preach to them, and to make them sensible of the errors of their religion. To

their representations the king lent a favourable ear, and issued his writs to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the various towns, in which Jews were permitted to reside, to enforce their attendance at such places of worship as the Dominicans might name, and requiring the Jews to listen to their services with respectful attention. Edward gave up some of the advantages to which the crown had been entitled, by sparing the property of converts; and letters patent secured to them a moiety of all they might possess. The remainder, however, was to go to the house established for the reception of converted Jews in Chancery Lane, then called New Street, under the care of William Burstall, master of the Rolls, to contribute to the maintenance of the Jews residing there.

It does not appear that all the advantages offered by this establishment caused many Hebrews to renounce Judaism. A few needy men, who were prepared to do anything for bread, pretended to be converted; but those who possessed property had strong worldly reasons for adhering to the religion of their ancestors.

Heavy imposts, as a matter of course, were from time to time levied on the Jews. Their chests, in which property was deposited, or the documents securing their title, were often examined by authority; and debts owed to them were claimed for the king. The disposition to accuse of great crimes had not subsided. The course it took was sometimes varied, but its cruel object was the same. At this period, clipping and debasing the coin of the realm was the great offence imputed; and in the seventh year of king Edward's reign, no fewer than two hundred and ninety-four were executed for this offence, and all their property confiscated. How far they were guilty is a matter of doubt; but it appears to have become a common practice among the lower classes of Christians to extort money from the Jews, under a threat of accusing them of debasing the coin of the realm; and the abominable practice became at last so notorious, that Edward deemed it expedient to issue a proclamation in their favour, and to declare that Jews should no longer be punished on vague charges of offences committed in bygone years. Those only, it should be added, were entitled to avail themselves of this grace, who were content to pay for it by submitting to a fine.

Another serious visitation was in reserve for them. King Edward had reigned fifteen years, and, harassed as they had been at various periods, they began to hope that they would be spared further molestation, when, on a certain night, the Jews, resident in every part of England, were seized and committed to prison. While thus detained, it was made known to them, that the king required at their hands twelve thousand pounds of silver, as a ransom from confinement. Till a late period, a remarkable memorial remained of this act of royal violence. In an ancient building at Winchester, a Hebrew inscription was discovered some years ago, cut in the wall of a spacious vault. When translated, it ran thus: "All the Jews of this nation were imprisoned in the year 5047. I, Asher, wrote this." It is stated by some authors, that such violence was offered to the Jews in consequence of an assurance given to the king by the House of Commons, that they would grant him a fifth of their moveables on the condition, that the Jews should be banished from England, and that the latter, understanding this, im-



mediately declared they were ready to pay a larger sum than that to be voted by the Commons, if liberated and permitted to remain at large. Such an offer Edward could not resist; and accordingly it was accepted, to the great annoyance of the people in general. The outcry from this period became louder than ever. The clergy and gentry united with the common people to claim the expulsion of the wicked Jews, their principal reason being that by their means the current coin was debased. Ultimately they prevailed on Edward to attend to their representations. In the year 1290 he was residing in France. His subjects in Gascony were as hostile to the Hebrews as the people of England; and at length he put forth a proclamation, banishing them from his continental dominions. On returning to London shortly afterwards, he was received with loud acclamations, and extraordinary marks of affection; and finding such great popularity grew on the proclamation he had lately issued, he next sanctioned a decree for the final expulsion of the hated race from England. This act was deemed so worthy of a Christian monarch, that the Commons, to testify their gratitude, granted him a fifteenth part of their goods, while the clergy presented him with a tenth part of their moveables. Under this edict, all Jews, their wives and children, were ordered to withdraw from the land, being permitted to take with them a part of their moveables, and money to cover the expense of travelling before the feast of All Saints.

Treatment like this, to common minds, will appear not deficient in severity; but it by no means satisfied the hatred excited against the Israelites in those days. The multitude were reluctant to see usurers, sorcerers, and coiners, as all Jews were said to be, withdraw without being subjected to some additional injury. In many places they were cruelly plundered; and the more wealthy found it necessary to solicit letters of safe conduct from Edward. It was forbidden to molest them in the towns through which they passed on their way to the coast; but this order was in many instances violated, and violated with impunity. One shocking instance is recorded, in which a number of the unfortunates, while attempting to comply with the order for their banishment, were cruelly deceived and mocked and murdered. Daniel, speaking of what then occurred, says of Edward, "now hath he made his last commodity of this miserable people, which having ever been under cover, but by the will of the prince, had continually served the turn in all the necessary occasions of his predecessors, but especially of his father and himself." Their treatment is thus described by an old chronicler:

"The richest Jews having embarked themselves with their treasures in a tall ship of great burthen, when it was under sail, and had gotten down the Thames, towards the mouth, beyond Quinborough, the master of it, confederating with some of the mariners, invented a stratagem to destroy them. And to bring the same to pass, commanded to cast anchor and rode at the same, till the ship at low water lay upon the sands; and then pretending to walk on shore for his health and diversion, invited the Jews to go along with him, which they, nothing suspecting, readily consented to, and constrained them till the tide began to come in again; which as

soon as the master perceived, he privily stole away, and was again drawn up into the ship, as had been before concerted. But the Jews, not knowing the danger, continued to amuse themselves as before, till at length observing how fast the tide came in upon them, they crowded all to the ship's side, and called out for help; when he, like a profane villain, instead of giving them assistance, scoffingly made answer, 'that they ought rather to call upon Moses, by whose conduct their fathers passed through the Red Sea, and who was still able to deliver them out of those raging floods which came in upon them; and so, without saying any more, leaving them to the mercy of the waves, they all miserably perished.' It is added, the master of the ship, presuming that for this atrocity he would be thought to have rendered good service, caused it to be reported to the king; but instead of the favour and reward expected, he and some of his sailors were prosecuted, and punished capitally.

The immediate cause of the banishment of the Jews is variously stated. According to one writer, that which immediately led to it was the conduct of a catholic priest, who, becoming enamoured of a Jewess, abandoned his religion to gain a beautiful mistress; which is said to have so exasperated the people, that they wished all the Jews in England to be burnt alive; and it was only the mercy of the king in banishing that saved them from so dreadful a fate. Be this as it may, it is certain that, at the time named, all Jews were forced to seek a home elsewhere. Their numbers are variously stated, from 15,060 to 16,500. Their houses and possessions were granted by the king as rewards to his favourites; and religious establishments were gratified with costly additions to their libraries in the valuable books which the Jews had been forced to leave behind.

"Thus," writes Blunt, concluding this portion of the "History of the Jews in England," "was this unfortunate race, after nearly two centuries of almost continued persecution, driven from the country, and robbed of their possessions. In the circumstances that attended this last act of violence, we see displayed a continuance of the same oppression and cruelty which the treatment they had experienced, both from the monarch and the people, had ever evinced. If, as was pretended, their banishment was sought as a relief from the grievances which their usurious dealings inflicted upon the nation, we cannot find, in this circumstance of necessity for their expulsion, any justification for the rapacity that caused their estates to be confiscated to the crown, or for the malice that dictated the cruelties to which, on the occasion, they were exposed from the populace. The sums which were advanced to the king by the commons and by the clergy, as the price of their expulsion, may induce a belief, that the evils experienced from their residence, were greatly the result of the power which the crown possessed over their property and persons. And the desire that the nation seems to have entertained for their removal may perhaps without much error be traced principally to this source."



## BOOK IV.

## FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO THE TIME OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

## CHAP. I.

*King Philip V. dies, and is succeeded on the throne of France by Charles IV.—The Jews and lepers are less severely dealt with than in the reign of the former monarch.—The Lazar Houses are restored.—In Germany the most horrible crimes are said to have been committed by the Jews.—Many of them are examined and put to the rack.—Confessions are extorted from the sufferers.*

PHILIP, the French king, died, and was succeeded by Charles IV., commonly called "Charles le Bel." "It was fortunate," says the Pictorial History of France, "for the Jews and the lepers that the Royal Exchequer had been in some measure replenished during the preceding reign. Their persecution might otherwise have continued under the new king with unabated rigour. As it was, several acts of grace were published, under which the unhappy Israelites were allowed to quit their prisons in the day time, to seek from their debtors the means of paying their ransom, and of going into distant exile. The lazaret houses too, which had escaped demolition, were permitted to be appropriated to their original uses; and their accruing revenues were spared for their future maintenance, perhaps in the hope that they would again accumulate for future seizure."

But the crime imputed to the Jews in France, unsupported by proof as it was, was too striking and too dreadful not to be used against them elsewhere. We have a singularly authentic and shocking account of what took place in Germany some years afterwards. The narrative of professor Hecker, as translated by Dr. Babington, and given to the English public in his work on "the Black Death in the fourteenth century" will be read with deep interest. It is entitled "an answer from the Castell of Chillon to the city of Strasburg, together with a copy of the inquisition and confession of several Jews, confined in the castle of Chillon, on suspicion of poisoning, Anno 1348." The original is in Latin; but Dr. Babington preferred availing himself of the German translation

in Konigshoven's chronicle, which as rendered by him, runs thus :—

"To the Honourable the Mayor, Senate, and Citizens of the City of Strasburg, the Castell of Chillon, Deputy of the Bailiff of Chablais, sendeth greeting, with all due submission and respect.

"Understanding that you desire to be made acquainted with the confession of the Jews, and the proofs brought forward against them, I certify, by these presents, to you, and each of you that desires to be informed, that they of Berne have had a copy of the inquisition and confession of the Jews who lately resided in the places specified, and who were accused of putting poison into the wells and several other places : as also the most conclusive evidence of the truth of the charge preferred against them. Many Jews were put to the question, others being excused from it, because they confessed, and were brought to trial and burnt. Several Christians, also, who had poison given them by the Jews for the purpose of destroying the Christians, were put on the wheel and tortured. This burning of the Jews and torturing of the said Christians took place in many parts of the county of Savoy.

"Fare you well."

I. "Balavignus, a Jewish physician, inhabitant of Thonon, was arrested at Chillon in consequence of being found in the neighbourhood. He was put for a short time to the rack, and, on being taken down, confessed, after much hesitation, that, about ten weeks before, the Rabbi Jacob of Toledo, who because of a citation, had resided at Chamberi since Easter, sent him, by a Jewish boy, some poison in the mummy of an egg: it was a powder, sewed up in a thin leathern pouch, accompanied by a letter, commanding him, on penalty of excommunication, and by his required obedience to the law, to throw this poison into the larger and more frequented wells of the town of Thonon, to poison those who drew water there. He was further enjoined not to communicate the circumstance to any person whatever, under the same penalty. In conformity with this command of the Jewish rabbis and doctors of the law, he, Balavignus, distributed the poison in several places, and acknowledged having one evening placed a certain portion under a stone in a spring on the shore at Thonon.



He further confessed that the said boy brought various letters of a similar import, addressed to others of his nation, and particularly specified some directed severally to Mossoiet, Banditon, and Samolet of Neustadt; to Musseo Abramo and Aquetus of Montreantz, Jews residing at Thurn in Vivey; to Benetonus and his son at St. Moritz; to Vivianus Jacobus, Aquetus, and Sonetus, Jews at Aquani. Several letters of a like nature were sent to Abram and Musset, Jews at Moncheoli; and the boy told him that he had taken many others to different and distant places, but he did not recollect to whom they were addressed. Balavignus further confessed that, after having put the poison into the spring at Thonon, he had positively forbidden his wife and children to drink the water, but had not thought fit to assign a reason. He avowed the truth of this statement, and, in the presence of several credible witnesses, swore by his Law, and the Five Books of Moses, to every item of his deposition.

"On the day following, Balavignus, voluntarily and without torture, ratified the above confession verbatim before many persons of character, and, of his own accord, acknowledged that, on returning one day from Tour near Vivey, he had thrown into a well below Mustreuz, namely, that of La Conerayde, a quantity of the poison, tied up in a rag, given to him for the purpose by Aquetus of Montreantz, an inhabitant of the said Tour; that he had acquainted Manssiono, and his son Delosaz, residents of Neustadt, with the circumstance of his having done so, and advertised them not to drink of the water. He described the colour of the poison as being red and black.

"On the nineteenth day of September, the above-named Balavignus confessed, without torture, that, about three weeks after Whitsuntide, a Jew named Mussus told him that he had thrown poison into the well in the custom-house of that place, the property of the Borneller family; and that he no longer drank the water of this well, but that of the lake. He further deposed that Mussus informed him that he had also laid some of the poison under the stones in the custom-house at Chillon. Search was accordingly made in this well, and the poison found: some of it was given to a Jew by way of trial, and he died in consequence. He also stated that the rabbis had ordered him and other Jews to refrain from drinking of the water for nine days after the poison was infused into it; and, immediately on having poisoned the waters, he communicated the circumstance to the other Jews. He, Balavignus, confessed that about two months previously, being at Evian, he had some conversation on the subject with a Jew, called Jacob, and, among other things, asked him whether he also had received writings and poison, and was answered in the affirmative; he then questioned him whether he had obeyed the command, and Jacob replied that he had not, but had given the poison to Savetus, a Jew, who had thrown it into the Well de Morer at Evian. Jacob also desired him, Balavignus, to execute the command imposed on him with due caution. He confessed that Aquetus of Montreantz had informed him that he had thrown some of the poison into the well above Tour, the water of which he some-

times drank. He confessed that Samolet had told him that he had laid the poison which he had received in a well, which, however, he refused to name to him, Balavignus, as a physician, further deposed that a person infected by such poison coming in contact with another while in a state of perspiration, infection would be the almost inevitable result; as might also happen from the breath of an infected person. This fact he believed to be correct, and was confirmed in his opinion by the attestation of many experienced physicians. He also declared that none of his community could exculpate themselves from this accusation, as the plot was communicated to all; and that all were guilty of the above charges. Balavignus was conveyed over the lake from Chillon to Clarens, to point out the well into which he confessed having thrown powder. On landing, he was conducted to the spot; and, having seen the well, acknowledged that to be the place, saying, 'This is the well into which I put the poison.' The well was examined in his presence, and the linen cloth in which the poison had been wrapped was found in the waste-pipe by a notary-public, named Heinrich Gerhard, in the presence of many persons, and was shewn to the said Jew. He acknowledged this to be the linen which had contained the poison, which he described as being of two colours, red and black, but said that he had thrown it into the open well. The linen cloth was taken away and is preserved.

"Balavignus, in conclusion, attests the truth of all and every thing as above related. He believes this poison to contain a portion of the basilisk, because he had heard, and felt assured, that the above poison could not be prepared without it.

II. "Banditono, a Jew of Neustadt, was, on the fifteenth day of September, subjected for a short time to the torture. After a long interval, he confessed having cast a quantity of poison, about the size of a large nut, given him by Mussus, a Jew, at Tour, near Vivey, into the well of Carutet, in order to poison those who drank of it.

"The following day Banditono voluntarily and without torture, attested the truth of the aforesaid deposition; and also confessed that the Rabbi Jacob von Pasche, who came from Toledo and had settled at Camberi, sent him, at Pilliex, by a Jewish servant some poison, about the size of a large nut, together with a letter, directing him to throw the powder into the wells on pain of excommunication. He had therefore thrown the poison, which was sewn up in a leathern bag, into the well of Cercliti de Roch; further, also, that he saw many other letters in the hands of the servant addressed to different Jews; that he had also seen the said servant deliver one, on the outside of the upper gate, to Samuletus, the Jew, at Neustadt. He stated, also, that the Jew Massolet had informed him that he had put poison into the well near the bridge at Vivey.

III. "The said Manssiono, Jew of Neustadt, was put upon the rack on the fifteenth day of the same month, but refused to admit the above charge, protesting his entire ignorance of the whole matter; but the day following, he, voluntarily and without any torture, con-



fessed, in the presence of many persons, that he came from Mancheolo one day in last Whitsun-week, in company with a Jew named Provenzal, and, on reaching the well of Chabloz Crüz between Vyona and Mura, the latter said, 'You must put some of the poison which I will give you into that well, or woe betide you!' He therefore took a portion of the powder about the bigness of a nut, and did as he was directed. He believed that the Jews in the neighbourhood of Evian had convened a council among themselves relative to this plot, before Whitsuntide. He further said that Balavignus had informed him of his having poisoned the Well de la Conerayde below Mustruez. He also affirmed his conviction of the culpability of the Jews in this affair, stating that they were fully acquainted with all the particulars, and guilty of the alleged crime.

"On the third day of the October following, Manssiono was brought before the commissioners, and did not in the least vary from his former deposition, or deny having put the poison into the salt wells.

"The above-named Jews, prior to their execution, solemnly swore by their Law to the truth of their several depositions, and declared that all Jews whatsoever, from seven years old and upwards, could not be exempted from the charge of guilt, as all of them were acquainted with the plot, and more or less participators in the crime.

"There still remain numerous proofs and accusations against the above-mentioned Jews: also against Jews and Christians in different parts of the county of Savoy, who have already received the punishment due to their heinous crime; which, however, I have not at hand, and cannot therefore send you. I must add that all the Jews of Neustadt were burnt according to the just sentence of the law. At August, I was present when three Christians were flayed on account of being accessory to the plot of poisoning. Very many Christians were arrested for this crime in various places in this country, especially at Evian, Gebenne, Krusilien, and Hochsett, who, at last, and in their dying moments, were brought to confess and acknowledge that they had received the poison from the Jews. Of these Christians some have been quartered; others flayed and afterwards hanged. Certain commissioners have been appointed by the magistrates to enforce judgment against all the Jews; and I believe that none will escape.

## CHAP. II.

*Cruelties committed against the Jews in one place are imitated in others.—Banished from France during the captivity of king John, a negociation is opened with the French government to obtain permission for them to return.—An arrangement is effected.—Various privileges are granted to them.—The clergy complain of their being thus favoured.—The Jews are protected by the government.—They have only to complain of being required to wear a distinguishing mark.—Their growing wealth again invites depredation.—In the time of Charles VI. they are at first favoured, but afterwards banished.—They are accused of murdering a convert to Christianity; and four wealthy Jews are scourged in the cross-roads of Paris.—An old calumny is revived, and murderous persecutions repeated.*

THE cruelty witnessed in France, and imitated in Germany, was recopied from Germany in France. In the year of the dismal tragedy last described, a new epidemic prevailed in Paris and other places, which was said to have been caused by the Jewish sorcerers. Those who had not fled when the last edict of banishment had been issued, or who had ventured to return, were now accused of wholesale murder; and, being the objects of universal execration, they were subjected to the most rigorous punishment, and many of them doomed to a dreadful and ignominious death.

Often as they had been thus maltreated, the love of gain tempted them, at no distant period, to return to the land in which they had suffered so much. France was then in a very depressed state. Their army had been vanquished at Crécy by Edward III. of England; and contending factions, and the horrors of a civil war, filled up the measure of her sorrow. Their king, John, was a captive in England; a large sum was demanded for his ransom, and then it was they thought a favourable opportunity offered for treating with the Regent for permission to return. A negotiation was opened, in which the claims of the Jews were urged by Menecier de Vesoul. Considerable discussions were had; but some difficulties occurred, which it was thought could not be satisfactorily adjusted till the king should be restored to France. A general arrangement was made, under which the exiles were free to return; and Louis Count d'Etampes was named the guardian of the Jews. It was stipulated, on behalf of the French government, that a sum should be paid down by each Jew entering the kingdom; and an annual contribution was, besides, to be forthcoming. For a man and his wife, fourteen florins were demanded; and one florin two tournois was the price put on children and servants. For residence seven florins were to be paid annually for a man and his wife; and one florin for servants and children. The pact so made, it was agreed, should last for twenty years, and, under it, Jews were privileged to buy houses, hold synagogues, have cemeteries of their own, and use their sacred books without molestation. It



was further conceded that the barons should no longer have jurisdiction over them, but they were to be under the protection of the king, represented by the Count d'Etampes, the guardian of the Jews. After satisfying the demands above specified, they were to be free from all taxes but the land tax. They were, moreover, allowed to claim a higher rate of interest than was formerly sanctioned; it was fixed at four deniers weekly, for a livre. A great advantage was thus secured to them, as they now got double what they were formerly allowed to take. Their houses and property they were authorized to defend against all unlawful assailants. From trial by wager of battle they were exempted; and they were not required, as formerly, to attend a Christian place of worship.

Being thus restored to all their former privileges, they rejoiced in their improved condition. The clergy, however, could not see them in this situation, without censuring the impiety which could thus protect and gratify the murderers of the Son of God. Ambitious spirits in the church panted for display in the glory of a new onslaught, to punish the Hebrews for the sins of their fathers. The clergy of Languedoc, in particular, thought it not inconsistent with their duty to issue an excommunication against all who should furnish Jews with fire, water, bread, or wine. Their zeal did not meet with the favour and encouragement which had been expected; the higher powers interfered to restrain intolerance; and the Marshal d'Audernham gave the parties concerned an intimation that such proceedings could no longer be endured.

A period of repose was now theirs of unusual duration. In the time of Charles V., the treaty concluded by Menecier de Vesoul was renewed for six years, and afterwards for ten more. That person, acknowledged as their representative, acted his part with great firmness and address. Loans were now openly raised as in modern times for the service of the crown; and the Jews were resorted to on such occasions by the minister, in the name of their sovereign. How greatly their condition was improved may be inferred from one fact; the rouelle, the distinguishing mark on their dress, which they were still required to wear, formerly that which gave them least concern, was now the greatest evil they had to deplore.

It was ever their lot to find evil grow out of good. The fruits of their industry and care, in the course of years, became so apparent, that they were again marked for depredation. Those who had become their debtors, were often conscience-stricken, when the day of payment drew near; and then the expulsion of the blasphemous Jews, was clamorously demanded, the populace were arrayed against them, and their conversion was insisted upon by the zealots of the day. While the buildings, containing the bonds or documents which proved the debts owing to the Jews, were destroyed by fire or razed to the ground, by the stupid fury of a giddy rabble, and the Jews who strove to defend their property, killed or maimed their children, and those in whom terror would make the strongest impressions, were carried off to the baptismal font, there to be made members of the Christian church.

The Hebrew adult, who was induced even by such violence to profess Christianity, became an object of abhorrence to his brethren. They had the feeling so

strongly expressed by a modern writer, and were persuaded that "never would Christians have been guilty of such enormous crimes against the Jews, had they not been instigated to them by the most cruel slander and obloquy cast upon the Jews by the venomous tongues of their own dastardly outcasts, who falsely professed to have been converted by Christianity; and, in short, never was there any accusation invented against the Jews, of which such converts were not the authors; nor was there ever Jewish blood innocently shed by the murderous hand of fanaticism, of which a converted Jew was not the cause. Is it not then very natural that the Jews should more abhor an apostate than any other criminal? Why should they not shudder at the sight of such a monster, such a demon in human shape, who not only has cowardly betrayed his God, but has also become a most inveterate enemy and persecutor of his nation? They hate a converted Jew, not merely for his iniquity in falsely professing what he does not believe, but more particularly for his treachery towards his kindred and his nation; and we ought not at all to wonder at the great grief and sorrow of Jewish parents when their child is seduced to apostasy by a missionary."

The government interfered to check those disorders; but its arm was feeble, and the succour it could afford was but tardily supplied. More equal justice was rendered to them when Charles VI. had ascended the throne. Though withdrawn from the ordinary tribunals of their country, the cases in which they were concerned were for the most part equitably disposed of, and they had little cause to repine. At this period, however, the difficulties of the king were great, and his situation one of the most distressing and extraordinary found in the whole range of history. A mind naturally weak had been shaken by several terrifying circumstances, when one incident, still more alarming than the rest, completed its overthrow. In the year 1393, there was a grand celebration of the second marriage of a German lady, in the suite of queen Isabella. On this occasion a masquerade was given; the king attended dressed as a satyr; and he and four of his nobles were all chained together. They were disguised in a sort of coarse swathing, smeared with pitch and rosin, and dotted with locks of wool. In the midst of the mirthful tumult which such extravagances failed not to create, the king's brother approached one of the lords, and applied a lighted torch to his dress, to make the ladies smile at a momentary annoyance. In a moment the dresses of the lords were seen in a blaze. From those being chained to the king, he could not be instantly liberated. The duchess of Berri recognized him, and had the presence of mind to command him to stand still, while she wrapped him in her mantle, till assistance could be obtained. He sustained no bodily injury; but from the fright he became a desperate maniac. He tore the *fleur-de-lis* from his clothes; and the sight of his queen, whom till then he had fondly loved, rendered him furious. Two monks engaged to cure him; but it was pretended they had recourse to unlawful incantations; and on the failure of their experiment they were burnt for sorcerers. The affected monarch, more unhappy than if the light of reason had been withdrawn from him for ever, had occasionally lucid intervals. The helpless dreamer would on a sudden resume his senses, and seem capable of filling his high office with appropriate intelli-



gence and dignity ; and then, while his subjects exulted in his restoration, he would relapse into pitiable imbecility.

It will easily be conceived that a king thus deranged was open, at times, to be influenced by mischievous advisers. Under such a monarch there was no safety for the Jews. They were again the known possessors of wealth ; and the friends of the church were as much on the alert as ever, to snatch all property from the foes of the true religion ! To Charles it was represented, at a moment when he was most exposed to receive such an impression, that this distress on the land was a judgment on him for protecting, as he had done, a people accursed by the Lord ; and an edict was most unexpectedly issued against them, ordering them immediately to depart the kingdom. Their goods, however, were not seized ; they were allowed time to dispose of their property, and to get in their debts. It was in vain contended, by some persons of high authority, that it would be wisdom not to disturb so large a body of peaceable and industrious subjects. Reason was overpowered by clamour ; the queen was induced to take part against the Jews ; and the obnoxious edict was enforced. Some of the Hebrews resident in Paris were accused of having murdered a Jew who had been converted to Christianity ; and four of them were scourged, on two successive Sundays, through all the cross-roads of Paris. The sufferers were rich ; and often, being thus treated, were compelled to pay a fine of eighteen thousand francs, to save themselves from more intolerable severities. To the great body of the Jews a month was allowed to settle their affairs, at the end of which period they went into banishment.

"There is," as Milman remarks, "a melancholy sameness" in Jewish history. It is not difficult to explain this. The frantic bigots of one country, we have shown, copied the foolish enormities of another. When they heard of a scandalous tragedy being acted elsewhere, they seem to have suspected, from their backwardness to be cruel, that they were deficient in piety ; and hastened, by some startling deed of atrocity, to prove they were as good Christians as their persecuting neighbours. "The same dark stories," he adds, "were industriously propagated, readily believed, and ferociously avenged ; of fountains poisoned, children crucified, the host stolen and outraged." The following legend will remind the reader of one given in a former chapter. "It is," says the writer above-named, "taken from a book regularly reprinted and sold, and which all faithful members of the church are directed to receive as undoubted truth, because 'charity believeth all things !' A Jew, named Jonathan, of Engbien, desired to possess himself of the consecrated host, in order to treat it with the sacrilegious insult by which that impious race delighted in showing their hatred to Christianity. He applied to one John, of Louvain, whose poverty could not resist the bribe of sixty golden coins, called moutons d'or. John mounted, by night, into the chapel of St. Catherine, stole the pix, with its sacred contents, and conveyed it to Jonathan. The Jew, triumphant in his iniquity, assembled his friends, when they blasphemed the host in the most impious manner, but abstained from piercing it with their knives till the approaching Good Friday. In the mean time, on account of the murder of their son, Jonathan's

wife persuaded him to migrate to Brussels. There the host was borne into the synagogue, treated with the grossest insult, then pierced with knives. The blood poured forth profusely, but the obdurate Jews, unmoved by the miracle, dispersed tranquilly to their homes. Having done this, they resolved to send their treasure to Cologne. They made choice of a woman, unfortunately for them, secretly converted to the Catholic faith, as the bearer. Her poverty, but not her will, consented : but during the night, seized with remorse of conscience, she determined to denounce the crime to the clergy. The consequences may be anticipated : all the Jews were arrested, put to the torture, convicted, condemned to be torn by red-hot pincers, and then burned alive. The picture of their sufferings as they writhed on the stake, is exhibited with horrid coolness, or rather satisfaction, in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith, supported, it is said, by many miracles, is, to the present day, commemorated in one of the first Christian cities in Europe."

### CHAP. III.

*Jews, placed on the rack, confess what never took place. — A general panic prevails throughout Europe, in consequence of the Pestilence of 1348. — The Jews are accused of causing the pestilence, and combinations are formed to extirpate them. — They are excluded from Basle, and a number of Jews found there are burnt alive. — Horrible scenes are witnessed at Spire and Strasburg. — The populace, excited against them, plunder sufferers on their way to the stake. — The bricks and stones of Jewish houses and cemeteries are used to repair Christian churches. — Twelve thousand Jews are slaughtered at Mayence. — Many Jews are content to die as martyrs in the cause of their religion. — Apostates from Judaism are despised, relapse, and eventually die for it.*

It was in September and October, 1348, that the proceedings at Chillon took place, which have been detailed ; and in the following year similar scenes of horror were witnessed in Berne and Friburg. Placed on the rack, unhappy men, unable to endure the frightful torments to which they were savagely subjected, to gain a respite from agony, confessed what had never occurred, to inculcate themselves and their Jewish brethren. Poison was found in a well at Zoffingen, which was proved, according to report, to have been placed there by the Jews. So positively was this stated, and so strongly was it asserted, that unquestionable evidence of the fact had been obtained, that the humane and the considerate, who were not disposed to be carried away by an intolerant desire to affront one from whom they differed in matters of faith, could not resist the representations made, and concurred with others who more actively pursued the supposed culprits, in approving of their punishment. It has been pertinently remarked, that "crimes which are in every body's mouth, may,



in the end, be actually committed by some either from wantonness, revenge, or desperate exasperation." A dreadful panic was created by the alarming mortality of 1348 throughout Europe; and, in some parts of Germany, a futile attempt was made to defend the wells and springs from the supposed enemy; and, for a considerable period, the inhabitants of many places were permitted to use nothing but rain and river water. The gates of each city were constantly guarded, and none but confidential persons had leave freely to enter. Strangers were strictly examined, and if medicine, or any drugs were found on parties so detained, they were compelled to swallow, on the instant, a portion of the supposed poisonous matter; that, if guilty, they might perish by the means which they had provided to compass the destruction of others.

The wild apprehensions excited at this juncture, caused such hatred to be felt for the supposed wholesale butcheries of Christians, that all classes, the nobles, the citizens, and the peasants, agreed to combine against the Jews, whom they bound themselves by a solemn oath to pursue, and to use every means in their power to root out of the land. The leaguers at Berne caused solemn summonses to be dispatched to Basle, Freyburg, and Strasburg, calling on those places to unite in the crusade against the helpless Jews. To this demand some opposition was given. Many who credited the reports which were rife, were still of opinion, that the vengeance contemplated, over-stepped the necessity of the case. In Basle, the common people convinced their safety depended upon promptitude, rose tumultuously, and prescribed to their superiors an oath, which was to bind them to put to death all Jews then among them, and to permit none thereafter to take up their abode in the city. On this cruel resolution it was resolved to act without loss of time. Not content with declaring that no person of the Jewish persuasion should be suffered to enter Basle during the two centuries next ensuing, all that were there at that moment were ordered to proceed to a wooden building which had been prepared for their reception: and, being there collected, without trial or sentence, the house was fired, and all the unhappy beings within burnt to death, none being permitted to escape.

Such a massacre was too monstrous not to be speedily imitated elsewhere. A like proceeding was witnessed at Freyburg; and at Bennefet, in Alsace, a regular diet assembled, in which bishops, lords, and barons debated on the steps proper to be taken to protect the community against the horrible machinations of the Jews. "When," says Hecker, "the deputies of Strasburg—not indeed the bishop of this town, who proved himself a violent fanatic—spoke in favour of the persecuted, as nothing criminal was substantiated against them; a great outcry was raised, and it was vehemently asked, 'why, if so, they had covered their wells and removed their buckets?'" A sanguinary decree was resolved upon, of which the populace, who obeyed the call of the nobles and superior clergy, became but the too willing executioners. Wherever the Jews were not burnt, they were at least banished; and being compelled to wander about, they fell into the hands of the country people, who, without humanity, and regardless of all

laws, persecuted them with fire and sword. At Spire, the Jews, driven to despair, assembled in their own habitations, which they set on fire, and thus consumed themselves with their families. The few that remained, were forced to submit to baptism; while the dead bodies of the murdered, which lay about the streets, were put into empty wine casks, and rolled into the Rhine, lest they should infect the air. The mob was forbidden to enter the ruins of the habitations that were burnt in the Jewish quarter: for the senate itself caused search to be made for the treasure, which is said to have been very considerable. At Strasburg, two thousand Jews were burnt alive in their own burial ground, where a large scaffold had been erected: a few who promised to embrace Christianity were spared, and their children taken from the pile. The youth and beauty of several females also excited some commiseration; and they were snatched from death against their will: many, however, who forcibly made their escape from the flames, were murdered in the streets."

The mind revolts at such details, and almost feels disposed to repudiate them as intentions, but they have been handed down to the present generation, as indisputable facts. While ferocity struck at the life, it was to be expected that rapacity would not spare the property of the helpless, yet obnoxious Israelites. By an order of the senate, all pledges and bonds found in the possession of Jews, were to be handed over to the debtors, and the money divided among the common people. These excited to madness, were well-disposed to carry out the severest decrees. To join in the outcry against the Jews, they found was profitable, and they encouraged and sustained each other in this barbarous course of proceeding, by pretending that it was justifiable, and in fact enjoined by scripture. In the last sad moments, when the devoted victim might naturally be anxious to address his collected thoughts to the supreme being, and supplicate for that mercy in another world, which his fellow creatures had denied to him here, even then, the hungry tormentors that surrounded him, scrupled not in some instances, while the sufferer was on his way to the stake, to tear his garments from his person, in order to seek for the gold and valuables, supposed to be concealed in them. To the honour of human nature, however, it ought to be added, there were some who scorned to profit from the spoliation sanctioned by power, and although they could not serve the wronged creditor, presented the amount of their debt to charitable institutions. These dreadful scenes continued for months, and the populace were told, that the part they acted, rendered an acceptable service to the deity, and further to attest and perpetuate their pious purpose, the bricks taken from the dilapidated habitations, and the stones snatched from the tombs of the cemeteries belonging to the Jews, were used to repair their christian churches and to erect belfrys.

We are told on the same authority, that of Hecker, that in Mayence alone, twelve thousand Jews were cruelly slaughtered. The extent of the calamity, seems to have been caused by an insurrectionary movement on their part. It is mentioned, that when the Flagellants made their appearance there, the Jews, in consequence



of the provocation they had received, rashly hazarded an attack upon the Christians, several of whom were slain in the conflict. Their increasing numbers soon convinced the Jews, that their force could not be resisted, and that death from the exasperated enemy was inevitable. Such a conviction produced desperate resolutions, in spirit the same with those which had moved them on several former occasions. Assured that escape was impossible, they fired their houses, and doomed themselves, their wives and children, to perish in the conflagration. Perishing thus, they were animated and sustained by the thought, that theirs was the glory of martyrdom; and Jews were not wanting sufficiently enthusiastic to declare it was happiness to die in the cause of their religion. This feeling was so prevalent at Eslinger, that the whole Jewish community shut themselves up in their synagogue, set the edifice on fire, and remained there, till they were consumed to ashes. Mothers congratulated themselves that, committing their tender offspring to the devouring flames, their children were spared the misery of being made Christians; and plunging themselves into the same blazing gulph, they rejoiced it would be theirs to sleep with them in death.

Such were the melancholy spectacles which were frequently beheld, during the years 1348 and 1349, in Germany, Italy, and France. There were Christian teachers and men of holy life, who sincerely believed that such rigour would produce a happy result, and dispose the surviving Israelites to become sincere converts to Christianity. They little knew the unconquerable mind, which, elevated by devotion, still appeals to the all-seeing Eye for justice and mercy, and is incapable of being reconciled to dogmas, which foolish bigots attempt by such horrible means to promulgate. Some few there were who yielded from weakness, or were tempted by a hope of gain, to submit to be baptised. But their example did anything but encourage their brethren to follow their example. They found themselves an object of scorn to their fellows, and of suspicion to the fraternity they had joined, by both despised as cowardly and as insincere. Did an endemic thin the ranks of the population, the conversion of the Jew did not prevent him from being suspected of having poisoned the waters, or even the very air of the towns or cities in which they had resided. The pitying Christian, who commiserated the hard case of the Jew, was accused of Judaism, and tortured sometimes on the rack, or burnt at the same stake with the unfortunate he had sought to protect. Thus pursued on every side, the agonized Hebrew often repented what was called his conversion, and believed the sufferings he endured were ordered as the punishment of his apostasy. On that dreadful thought, despair and madness grew; and incapable of sustaining the part he had engaged to act, so as to satisfy Christian observers, he at length died for the religion he had been prevailed upon to renounce.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Pope Clement VI. opposes persecution.—The Emperor Charles IV., ineffectually attempts to interfere in behalf of the Jews.—The Bohemian nobles prevail against them.—Duke Albert of Austria punishes cities in which Jews had been maltreated.—Several hundreds of Jews are burnt at Kyberg.—Certain nobles engaged to protect them for sums paid, and are themselves pursued with hostility as Jew-masters. Lithuania offers to the Israelites a place of refuge.—They are reputed to be poisoners under the direction of leaders resident at Toledo.—Confessions are extorted by the rack.—The plague produces general insanity and great demoralization.—Frantic mirth is indulged, and thousands miserably perish.—The Jews are supposed to be the cause of all the evil.*

The head of the Christian Church, the representative of St. Peter at Rome, was not always the most virtuous of mankind. Many instances might be given from the history of the Popes, which would prove that the individual exalted to the Pontiff's chair ought rather to have been dragged to a scaffold. Clement VI., however, was not one of these, and, in the day of his exaltation, he did not forget, while engaged in the exercises of piety, the duties of humanity. He regarded the persecution of the Jews with just abhorrence, and blushed for the disgusting wickedness which could affect to honour God by despoiling and destroying men, and endeavoured to protect the Jews at Avignon by issuing two bulls, in which he declared them innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, and called upon every true son of the church to refrain from such cruelties, which could not be other than offensive in the sight of Heaven. His humane endeavours were unhappily for a time powerless, when opposed to the fury of the people; but he virtuously persevered in his efforts to abate that murderous zeal, which all good men, and men of sense, could not but deplore.

In Germany, the Jews found a friendly-disposed monarch in the Emperor Charles IV. He endeavoured to repress the persecuting spirit of the age, but wanted the means successfully to oppose its fury. The Bohemian nobles, indebted to wealthy Jews, were impatient to be released from their obligations; and this caused them to labour so earnestly with Charles, that he was eventually compelled to act in conformity with their views, and the Israelites were victimized accordingly, Duke Albert of Austria affected to interpose in their behalf with great determination, and scrupled not to burn and pillage certain cities in which the Jews had suffered. The cruelty with which they were avenged in this case did them little good. Those who saw their property destroyed on account of the Jews, hated them as the cause of their ruin. It was nevertheless shrewdly suspected, that not only had this severity been unsanctioned by them or their friends, but that the great object of Albert was the plunder to be obtained from the inhabitants of the cities so visited. Supposing him to have been actuated by compassion, he had not power to give effect to his will. In Kyberg, he admitted several



hundreds of Jews to the fortress, with a promise of protecting them against the infuriated populace. They confided in him, and were deceived. The impetuosity of the multitude carried everything before it, and the unhappy men he had engaged to save from their vengeance were seized and burnt alive. There were princes and nobles who saw their interest in befriending the children of Abraham. Some of these, with Ruprecht von der Pfalz, undertook, for a consideration, to save the Jews harmless. For their protection they claimed large sums of money. To these, it must be admitted, they had somewhat of an equitable claim, as the general excitement was such that they were in danger of being attacked by the common people. They obtained the odious name of Jewmasters, and were not unfrequently, in consequence, exposed to real danger. In other parts of Germany, according to Hecker, a like disposition to persecute manifested itself. "In the county of Mark, the Jews were no better off than in the rest of Germany. Margrave Ludwig, the Roman, even countenanced their persecution, of which Sherberg gives an official account. In the paper alluded to it is announced, that the Jews remaining in those parts had been seized and burned with fire, and all their goods confiscated. This document, to which his seal was appended, is dated, 'A.D., 1351, in Vigilia, S. Matthaei Apostoli.'"

In this distressing situation, a distant place of refuge remained to them—Lithuania. There Bolesleo V., Duke of Poland, had in the last century, in 1227, and again in 1279, granted them liberty of conscience. The boon was confirmed and extended by Casimir the Great, a monarch who, it may be inferred, was no stranger to humanity, but who was induced to favour the Israelites by the representations of his mistress, a beautiful Jewess, named Esther. The Jews of Lithuania being favoured by the monarch so largely, caused their brethren to pass there in great numbers, where their descendants still remain, who are said to preserve among their community, in a remarkable degree, the habits and manners of the middle ages. Such a retreat, at the dreadful period of which we write, was to the ill-fated wanderers an oasis in the desert, an ark in the midst of a deluge of persecution.

Blood-thirsty superstition, sorcery, coining base money, and murder, besides absurd mockery of the most solemn rites of the Christian Church, were industriously reported to be familiar to all the twelve tribes. Their fame or infamy as poisoners was now at its height. Their leaders, resident in Toledo, were represented to emulate the policy and to possess much of the power of the Old Man of the Mountains, and to send their assassin emissaries, the unfailing messengers of death, in every direction. Regular instructions were believed to be constantly forwarded from this secret board, or junta, directing what springs should be poisoned, what city should be next subjected to the visitations of the plague, as also what Christian children were to be stolen and crucified. Various poisons were forwarded, so it was said, to these envoys; but lest accident should prevent such fatal communications from being received, parties were carefully taught to prepare them from spiders, owls, serpents, and other venomous creatures. The secret, however, was only confided to the

Rabbins and the leading men in each Jewish community, lest, getting into the hands of the common people, it should eventually come to the knowledge of the Christians. Such stories, preposterous as they may now appear, were very generally believed in the fourteenth century; and many writers of that period descant with great bitterness on the wretched imbecility, or culpable indifference, which failed to adopt more efficient steps than had been taken to bring Jewish poisoners to condign punishment. If reason were startled, when such romances were first circulated, the ample confessions made by accused parties placed in many quarters the matter beyond all doubt; and the vanquished sceptic could only lament that the world, at least the Jewish portion of it, was worse than his imagination had painted it. On the rack a groaning victim often lost his senses, and freely uttered any words which his torturers might suggest. They declared that bags of powder, with instructions how to apply it, were conveyed to them by trusty messengers from Toledo. There is no doubt of the fact, that bags of poison were often discovered in wells, but they were in many instances placed there not by the Jews, but by their accusers.

An excuse may be found for the general hatred which prevailed, in the fact that alarm and sickness had produced something like general insanity. "When the evil had become universal," says Boccacio, as rendered by Hecker, writing of Florence, "the hearts of all the inhabitants were closed to feelings of humanity. They fled from the sick and all that belonged to them, hoping by these means to save themselves. Others shut themselves up in their houses with their wives, their children, and households, living on the most costly food, but carefully avoiding all excess. None were allowed access to them; no intelligence of death or sickness was permitted to reach their ear; and they spent their time in singing and music and other pastimes. Others, on the contrary, considered eating and drinking to excess, amusements of all descriptions the indulgence of every gratification, and an indifference to what was passing around them, as the best medicine, and acted accordingly.

"They wandered day and night from one tavern to another, and feasted without moderation or bounds. In this way they endeavoured to avoid all contact with the sick, and abandoned their houses and property to chance, like men whose death-knell had already been tolled.

"Amidst this general lamentation and woe, the influence and authority of every law, divine and human, vanished. Most of those who had been in office were carried off by the plague, or lay sick, or had lost so many members of their family, that they were unable to attend to their duties; so that, thenceforth, every one acted as he thought proper. Others, in their mode of living, chose a middle course. They ate and drank what they pleased, and walked abroad, carrying odoriferous flowers, herbs, or spices, which they smelt to from time to time, in order to invigorate the brain, and to avert the baneful influence of the air infected by the sick, and by the innumerable corpses of those who had died of the plague. Others carried their precaution still



further, and thought the surest way to escape death was by flight. They, therefore, left the city; women as well as men abandoning their dwellings and their relations, and retiring into the country. But of these, also, many were carried off, most of them alone, and deserted by all the world, themselves having previously set the example. Thus it was that one citizen fled from another, a neighbour from his neighbours, a relation from his relations; and, in the end, so completely had terror extinguished every kindlier feeling, that the brother forsook the brother, the sister the sister, the wife her husband; and, at last, even the parent his own offspring, and abandoned them, unvisited and unsoothed, to their fate."

When such wild alarm prevailed, the better feelings extinguished even between nearest relatives, where the tie is generally found incapable of being dissolved but by death, human nature may be said to have been overthrown; and, instead of condemning the depravity, we can only compassionate the misery and ruin which prevailed. "Propriety and decorum," adds Boccaccio, "to complete the awful picture, were extinguished among the helpless sick. Females of rank seemed to forget their natural bashfulness, and committed the care of their persons indiscriminately to men and women of the lowest order. No longer were women, or relatives, or friends found in the house of mourning, to share the grief of the survivors; no longer was the corpse accompanied to the grave by neighbours, and a numerous train of priests, carrying wax tapers and singing psalms; nor was it borne along by other citizens of equal rank. Many breathed their last without a friend to soothe their dying pillow; and few, indeed, were they who departed amid the lamentations and tears of their friends and kindred. Instead of sorrow and mourning, there appeared indifference, frivolity, and mirth; this being considered, especially by the females, as conducive to health. Seldom was the body followed by even ten or twelve attendants; and instead of the usual bearers and sextons, mercenaries of the lowest of the populace undertook the office for the sake of gain; and accompanied by only a few priests, and often without a single taper, it was borne to the nearest church, and lowered into the very first grave that was not already too full to receive it. Among the middling classes, but especially among the poor, the misery was still greater. Poverty or negligence induced most of these to remain in their dwellings, or in the immediate neighbourhood, and there they fell by thousands; and many ended their lives in the streets by day and by night. The stench of putrefying corpses was often the first indication to the neighbours that more deaths had occurred. The survivors, to preserve themselves from infection, generally had the bodies taken out of the houses, and laid before the doors, where the early morn found them in heaps, exposed to the affrighted gaze of the passing stranger. It was no longer possible to have a bier for every corpse; three or four were generally laid together, husband and wife, father and mother, with two or three children, were frequently borne to the grave in the same bier; and it often happened, that two priests would accompany a coffin bearing a cross before it, and be joined on the way by several other

funerals; so that, instead of one, there were five or six bodies for interment."

The horrible state of things thus minutely described, and the mad alarm which prevailed, will sufficiently explain the popular fury, when it is remembered that men, who, from their position and acquirements, ought to have been capable of acting a wiser part, represented the vile Jews as the cause of the dreadful and wide-spreading calamity which covered the land with mourning.

## CHAP. V.

*Bigotry, in the absence of the Jews from England, seeks for other objects to persecute.—Chaucer, in "The Prioresses Tale," takes no favourable view of the Jewish character.—It represents a widow's son to have offended the Jews by his piety.—They murder and throw him into a pit.—He sings "Alma Redemptoris" after his death—The mangled corpse is found.*

MORE than three centuries and a half elapsed after their expulsion from England by Edward I., before the Jews re-appeared in any considerable numbers. Bigotry and malevolence had to seek for other objects of persecution, and sought them not in vain; but hatred of the Jewish name was still carefully kept up.

The first of our English poets, in his "Prioresses Tale," presented a series of incidents which did not tend to give the Jew any additional claim on the benevolence of Christians. It has been not unreasonably concluded, that in the horrors he describes, Chaucer used but a moderate poetical license. The Prioress is in no jesting mood. She solemnly opens her story by extolling the wonder-working name of the Supreme Being, and tells how his goodness is proclaimed out of the mouths of children. She then gravely proceeds to tell, that in a great city in Asia there was a Jewery among Christians, sustained by a lord of that country,

"For foule usure and lucre of vilanie,  
Hateful to Christ and to his campaignie."

And in the Jewery, or near it, was a little school, where Christian children went to learn to sing and read, "as small children do." Among these there was one very pious boy, a widow's son, about seven years of age. He had been taught to kneel before the image of Christ's mother, and to say *Ave Maria* as he passed; and having, as he sat at school with his primer, heard *Alma Redemptoris* sung, he got a companion to explain it to him; when learning that it was in honour of Christ's mother, he thenceforward determined to con it over carefully, whatever else he might neglect, even though he should be beaten thrice in an hour.

Acting on this virtuous resolution, "Oh Alma Redemptoris" was ever on his mind, and almost constantly on his tongue. His singing it as he went through the Jewery, attracted notice, and Satan soon prompted the Israelitish listeners to remove the unconscious offender; and accordingly,



"From thennesforth the Jewes han conspired  
This innocent out of this world to chace :  
An homicide therto han they hired,  
That in an aleye had a privee place ;  
And as the child gan forthby for to pace,  
This cursed Jew him hent and held him fast,  
And cut his throte, and in a pit him cast."

A pathetic picture is given of the mother's distress :

"This poure widowe awaiteth all that night  
After hire litel childe, and he came nought ;  
For which as sone as it was dayes light,  
With face pale of drede and besy thought,  
She hath at scole and elles wher, him sought,  
Til finally she gan so fer aspie,  
That he last seen was in the Jewerie,

With modres pitee in hire brest enclosed  
She goth as if she were half out of hire minde,  
To every place, wher she had supposed  
By likelihed hire litel childe to finde :  
And ever on Cristes moder meke and kinde  
She cried ; and, at the laste, thus she wrought,—  
Among the cursed Jews she him sought.

She freyneth and she praieth pitously  
To every Jew that dwelled in thilke place,  
To tell hire, if hire child went out forth by :  
They sayden *Nay* : but Jesu, of his grace,  
Yve in hirr thought, within a litel space,  
That in that place after hire son she cride,  
Ther he was casten in a pit beside."

Then it was that the power of the Omnipotent  
was to be proclaimed out of the mouth of an innocent, and the little boy was heard to sing "*Alma Redemptoris*" in the pit. His voice is recognised by passing Christians; he is taken up, and found to have his throat cut.

"This child with pitous lamentation  
Was taken up, singing his song alway :  
And with honour and gret procession,  
They carrien him unto the next abbey ;  
His moder swounning, by the bere lay."

Then follows the just punishment, as it was presumed to be, of the offenders :

"With turment, and with shameful deth, eche on  
This provost doth thise Jewes for to sterve  
That of this moder wiste ; and that, anon :  
He n' olde no swiche cursednesse observe :  
Evil shal he have that evil wol deserve.  
Therefore, with wilde hors he did hem drawe ;  
And, after that, he heng hem by the lawe."

The rest of this holy child's history need not be quoted, but is described in few words. He tells a pious monk, that his throat being cut, he should have died, but Christ's "moder dere," who had bade him to sing always as he had done, had laid a grain upon his tongue, that he might continue his harmony, and when the grain should be taken off she would fetch him. The grain is taken off by the monk; the child softly expires, and is buried in a marble tomb.

Not content with giving this tale, so injurious to

the Israelites, the poet seems anxious to have it known, that what he had told was no solitary case; and he makes the Prioress conclude with a solemn appeal to another martyred child.

"O yonge Hen of Lincoln slain also  
With cursed Jewes as it is notable,  
For it n'is but a litel while ago,—  
Pray eke for us."

A modern biographer says of Chaucer, "Tales of chivalry, of enterprise, and heroic adventures had a double interest with him, because he knew that when he went forth into the world, the men of whom he read, a race now extinct, would be the object of his observation and intercourse. The whole world was thus romantic, scenic, and sublime. This was the age of reformers and robbers. Pilgrimages and crusades invited the consent of the pious." But Chaucer, in treating of Knight Errants, pilgrims, and chivalrous enterprises, wrote about what was supposed to have been seen in the world; and, without deeming him credulous enough to have believed all the marvellous passages in the history of his holy child, it is clear that the monstrous conduct imputed to the Israelites by the Prioress, was not that portion of the tale in which his imagination was tasked to leave probability behind.

It is right to state, that authors friendly to the Jews have believed that cases really occurred in which the absurd atrocities so generally imputed to them were perpetrated; but this opinion is founded on no well attested case, but on the fact, that there is in human nature a morbid disposition to imitate acts most startling in their character, whatever the guilt and the danger involved in their accomplishment.

## CHAP. VI.

*Judaism and Christianity are not violently opposed to each other.—Converts from the former are few, in consequence of the cruelties sanctioned by the Popes.—Alfonso XI., of Castile, is favourable to the Jews; but is forced to issue an edict against them.—The offence on which it was grounded is disproved, and the edict is recalled.—Peter the Cruel spares the Jews.—He is deposed by Henry de Trastamare.—Du Guesclin and the French threaten to extirpate the Hebrew race.—Peter the Cruel is restored.—He is again deposed, and killed by Henry.—The clergy excite the populace against the Jews.*

THE differences between Judaism and Christianity were not so great as at once to account for the hostility with which the votaries of the one was pursued by the professors of the other. Far from being necessarily the enemies of Christians, the Jews derived their faith from the same source, and both concurred in denouncing the worshipping of idols and polygamy. If the Jews did not acknowledge the divine mission of Jesus Christ, they still respected him as a prophet, and as the advocate of universal



benevolence. The horrid severities sanctioned by popes claiming to be the successors of St. Peter, from time to time, tended, perhaps, more than any thing else, to steel the hearts of Jews against conversion. The principle of Christianity, as thus expounded, could not but inspire unmitigated horror in the Jew, and strengthen him in the religion of his forefathers.

In Castile, the Jews found a friend in Alfonso the Eleventh. His finance minister was a Jew; but though his influence was exerted in favour of his brethren, the murmurs of the people compelled the monarch to issue an edict against them, in consequence of an indignity offered to the Christian religion by a Hebrew lad. The outcry raised against them was so loud, that it became a question whether they should be exiled or put to death; and Alfonso was eventually compelled to banish them, anxious as he was to retain so considerable a body of useful subjects. The mandate enjoined them to leave the kingdom in the course of three months. On this occasion, the prince royal successfully exerted himself in their behalf, and obtained proof that it was a Christian who had committed the offence complained of as an insult to the Catholic religion. Curiosity having brought him to a window to see a procession then passing, in his hurry he had accidentally knocked down a pot of water, which fell on the chalice. The whole case was again gone into, and a favourable decision recorded. Alfonso recalled the edict which he had sent forth. Those who had favoured it declared the Christian had been bribed to take upon himself the act of the Jew. With the populace the Israelites still remained general objects of hatred; and in a neighbouring town, several Jews, charged with the like offences, were murdered. In that case, however, a vigorous exercise of power avenged the outrage, and ten of the most active of the rioters were executed.

With Christians the word Jew was identified with crime. When Peter, king of Castile, was distinguished by his cruelty, it was reported that he was the son of a beautiful Jewess; and the accident of his birth was supposed to account for the ferocity of his nature. That he was a brutal tyrant, admits of no doubt, though he has had ten apologists. De Mariana, in attempting to justify his deeds, establishes the hateful character of this prince, and proves him to have been familiar with murder. The Spanish writer says, "The king of Castile in a rage caused two bastard brothers he kept prisoners to be put to death, which were John and Peter. It is likely they were convicted of keeping correspondence with the rebels; yet this action terrified the whole kingdom. All the great ones trembled; but, doubtless, it was their guilt made them do so, for many men of quality, not thinking themselves secure in Castile, fled into Aragon. The king was charged with cruelty; but the subject considered not how many frequent rebellions obliged him to make examples of justice. Having intelligence that twelve Venetian galleys were ready to pass out of the Straits, the king sent twenty to intercept them; but a storm disappointed the design. This is represented as a heinous crime, without reflecting that it was said before the Venetians were in league with Aragon, and might therefore be justly looked upon as enemies to Castile. But it was the misfortune of this king to

have all his actions misrepresented, and to have those things called cruelty in him which were but just punishment of rebels. Yet because a bastard prevailed against him, that bastard was applauded as lawful king, and the true king styled a tyrant. Such is the judgment of the world, that misfortunes make the best king a tyrant, and success crowns the vilest usurper with the name of a lawful prince."

The bastard, mentioned by the author just quoted, was Henry de Transtamare. He had been forced to fly beyond the Pyrenees, to escape the fate of the princes John and Peter. Peter the Cruel was charged with having ordered Blanche, the daughter of the king of France, to be stifled between two mattresses. Henry de Transtamare, his illegitimate brother, taking advantage of the general feeling against Peter, and supported by France, got himself called to the throne, and Peter, in his turn, was obliged to withdraw.

Those most anxious to blacken the memory of Peter bitterly accuse him of favouring the miscreant Jews, who, not content with crucifying the Redeemer, were alleged to have added to their guilt the horrid sin of causing a dreadful pestilence, by poisoning the springs and wells of the country. When Henry made war upon him, he did not fail to include this in the dark catalogue of Peter's transgressions. The celebrated French general, Bertrand du Guesclin, being sent with an army to Spain, a white cross was displayed on his banner, to indicate that he was entering on a holy war, and the great object in view was avowed to be the extirpation of the Moors and Jews. Guesclin, though he could hardly be regarded as a very good catholic, seeing that while on his way he had levied contributions on the pope, and frankly told him that his money was more necessary to those who followed him than the blessing of his holiness, conceived, nevertheless, a great horror of Peter, because he was not disinclined to spare his Hebrew subjects. "Peter," he is reported to have said to Edward the Black Prince, who was sent with an English army to restore Peter to the throne, the cause of his rival having been espoused by the French, "Peter is worse than a Saracen, for he admits friendly intercourse with the Jews." By this spirit the French were animated throughout the contest. Moors and Jews they declared were entitled to no quarter. "Slay every mother's son of them; kill them all like sheep and oxen, unless they consent to be baptized," was the order of Du Guesclin; and Henry de Transtamare affected to share his enthusiasm, to gratify his French allies. When the English prevailed against the friends of Henry, and Peter was restored, hateful as he might be to the rest of his subjects, the Jews had cause to rejoice in his triumph, as his interest, if not his benevolence, spared them the severities to which they were exposed under Henry; though the latter, when left to himself was not disposed to treat them with unnecessary rigour. It was soon found that neither time nor adversity had taught Peter wisdom or humanity; and Henry was again invited to drive him from his throne. Peter having lost a battle, and being besieged in the castle of Montiel, the assailants fiercely threatened the Moors and Jews shut up



in it. "Want," says De Mariana, "pinched the besieged, and the king began to study how to make his escape. Men Roriguez de Sanabria, a very loyal gentleman, of Trastamara, was with him; this man was employed to offer Bertram Claquin many towns, and two hundred thousand Castilian doubles, to leave the service of Henry, and carry the king off. Bertram refused; but, being pressed, consulted with some friends, who advised him to acquaint Henry with the proposal. He did so; and Henry, thanking him for his fidelity, persuaded him to carry on that design, and secure king Peter at his quarters. King Peter accordingly came with only a few gentlemen to Bertram, and said it was time to be gone. At the same time Henry entered the tent, and stood some time as it were astonished, at the sight of the king, till a Frenchman pointing at him, said to Henry, 'take notice, that is your enemy.' King Peter, with his natural fierceness, answered, 'I am, I am.' Then Henry, taking out his dagger, wounded him in the face; they clasped one another, and both fell to the ground, but Henry was undermost, till Bertram turning them, Henry got uppermost, and then stabbed the king several times till he died. A horrid sight to behold, a lawful king, descended of kings, murdered by a bastard. Froissarte, a French historian, writes that, as Henry entered the place where the king was, he said, 'where is this Jewish son of a courtesan who calls himself king of Castile?' and at that the king answered, 'thou art the son of a courtesan, for I am the lawful son of king Alonso.'"

Henry was anxious to conciliate all his subjects; and, consequently, disappointed those who had hoped that for them a new reign of terror was to commence. His favouring them was not the way to gain popularity. In numerous instances manifestations, on the part of the people, were given of undying hostility to the Hebrew race. The cortes lost no opportunity of imposing new restrictions and heavier burdens. The nobles, as in other countries, sordidly encouraged the general discontent, as the means of relieving themselves from the debts which they had incurred. At Burgos the cortes raised the protection-money of the Jews; and at Valladolid it was proposed to revive a law which deprived them of the right of acting as surgeons; or of in any way exercising the healing art.

The clergy were especially animated in the cause of persecution. To see so considerable a body refusing to attend, and declining to pay tribute to, a Christian church, wounded them in the most tender part. They laboured incessantly in their pulpits to keep up the hatred which prevailed out of doors. In this case, those who professed the most ardent zeal in the cause of Christianity, lost sight of all its benignity. While calling on their hearers to render glory to God on high, they excited them to make war upon earth, and to extend ill-will among men.

## CHAP. VII.

*Auricular confessions and indulgences are invented by priests for their own profit.—The Jews of Bologna become wealthy and powerful.—They present the pope's inquisitor with a manuscript of the Scripture written by the hand of the prophet Ezra.—He divided it into sections.—Many proofs are adduced to prove the copy given to the inquisitor genuine.—At Frankfort the Jews are attacked.—A pacification is effected.—The Town-House is fired by a Jew, and the crime is severely punished.—At Mentz the Jews murder two hundred Christians.—A general massacre of the Israelites is the consequence.—Christian hostility is frequently excited by apostate Jews.*

THE writer of "Priestcraft in all Ages" says, speaking of the frauds of the clergy in the middle ages, "Auricular confession was invented, by which the clergy became the keepers of the consciences of the whole world; and the spiritual tyrants, not merely of the weak and the wicked, but of every one capable of a sense of shame or of fear. Indulgences were granted for the commission of crimes, and past sins pardoned for money and gifts of lands; and purgatory, that most subtle and profitable invention of priestcraft, was contrived, to give the church power over both living and dead. Thus was the religion of Christ completely disfigured by pagan ceremonies, and made to sanction all wickedness for the sake of gain. The very celebration of worship was ordered to be in Latin, an unknown tongue to the great mass of those who heard it, so that they were reduced not only to feed on the chaff and garbage of priestly fables, but in the very temple of God himself, to fill themselves with mere wind and empty sounds. The bread was taken from the children and given to the dogs. Mass was invented, that splendid piece of mummery, which, filling the eyes while it enlightened not the mind, was at once an instrument of keeping the people in ignorance, of fixing them fast by the imagination to the hollow trunk of formality, and of filling the pockets of the priests, by whom it was never performed without a fee; for the souls of the dead paid more or less according to the imagined need. For many a great sinner masses were established for ever; and whole lordships were given to the church to support chapels and chantries for the peace of souls that were already beyond rescue or need of redemption. Every prayer and patenoster had its price. Thus was heaven, earth, and all therein, turned into a source of beastly gain. "The rage for dominion in the popes," says Mosheim, "was accompanied by a most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of Europe were drained to enrich those spiritual tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth."

While they enriched themselves at the expense of the people they duped, the priests, it may safely be concluded, were not remiss in pointing out to the sovereigns whom they could approach the noble resources presented by the inexhaustible wealth of the Jews.



In the course of the fourteenth century this persecuted people seem to have been better treated at Bologna than in most countries. There they became numerous, and, indeed, powerful. Their synagogue, from their rapid increase, became too small for them, and a larger and nobler building was erected in its place. To the family of Hannaharim they are said to have been indebted for this accommodation, a family which claimed to be descended from the Jews who accompanied Titus to Rome after the fall of Jerusalem. Having settled at Bologna, they not only increased and multiplied, but they accumulated great wealth. In gratitude for the kindness they experienced from the Catholics, the Jews of Bologna presented Emeric, the pope's inquisitor, with what was regarded as a most precious offering, a copy of the Holy Scriptures, which, according to report, still remains in the library of the Dominicans, written by the hand of the prophet Ezra. At the end of the Pentateuch the following inscription appears: "This is the book of the law of Moses which Ezra had written, and which he read from a wooden desk to a numerous assembly both of men and women."

"The five books of the law" (we quote from Rees) "are divided into fifty-four sections, which division is attributed to Ezra, and was intended for the use of their synagogues, and the better instruction of the people in the law of God. For every sabbath one of these sections was read in their synagogues. They ended the last section with the last words of Deuteronomy, on the sabbath of the feast of the tabernacles, and then began anew with the first section from the beginning of Genesis the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was fifty-four, because in their intercalated years (a month being then added), there were fifty-four sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths which were in those years, by joining two short ones several times into one. For they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, they read only the law; but being then prohibited from reading it any more, they substituted, in the room of the fifty-four sections of the law, fifty-four sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. Thus, when the reading of the law was restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson; and this practice was continued in the time of the apostles, Acts xiii. 15; xiii. 27. These sections were divided into verses, called by the Jews 'Pesukim,' and they are marked out in the Hebrew bible by two great points at the end of them, called from thence 'Soph-Pasuk;' i. e., the end of the verse. This division, if not made by Ezra, is very ancient; for when the Chaldee came into use in the room of the Hebrew language, after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, the law was read to the people first in the Hebrew language, and then rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee language; and this was done period by period."

On the Bologna Bible there is another inscription in Latin which represents that the roll of the law

was written in Ezra's own hand, after his return from the Babylonish captivity. It emphatically adds, that it is most assuredly the original, this having been solemnly testified by the ancient Jews, who received it in their synagogues, where it was kept; that the Jews regarded it as such through many successive generations, and as such presented it to the pope's inquisitor. It is also mentioned, that some very erudite Rabbins had carefully examined it before witnesses; and before, witnesses had proclaimed it to be genuine, having identified certain ancient and peculiar marks and characters which were not preserved in modern manuscripts. It is further described to be the manuscript which was shewn to the people on festival days; and thence the inference is drawn, that it ought to be held in great veneration, as a book dictated by the Holy Ghost, after all the other sacred writings had been lost or destroyed.

There were few places on the continent where the Jews were permitted to remain so free from molestation as they were at Bologna. At Frankfort they were attacked by the populace; but after a time, an accommodation was effected; but one Jew being dissatisfied with the arrangement, threw a firebrand into the Town-House, which set fire to the building and destroyed all the archives of the place. The cathedral also caught fire and was burnt to the ground, and the flames extended to the Saxon-House. For this offence, all the Jews in the city who were not on the alert to save themselves by flight, were seized and put to death. In the following year, at Mentz, they were attacked by the populace, but resolutely defended themselves, and with success, which, however, they miserably abused. They were charged with having seized two hundred Christians, unarmed, whom they basely murdered in cold blood—an outrage which was punished by a general massacre. On this occasion no fewer than twelve thousand are said to have lost their lives. Such a statement must be regarded as a gross exaggeration. The houses of the slain were subsequently fired; and in the conflagration the cathedral did not escape. The great bell, the glass, and the grating of the venerable edifice, were completely melted down. Through Germany they were pursued with the same frantic rage. In all the principal cities the houses of Jews were destroyed and plundered. The Count Palatine ineffectually strove to repress the rage of the misguided multitude. He and his ministers were resisted by the nobility as well as by the common people. The Jewish inhabitants of Ulm were burnt alive with their wives and children.

It suggests little in extenuation of Christian ferocity, to say that in many cases where the Jews were thus hardly dealt with a Jew promoted the rancorous hatred by which they suffered. The scorn, reproach, and vengeance which pursued an apostate Hebrew, however, not unfrequently caused him to turn upon his brethren, and use every means in his power to inflame that rancour which wanted no auxiliary malice to render it deadly.



CHAP. VIII.

*Blood-thirsty superstition prevailed after civilization and literature had dawned.—In the absence of Jews the Lollards are persecuted in England.—Pope Boniface urges their extirpation.—Cruel martyrdoms are witnessed in England, France, and Germany.—Converted Jews dissemble and relapse.—Two thousand of them are committed to the flames.—The Holy Inquisition is established.*

As he approaches the advent of the fifteenth century, the Christian cannot but feel moved to

“— Hide the blushes of ingenuous shame,”

for there he finds, at a period when civilization and literature had more than begun to shed light on the nations, those who join with him in lauding the benign principles of which Christ was the consistent and unflinching advocate, acting in direct opposition to them. They affected to honour the great Captain of their faith, who taught his followers to believe that, “Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy;” and where guilt was unequivocally proved, raised his voice not to condemn, but to bid the frail sufferer “Go and sin no more;” yet, at a period when better things might have been expected, they presumed to anticipate divine vengeance in the case of the unbeliever. Not theirs the prayer:

“Let not this weak unknowing hand  
Presume thy bolts to throw,  
Or deal damnation round the land  
On each I judge thy foe.”

Christians continued unhesitatingly to doom the Jews to no correctional punishment, but to death. A thirst for blood had unhappily been created, which, like the fabulous orgies of the Hebrews, could be satisfied with nothing else; and when Jews failed to present themselves to the destroyer, Christian schismatics were taken in their place.

In England, as few Jews remained to be tortured or executed, the Lollards were assailed. They followed in the train of Wickliffe, who had attempted some bold reforms in the church, and in particular, had, as was contended, awfully endangered the true faith, by producing an English version of the Bible. Speaking of the Lollards, Pope Boniface, in a bull to king Richard II., says, “I gave them admonitions, for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption, and stomach among the unleavened people. And, forasmuch as these, who we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men, do rise up against the sound faith and holy universal Church of Rome; and that very many of them be indifferently learned, which, to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them, they got sitting upon their mother’s lap, the said Church of Rome, do rise up against the determination of the Holy Fathers, with too much presumptuous boldness to the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical order and estate, have not been afraid nor are yet afraid, publicly to preach very

many erroneous, detestable and heretical articles, for that they are not put to silence, reprov’d, driven out, rooted out, or otherwise punished by any that hath authority, and the fear and love of God. And also they are not afraid, openly, to write the same articles, and so being written to deliver, them to your kingly parliament, and obstinately to affirm the same. The unceremonious and-disdainful recital of which articles, upon good advisement at this present we pass over, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound, that reason may heal. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evil should escape unpunished, and that without deserved vexation; and also that it might not get more heart, and wax stronger, we, therefore, (according to that office and duty which devolves upon us, where such negligence and sluggishness of our prelates being present where this thing is) do commit and give in commandment to our reverend brethren Canterbury and York, archbishops by other our letters; that they stand up in the power of God, against this pestilent and contagious sect; and that they lively persecute the same in form of law, root out and destroy those that advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot through the same stumbling-block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding,” and such a course the English monarch was invited to pursue, “by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ.”

This served to kindle the fires which burst into a blaze early in the fifteenth century. The same spirit pervaded the principal European communities. Hence Badby Sautre, and that eminent Reformer, “the good Lord Cobham,” were condemned to perish at the stake. In Germany, John Huss, having been perfidiously induced to rely on the safe conduct of the Emperor Sigismund, was burnt at Constance, as the imperial casuist held that his honour was secure, so the unhappy pastor was allowed to proceed unmolested to the place where he was to be murdered, though not suffered to return. At Constance too Jerome of Prague, for generously sympathising with his persecuted friend Huss, shared the same fate. In France, superstition was equally on the alert, to find sacrifices for the gratification of priestly intolerance; and the English minds there prevailing, to their lasting disgrace, condemned a helpless woman, before whom the bravest warriors of the age had fled in trembling dismay, to perish by fire. Joan of Arc, carried away by an unaccountable enthusiasm, under the influence of which she believed that voices, not of this world, commanded her to take up arms against the enemies of her king and country, accomplished the deliverance of both. It might be a happy rashness which baffled all military calculations, and gave her a triumph over the English commander; but her success was dazzling and complete. Her sovereign restored to favour, she would fain have retired to obscurity, but that was not permitted by those whom she had so largely served; and falling into the hands of the English, she was accused of sorcery and condemned as a heretic. At Rouen the last dreadful scene was acted, “and the pure and gallant heart which merited a glorious reward, and all earthly honour, was mercilessly carried to the market-place, and there burnt to ashes.”

While Christians were acting thus by Christians, the



Jews obtained less notice than formerly, even where they had ventured to return in considerable numbers. We meet, however, with accounts of wholesale conversions; but the extravagance of the tales connected with them make it impossible to attach importance to such representations. What, for instance, can we think, when we are told that Ferrarier, who was afterwards canonized, and who has been called "the bright star of Spain," "the prodigy of the universe," "the glory of the glorified," and other grand names, even before his birth, was heard to declare that he would become a highly gifted minister of Christ? To dwell on the multitude of converts he, or those by whom he was preceded and followed, boasted they had made, would be an unprofitable labour. One thing will be invariably remarked; wherever vast credit is given to those who so greatly increased the number of Christians, we find, at no distant date, virulent complaints of the parties relapsing into Judaism. The fact is, threats and outrages caused many to dissemble, who, the moment circumstances would admit, threw off the disguise they had worn, and returned to the religion of their forefathers. It was said of them, that even while in the ranks of the Christians, they privately lived as Jews, and used, with regard to their children, those rites which from infancy they had been taught to revere. A decree from Rome ordered that a rigorous inquiry should be instituted into all such cases which had occurred among the Spanish Jews; and the effect of this was such, that seventeen thousand of their brethren immediately returned to the Catholic church, professing themselves ready to submit to any censure that might be pronounced, and to perform any penance that might be required.

But the shocking truth must be told, that something more than threats were used. Two thousand unhappy persons are said to have been committed to the flames, and many others thrown into prison. Even the dead were snatched from their graves; and raging bigotry, in its weakness, reduced the unconscious bones to ashes.

"At this time," says De Mariana, "the holy tribunal of the inquisition was first erected in Castile. There were before certain inquisitors of this nature, but they had not the power nor the method that was now introduced. The principal promoter and founder of this court was the cardinal of Spain, moved to it by the great corruption caused by the mixture of Christians, Jews, and Moors. Many Jews who had been converted relapsed to their former errors; and particularly the number was great at Seville, where the inquisition first executed its authority. If their crimes were heinous, they were burnt; if a lesser hue, their goods were confiscate, their persons condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or obliged to wear what they call a San-benito, that is a piece of yellow baise hanging on the breast and back; with a red cross upon it, which was a mighty infamy. It was thought too much severity that the children should suffer for the crimes of their parents; that the accuser should not be known, nor confront the party accused, as had ever been used in all courts; and, lastly, that sins of this nature should be punished with death. Some wholly condemned this severity, yet others

approved of and defended it. The event has made it appear this court has been very necessary and advantageous to the kingdom. Many wholesome laws were at first enacted, and have since been enlarged to restrain the power of the judges, and keep them within the bounds of moderation, that they may not be debauched by avarice. But the greatest security consists in that these employments are always bestowed on persons of great learning, and known integrity and piety. The first inquisitor-general was F. Thomas de Torquemada, of the order of St. Dominick, confessor to the king and queen, and prior of the monastery at Segovia. His authority at first extended only to the kingdom of Castile; four years after it comprehended all Aragon. At first the inquisitor-general used to send his commissioners to all parts as occasion required, without having any fixed tribunals. An edict was published by the inquisitor-general, offering a free pardon to all guilty persons who should come in and submit themselves. Seventeen thousand, as well men as women, of all sorts are said to have presented themselves. Two thousand were burnt, and a greater number fled. From this beginning it has rose to be the most dreaded tribunal in the world. A proper remedy against the calamities that soon after ensued, and confounded many other kingdoms."

#### CHAP. IX.

*The inquisition confiscates and shares the property of all condemned heretics.—All who harbour heretics are threatened with vengeance.—Apostate Jews are sworn to inform against their brethren.—Two hundred Jews are burnt at Seville in one year.—The sufferers are marched in procession to the stake.—Those who vindicate their faith are gagged.—Other cruelties are practised at the stake.—Five stages of torture are prepared by the inquisition.—Modesty is wounded by its officers, who strip females of all ages.—Comparatively venial offences are thought worthy of punishment.*

WE have described the Holy Inquisition, as it was called, in the words of de Mariana, its apologist. From other writers we gain a description of this "proper remedy," as he calls it, which must inspire horror. Used for the extermination of the Albigenes, it had filled Languedoc with mourning, when Alfonso di Goyeda, prior of the Dominicans at Seville, called upon Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile for the erection of a similar institution. It had not been granted; the monarch wavered; when a bull, issued by pope Sextus IV., ordering search to be made for all heretics, and a work, which just then appeared, written by a Jew, reflecting on the government, stifled his misgivings, and decided the question. Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, two Dominican monks, in September, 1480, were appointed inquisitors. They were armed with great powers; and effectually to guard against their being rarely exercised, a third of the property of all con-



demned heretics was confiscated to the holy office; another third was to cover the charge of trying offenders; and the remainder was to go to the crown. Thus effectual means were taken to unite the crown, the church, and the law, against those it might be found convenient to murder and despoil as heretics.

It was at Seville that this tribunal commenced its dire career. It not only proposed to punish apostates, but it threatened all who by implication favoured them. The duke of Medina-Sidonia and other nobles, in whose domains certain suspected converts had sought a refuge, were threatened with vengeance if they in any way contributed to save heretics from the fate they merited. Soon were the prisons crowded with persons charged with sinning against the orthodox religion. From the convent in which the inquisitors first held their sittings, for want of room, they were obliged to move to a larger building, the Castel di Triana, in the neighbourhood of the city. Their inhuman proceedings were accompanied by a mockery of charity. What was called an edict of grace, as mentioned by De Mariana, was published, which, in the language of tender affection, invited all who sincerely repented their apostacy to return to the church. On doing this they were promised, not only absolution, but that they should be spared the affliction of seeing their property confiscated. It was, however, intimated, that failing to accept of this great indulgence by a day which was named, they would lose all claim to mercy, and must expect to be visited with the utmost rigour. Those who tried to save themselves by again professing Christianity were required to promise upon oath to betray those of their brethren who were more guilty than themselves. In the city of Seville, two hundred and eighty victims suffered by fire in the course of one year; and a convenient plot of ground near Seville was selected to be thus desecrated, under the pretence of vindicating the glory of God, and maintaining the true religion. It was called the Quemadero, or place of burning. The glare of such atrocities could not fail to command the admiration of the bigots in other countries. Portugal soon had its inquisition; and Judaism was vigorously pursued. A lively picture is given of the scenes witnessed in these countries by Dr. Geddes. "In the morning of the day," he writes, "the prisoners were all brought into a great hall, where they had the habits to put on they had to wear in the procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about ten o'clock in the morning.

"The first in the procession are the Dominicans, who carry the standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their founder Dominic's picture, and on the other side the cross between an olive tree and a sword, with this motto, "*Justicia et Miserecordia*." Next after the Dominicans come the penitents, some with benitoes and some without, according to the nature of their crimes. They are all in black coats without sleeves, and barefooted, with a wax candle in their hands. Next come the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coats have flames painted with their points turned downwards, to signify their having been saved, but so as by fire. Next come the negative and relapsed that are to be burnt, with flames upon their

habit, pointing upward; and next come those who profess doctrines contrary to those of the church of Rome, and who, besides flames on their habit pointing upward, have their picture, which is drawn two or three days before, upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils all with open mouths, painted about it.

"Pegna, a famous Spanish inquisitor, calls this procession, '*Horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum*;' and so it is, in truth, there being something in the looks of all the prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate beyond what can be imagined; and in the eyes and countenances of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

"The prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a familiar which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who is continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies; but if they offer to speak anything in defence of the doctrines for which they are going to suffer death, they are immediately gagged. This I saw done to a prisoner presently after he came out of the gates of the inquisition upon his having looked up at the sun, which he had not seen for several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body, to worship any being but Him that created it?' After the prisoners comes a troop of familiars on horseback; and after them the inquisitors and other officers of the court upon mules; and last of all comes the inquisitor-general, upon a white horse, led by two men, with a black hat, and green hatband, and attended by all the nobles that are not employed as familiars in the procession.

"At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, as the inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard off the top. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the professed go up a ladder betwixt the two Jesuits, who spend about a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which, if they refuse, the Jesuits descend, the executioner ascends, and secures them to the stake. The Jesuits then go up a second time, and at parting tell them, 'they leave them to the devil, who stands at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them into the flames of hell-fire.' Upon this a great shout is raised, 'Let the dogs' beards be made!' which is done by thrusting flaming furies, fastened to long poles, against their faces. And this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burnt to a coal, and are always accompanied by such loud acclamations of joy as are not to be heard on any other occasion; a bull-feast or a fair being dull entertainments to this.

"The professed's beards having been thus made, or trimmed, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furze which is at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the seat they sit on; and if there happened to be a wind, to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reaches so



high as their knees. If it be calm, they may be dead in half an hour; but if windy, they are not dead in an hour and a half or two hours, and are really roasted, not burnt, to death. But though, out of hell, there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers' continual cry of, '*Miserecordia por amor de Dios,*' Mercy for the love of God! yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not witnessed on any other occasion."

This picture, vivid and dreadful as it is, does not do justice to this monstrous establishment. Another writer on the same subject, Limborch, after telling that in Portugal all prisoners, without regard to sex or station, are shaved within a day or two after their incarceration, adds, "In countries where the inquisition has existed, the bare idea of its progress damped the most ardent mind. Formidable and ferocious as the rapacious tiger, who from the gloomy thicket surveys his unsuspecting prey, until the favoured moment arrives in which he may plunge forward, and consummate its destruction, the inquisition meditates in secret and in silence its horrific projects. In the deepest seclusion the calumniator propounds his charge; with anxious vigilance the creatures of its power regard its unhappy victim. Not a whisper is heard, or the least hint of insecurity given, until at the dead of night a band of savage monsters surround the dwelling; they demand an entrance: upon the inquiry, by whom is this required? the answer is, 'the holy office.' In an instant all the ties of nature appear as if dissolved; and either through the complete dominion of superstition, or the conviction that resistance would be vain, the master, parent, husband is resigned. From the bosom of his family, and bereft of all domestic comforts, he enters the inquisition house; its ponderous doors are closed, and hope excluded—perhaps for ever. Immured in a noisome vault, surrounded by impenetrable walls, he is left alone; a prey to all the sad reflections of a miserable outcast. If he venture to inquire the reason of his fate, he is told that silence and secrecy are here inviolable. Accustomed to the conveniences of social life, and perhaps of a superior station, he is now reduced to the most miserable expedients. The most menial offices now devolve upon him; while the cruel reflection obtrudes itself upon his mind, that his family may, ere long, be reduced to indigence by an act of inquisitorial confiscation."

The ministers of the Inquisition, faithful to the inhumanity which established it, revelled in cruelties, such as fiends only could witness without emotion. Five stages or degrees of torture were arranged,—the terrifying threat of the rack—then the being removed to the place of torture, where the instruments of punishment were ostentatiously displayed—thirdly, by stripping and binding the sufferer—then the being placed on the rack—and finally what was called squassation. This was accomplished by tying the hands of the prisoner behind his back, weights being attached to his feet, and then lifting him up by a pulley, so that all his joints might be violently stretched, after which, slackening the rope, he was made to descend with a jerk, not to the floor, but with sufficient violence to inflict the most intolerable pain; and

this horrid operation was often repeated three times in the course of an hour. In regard to the stripping, females, whatever their age, were dealt with as rudely as men, so that modesty might be wounded before the body was consigned to destruction.

Besides the crimes formerly imputed to the Jews, many comparatively venial were now deemed sufficiently important to claim the notice of the Inquisitors. To expect the coming of the Messiah; to hope for justification under the law of Moses; to honour the sabbath by wearing better clothes than were used on other days; to celebrate the feast of Esther; to lament the fall of Jerusalem on the anniversary of its destruction; to observe the distinction made in ancient times with respect to meats, and to reject swine's flesh; to sing psalms in Hebrew without *Gloria Patri*, were only a few of the offences which the new tribunal held itself bound to watch, repress, and punish.

## CHAP. X.

*Individuals are accused before the inquisition by concealed informers.—The cruelties of Thomas de Torquemado excite general indignation.—An inquisitor is murdered at Saragossa.—The Rabbin Abravanel is exiled.—He generously endeavours to save his Jewish brethren from banishment, but in vain.—Great distress overtakes the Jews.—The plague breaks out in a ship where they are passengers.—The captain lands them in a desert place.—Parents are in such a deplorable state that they sell their children or put them to death.—In Germany the old accusation of crucifying Christian children, is again revived.*

It has been seen that De Mariana, while triumphing in its success, gave a dreadful description of the powers of the Holy Inquisition. He might have added, that an unknown informer was permitted to lodge a charge against his enemy; and the accused, without being confronted with the party, might be doomed to death; and such frightful doings were witnessed, that even the pope shrunk from the odium attached to them, and caused it to be made known to various sovereigns, that the inquisitors had exceeded their powers. This humane feeling was but of short duration. Under Thomas de Torquemado, the inquisition proceeded to immolate new victims, till at length the people generally were exasperated to the last degree, and Arbues, one of the inquisitors, was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa. A deed of violence like this, committed within the walls of a church, shocked those members of the Christian body who had previously complained of the undue rigour exercised. The crime was punished with monstrous severity; not fewer than two hundred persons are reported to have perished on that occasion. Many were terrified into a confession of guilt; and many who were connected with noble families were compelled to bear the *san benito*, the badge of a pardoned heretic, who had acknowledged the justice of his sentence.



Among those who were compelled to withdraw from Spain under the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, was the learned Rabbín Abravanel. After living in the court of Alfonso, King of Portugal, he had been engaged as finance minister to Ferdinand and Isabella, and had amassed great wealth. Not even this service which he had rendered, and the high office he had filled, could exempt him from the operation of the sweeping edict. He repaired to Naples, where he was well received by the king: but after that monarch's death, various untoward circumstances compelled him to fly to Corfu, Puglia, and finally to Venice, where he died. When the edict was first framed, Abravanel threw himself on his knees before Ferdinand and Isabella, and offered a large sum of money in aid of the finances of the kingdom to save the Jews from banishment. His generous self-devotion was unavailing. The inquisitors dreaded his influence, and were on the alert to defeat his object. While he was in the royal presence, Thomas de Torquemado presented himself, carrying a crucifix, and presenting it to Ferdinand, he exclaimed, "Behold, Oh king, the Saviour whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Will you sell him now at a higher price? Reflect on this, as you shall render an account of your kingdom at the last day before the most High."

The edict was enforced. With Abravanel went forth Rabbín Isaac Ben Aruma, Joseph Gigatella, commonly called the divine cabalist, and Toumatargue, who undertook while in exile the exposition of the divine names and attributes, and Isaac Kara, who wrote "on the generations," or "the sons of Isaac," while mourning for his children, who were lost on the way to Jerusalem, where he passed the remainder of his days as a hermit.

More than three hundred thousand Jews were compelled to leave Spain. Some writers swell the number to eight hundred thousand. Their synagogues and schools they were obliged to abandon, with the graves of their forefathers and friends, in the land of their birth. When the short time had elapsed which was allowed them to prepare for their departure, they were obliged to dispose of their effects for whatever buyers chose to offer. A writer of the period speaks of a house having, in one case, being given for an ass; and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen.

Distress in every imaginable shape overtook them in their wanderings. They were forbidden to take gold, silver, and jewels with them. Some, notwithstanding, concealed valuables about their persons, or in their saddles: but the majority of them, reduced to poverty, were exposed to the most awful privations; and the fall of Jerusalem was said to have been hardly a greater calamity than that which they had now to deplore. From Arragon many proceeded to Navarre, while others sought the coast, and sailed for Italy or Morocco, and others passed into Portugal. Of those who trusted themselves on the ocean, many were lost; and a plague broke out in a ship which was carrying a body of them to Africa. The ignorant and superstitious master of the vessel immediately concluded that this fearful visitation was brought on him by his Jewish passengers, and he hastened to set them ashore in a distant place, where

he left them without clothing or provisions. They dispersed in various directions, but found no comfort. Whole families perished. One melancholy scene is mentioned, in which a husband having seen his beautiful wife expire from want before his eyes, fell into a swoon, overcome by the horrors which surrounded him, and only recovered to find his two children dead by his side.

Some, hardly more fortunate, reached the coast of Genoa. Sinking from want of nourishment as they lay perishing on the shore, Christian ministers approached them, bearing the crucifix in one hand and food in the other; the latter being proffered to them on condition that they should be baptized. They were badly received at Rome by their own community, who feared the consequence of their number being so largely increased.

Jews resident there earlier in this century, had met with some countenance from the Vatican. Speaking of the advancement of Bathasar Cassa, Monstrelet says, "On the morrow, he took the name of Pope John XXIII., and great were the rejoicings and feasts that ensued. In the procession were twenty-three cardinals, two patriarchs, three archbishops, twenty-seven abbots, mitred and non-mitred, without reckoning other churchmen, who were almost numberless. The pope wore, on that day, a silver-gilt tiara bound with white. The following Saturday, the twenty-third of May, the pope received, in the chapel of his predecessors, the holy order of priesthood, when the cardinal de Vimers said the mass, and the cardinal de Challant was deacon; at this service all the before-mentioned prelates attended.

"On the following day, Sunday, the pope celebrated mass in the church of St. Peter, having the cardinal de Vimers near him, to shew him the service. The Marquis of Ferrara and the Lord of Malatesta were present, and held the bason wherein the pope washed his hands. The Marquis of Ferrara had brought with him fifty-four knights, all clothed in scarlet and blue, having five trumpets and four companies of minstrels, each playing a different instrument.

"When mass was finished, Pope John was carried out of the church to a very handsome platform, erected without the porch, and there solemnly crowned, in the presence of all those whom I have mentioned, and a great multitude of doctors and clergy.

"When seated on his throne, which was covered all over with cloth of gold, he was surrounded by the cardinals de Vimers, de Challant, de Milles, d'Espagne, de Thurey, and de Bar, having tufts of tow in their hands. The cardinals lighted their tufts; and as the flame was suddenly extinguished, they addressed the pope saying, 'Thus, Holy Father, passes the glory of this world.' This was done three times.

"The Cardinal de Vimers having said some prayers over him and on the crown, placed it upon his head. This crown was a triple one; the first of gold, which encircled the forehead within the mitre; the second of gold and silver, about the middle of the mitre; and the third of very fine gold, surmounted it. He was then led down from the platform, and placed on a horse covered over with scarlet furniture. The horses of the cardinals and bishops, &c. were caparisoned in white;



and in this state he was conducted from street to street, making every where the sign of the cross, until he came to where the Jews resided, who presented him with a manuscript of the Old Testament. He took it with his own hand, and having examined it a little, threw it behind him, saying, 'Your religion is good, but this of ours is better.'

"As he departed, the Jews followed him, intending to touch him, in the attempt of which, the caparison of his horse was all torn. Wherever he passed, the pope distributed money, that is to say, quadrini and mailles of Florence, with other coins. There were before and behind him, two hundred men-at-arms, each having in his hand a leathern mallet, with which they struck in such wise that it was a pleasure to see."

Some of the ill-fated Hebrews exiled by Ferdinand and Isabella, on approaching Fez, where they had hoped to find a refuge, were not allowed to enter the city, as it was feared their presence would create a famine. In a state of wretched destitution they rested on the sand, and attempted to sustain life on roots and on the grass of the field; but even with such wretched food they were but scantily provided. To the honour of their piety, it is said, that even in that sad condition they crouched on their knees to bite the grass, and resolutely forbore to desecrate the sabbath by plucking it with their hands. While in this situation wild beasts assailed them. To escape being devoured, the suffering Israelites plunged into the sea, where they remained till the monsters retreated. Five days they pined in this miserable place, when they were relieved by the captain of another ship, who snatched them from impending death. Savage wretches committed the most shocking offences against them. A brutal Arab seized a Jewish maiden as his prize, and after grossly outraging her in the presence of her parents, stabbed her that he might not be the father of a Jewess's child. One mother saw her infant from want and sickness in such agony, that, unable to endure so dreadful a spectacle, she struck him on the head with a stone and killed him. A Saltee corsair prevailed on a number of children to go on board his ship, and then seized and sold them for slaves. Some parents found themselves in a state of abject distress so intolerable, that they were content to sell their children for bread.

In Germany, during the fifteenth century, the old charge against the Jews was not neglected. Monstrelet, writing of the year 1477, says, "The Jews about this time stole a child of twelve years of age, called Symon, in the city of Trent, whom they crucified, and caused to suffer the mysteries of the passion, in ridicule of what our Saviour had suffered, for which they were most severely punished according to their deserts. The body of the child was carried in procession, as a martyr, to the cathedral, whither great crowds of people flocked from all parts; for through the devotion of this child many miracles were performed in remembrance of the passion of our Lord.

"A similar crime was committed by the Jews in the city of Opiterge, within the principality of Venice, where they martyred a youth in like manner. They were brought to Venice, and having confessed their guiltiness

of this abominable crime, were burned alive between the two marble columns in the place of St. Marco."

## CHAP. XI.

*The Jews pay Joam II. to be allowed to enter Portugal.—They are detained there by sickness and poverty.—Many of them are seized, declared to be slaves, and sent to the island of St. Thomas—They are ordered to quit Portugal within a limited period.—From inability to comply, many are threatened to be sold as slaves.—They submit to be baptized.—A new outbreak occurs.—A monkish juggle is detected by a converted Jew.—He is murdered.—His brother shares the same fate, and a general massacre ensues.—Emanuel punishes some of the parties concerned in the outrage.—By affecting to renounce their religion, Jews become monks and inquisitors.*

To Joam II., king of Portugal, some of the Jewish body were induced to offer a large sum of money for permission to enter his kingdom. He was not favourably disposed towards them, and his ministers wished him to reject their suit; but his poverty or his avarice overpowered their arguments, and an arrangement was concluded, under which they were free not to take up their abode in his dominions, but to pass through them on paying eight crusadoes each, children in their mothers' arms only excepted. A host of toll-collectors guarded the frontier, to collect the fine imposed, and it was only at certain places, which had been named, that they were allowed to enter. All who availed themselves of this privilege were to embark for Africa. Those who had been taught to work in brass or iron, were only required to pay four crusadoes, and were free to remain in the country. With more justice than formerly, they were here accused of having caused the horrors of a plague to be experienced, as many of them were suffering from it on their arrival, and not a few of their number died on the road. They were too feeble and too poor to prosecute their journey; and Christian charity, which complained loudly of their delay, did not furnish them with means to proceed. Month after month passed, and their condition was unimproved. Eight months were thus consumed, and the unhappy wanderers still lingered in Portugal. In many cases it was believed that it was not their poverty which detained them, but the terrifying announcements which were made of the dreadful treatment they might expect from the ferocity of the Moors. If they had just cause to dread greater cruelty from them, than they had experienced from civilized Christians, their case must indeed have been desperate. Their lingering in the dominions of king Joam was soon requited with refined barbarity. The youthful Jews were declared to be slaves; all who were fourteen years of age were seized and baptized by force, and sent to the island of St. Thomas. Here the climate speedily thinned their numbers, and gave those who could find no rest, living, the repose of the grave.

After Joam, Emanuel succeeded to his crown, and he,



like many other kings, seemed anxious, at the commencement of his reign, to gain fame for love of justice and mercy. One of the first acts which he sanctioned went to enfranchise those who had been enslaved, and generally to manifest a disposition to protect the Jews as peaceful unoffending subjects, in every place under his sway. Hope revived in the Hebrew bosom, but only to be extinguished by bitter disappointment. Emanuel having married a princess, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, she is supposed to have prompted him to acts of cruelty and intolerance. Soon after that event a peremptory order was issued, that all the Jews in Portugal should depart the kingdom on a certain day from particular ports which were specified; and while they were preparing to obey, he secretly issued another mandate, which directed that all children under fourteen years of age should be taken away from their parents, dispersed in various parts of the kingdom, and there baptized and educated as Christians. This edict was secretly prepared, but by some means it became known to the objects of it; which being reported to the authorities, it was instantly carried into execution, that it might not be defeated by any effort to remove the little ones, who were to be so brutally snatched from their natural protectors. The horror this violence excited cannot be described. "Great God of mercy," exclaims Milman, "this was in the name of Christianity. Frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers; they destroyed them with their own hands; but though stifled in the heart of the monarch, the voice of nature still spoke in that of the people, however bigotted. They assisted the Jews to conceal their children."

From caprice or cruelty the edict launched against them ordering them to quit the country was not steadily enforced, but was only relaxed to inflict additional pain. Certain ports had been named at which the Jews were to embark. On a sudden it was made known to them that two were to be deducted from the number; and many who had nearly reached them were obliged, with their exhausted means, to journey to some other more distant part. The delay which was inevitable from their being thus treated, rendered them liable to the penalties which attached to their not leaving Portugal on the day fixed for their departure. They were now ordered to embrace Christianity, or hold themselves ready to be shipped off as slaves. The sufferings they had known, and the intolerable anguish in store for them, broke the spirits of many of the most determined votaries of Judaism, and they promised to abjure their religion. This afforded them some relief; their children were restored, and an understanding was come to that their conduct, in relation to matters of faith, should not be too closely looked into for the next twenty years.

It has often been seen, that attempting thus to escape persecution was but a forlorn hope. The new Christian, as an apostate Jew was commonly called, was denounced and scorned by his fellows, and viewed with ever-waking suspicion by those who professed to have made him one of themselves. Spies followed his steps, constantly watched all his actions, and not unfrequently misrepresented some of them. Slight indications of adherence to the law of Moses would subject him to all

the penalties of having relapsed into Judaism. The Jews, who, to escape the peril of the moment, had submitted to the baptismal rite, found themselves in this deplorable condition. They were often insulted and ill-treated in various ways; but some of them having been detected, about ten years after the arrangement which has been described, in eating the passover lamb, the rage of the superstitious populace was re-kindled against them, and a general cry was heard, that they ought to be put down for ever. While the public mind was in this inflamed state, a keen but ill-timed sarcasm, uttered by a Jew, caused a dreadful outbreak, in the progress of which blood was shed. Engaged in the performance of some religious ceremony, a monk displayed his crucifix before the people; and a gleam of light being poured on it from an aperture in the wainscot near him, where a lamp had been placed, he instantly proclaimed to the gazers, that that was a visible manifestation of the approbation of the Deity. Profound awe and devout silence appeared in the countenances of all present, when the boldness of the trick moved one of the congregation to treat it with satirical incredulity. He had detected the juggle, and seen the lamp, and remarked on what they had been told, that "if it were the pleasure of God to manifest himself visibly before them, it was to be regretted, as that year had been unusually dry and sultry, that he had not deigned rather to shew himself in water, than in a gleam of light, or a glare of fire." He who had thus daringly reflected on the gross imposture which till that moment had been successful, was instantly pointed out as an object of vengeance. He had affronted their holy religion, their priest, and even the Supreme Being, and he was immediately recognised as a new Christian. Then all the ancient rancour which had been poured in former days on the unbelieving Jews took possession of the hearts of those who conceived that an outrage had been offered to them and to their God. Instantly seizing the offender, they dragged him to the market-place, where they tore him to pieces. The brother of the ill-fated man witnessed this violence with the feelings of a brother, and could not refrain from weeping over the mangled remains of the dead. That the victim of their fury should be mourned was in their estimation so grave an offence, that it justified them in treating the mourner as they had done his brother, and he was slain on the spot. The angry spirit thus awakened could not rest satisfied with so few as two murders and a body of Dominicans now presented themselves, displaying their crucifixes, and calling for righteous vengeance to be poured on the guilty heads of those who were the enemies of Christ, and of the true faith. They called upon the crowd not to abate their exertions, but to put down heresy, and, if possible, to extirpate the unbelieving Jews. They went even further, as reported by a Jewish writer, and offered to insure every murderer of a Jew, whatever his crimes might be, liberation from purgatory, at the end of a hundred days. To secure this mighty benefit, the houses of the new Christians were made the subject of a general attack, and, as usual in such cases, though slight resistance was offered, an indiscriminate massacre followed. Women and children were not spared by the



excited multitude; and the trembling victims, who flew to the churches as to protecting sanctuaries, though they embraced with seeming reverence the sacred relics deposited there, or wildly clung to the crucifixes, were not allowed to remain unmolested. Christian hands mercilessly tore them from the altar, and, in many instances, burnt them alive. The wretched beings who perpetrated such enormities were taught to believe, that to destroy his creatures was to propitiate the Father of All.

It does not appear that this attack on the Jews was prompted by the king. On the contrary, it is said that when he heard of it, on his return, (for he had been absent when it occurred,) he expressed great indignation at the conduct of the monks and others who had caused the tumult; and some of the most active were visited with punishment.

Though individual Jews thus perished, Judaism survived. Through Spain and Portugal, many who affected to be Christians revered it the more for its having been the object of Christian persecution. The new often unsuspectingly mingled with the old Christians. It is even recorded that Jews filled the highest places in the Christian church; that there were monks who were in reality Jews; and that a Jew had even taken his seat in the office of the Holy Inquisition. Could the Jew be utterly condemned, where honest adherence to what he believed the true religion was punished with such ferocious animosity, if he dissembled his faith, and by dissembling shared the emoluments and honours which had been reserved for his persecutors. A Jewish physician, named Orobio, declared that he could speak of his own knowledge to facts like these; that some of the Jewish fraternity, to escape the inquisition, had, by their well-acted zeal against heretics, baffled the blood-hounds who pursued the undeviating Hebrew, by becoming himself a member of the inquisition. It need not be stated that such conduct, and the scenes to which it gave rise, were most degrading to the church, and it is believed to have proved to Spain a national curse.

At Rome the treatment of the Jews varied with the personal character of the pope, or the changing whims of the day.

About the middle of the century their peace was disturbed by Eugenius IV., who forbade them to meet the Christians in amity, and ordered all social intercourse between them to terminate. Their sphere of usefulness was limited; their hopes "cribbed, cabined, and confined," by their total exclusion from almost every liberal profession. There, as in other countries, they were compelled to wear a distinguishing badge; and they were obliged to pay tithes to the church. They might give or leave their property to Christians; but a legacy bequeathed by a Christian friend could not be received by a Jew. Succeeding popes embarrassed and distressed them in various ways. At different periods they were restrained from entering upon callings which they might have preferred. Property taken in pledge they were not allowed to dispose of till eighteen months had expired. They were not permitted to trade in corn, or the other necessities of life; and were, in some cases, only permitted to seek a livelihood by dealing in old clothes. At one period they were shut up in their ghetto, a close, dreary, and offensive part of the city; or at least

not permitted to remove from it after sunset. Other annoyances were frequently imposed in the same spirit, though not always carried to the same extent, as that which had prompted the war carried on against their ancestors.

## CHAP. XI.

*The art of printing operates favourably for the Jews.—*

*They become printers, and multiply copies of the Scriptures as well as of the unwritten law.—The emperor Maximilian is advised to destroy all books printed by Jews.—He, at the suggestion of Capnio, only orders the destruction of such as are blasphemous.—Victor à Carbe writes against the Jews at Cologne.—Capnio is complained of for saving the Jewish books.—He is triumphantly vindicated at Rome.—Banished Jews are received at Rome.—They gain special protection at Naples.—Daniel Bomberg prints Hebrew Bibles there.—David de Pomis writes to prove that the Venetian laws are derived from God.—Rabbin Jaacob and his son Levi write on the Jewish law.—In Egypt the Jews are oppressed by Achmed, a revolted governor.—He is overthrown and put to death, and they establish a festival in commemoration of their deliverance.*

It was towards the close of the fifteenth century that the art of printing, which had been discovered at a somewhat earlier date, began to be generally known; and early in the next century, it made large strides towards coming into general use. It produced changes, in some respects favourable to the Jews, not only because tending to enlighten minds generally might be supposed to generate more enlightened and humane feelings than had generally prevailed, but because it opened a new field for their industry. From a calling till then unknown they were not excluded by law; and many of them hastened to possess themselves of presses and types, and skill to use them. In Turkey and in Venice they established themselves as printers, and speedily seized the opportunity the newly discovered art afforded for multiplying copies of the Scriptures in the original language. They also exulted that it was now in their power to make known extensively "The Unwritten Law," and to unlock the rich stores of Rabbinical wisdom for the solace of their brethren, if not for the advantage of mankind in general. As in all cases where industry is affected on a large scale by important discoveries, many voices were raised against the diffusion of knowledge by printing and publishing; and some resolute efforts were made to put down a practice which went to unveil the mysteries of religion to all classes of society. The emperor Maximilian was recommended by an apostate Jew named Pfeffercorn, to destroy all books printed by Jews. He seemed but too much disposed to act on this advice, when Capnio, or Reuchliu, as he is sometimes called, interfered with success. In consequence of his representation, only those books which were considered blasphemous were doomed to the flames. The Toldoth Jesu and the Nizzachon were among the works condemned.



By apostates the Jews continued to be frequently assailed. The condition of these unhappy men, which has been already described, seems to have bred in them a morbid feeling of hatred for the rest of the species, or they were of opinion they could only be personally safe from a continuous display of hostility towards the faith they had renounced. At Cologne, one of them, Victor à Carbe, had become a priest; and about this time the bishop of Cologne having caused the Jews to be expelled from his diocese, the apostate thought the opportunity favourable for distinguishing himself; and he accordingly wrote a laborious eulogy on the conduct of that dignitary, for having thus plucked up the tares which had intruded among the wheat of the Lord's field. Still more conspicuously to exhibit his malevolence, he earnestly argued that true Christians should not condescend to dispute with Jews, for they, accustomed to such exercises from infancy, might artfully prevail. It was not, he contended, by reason that such sinners could be converted—it was the arrows and quiver that must be used to subdue them, and bend the stubborn hearts which would resist other means, to their own utter perdition.

Rabbin Simeon lived about this period. He is famed for preaching with extraordinary eloquence, and for writing a book, entitled, "Jalkut," which contained a well-digested collection of interpretations put by ancient Jewish doctors on the sacred books.

For interfering to prevent the destruction of the Jewish books, Capnio was complained of to the pope. He represented that what he had done could not be injurious, seeing the order which he had caused to be set aside was necessarily impotent, as no imperial decree could suppress books which had already found their way into every part of the world. The case was brought by an appeal to Rome. There his most inveterate enemy appeared to oppose him; this was a priest named Hochstrate, who was thought so important that some of the most powerful enemies to the spread of learning, in order effectually to prevent the triumph of letters, engaged him, in the name of several princes, to use every necessary means, not excepting bribery and intimidation, that might seem necessary to effect the object. He exerted himself with zeal proportioned to the reward which he received or expected, and which was not small; but utter failure was the result. Capnio was vindicated, and his opponent condemned and reduced to solicit a supersedeas from the pope, when judgment was about to be given against him. The triumph of Capnio was complete. He indeed was afterwards assailed with virulence by many adversaries; but he remained undismayed, and calmly predicted that Luther, who had then begun to attract notice, would, in due time, furnish them with so much to do, that they would be too happy to leave him alone. Luther shared the general aversion entertained for the Jews. Offended at their infidelity, he hated them as grasping usurers; and, in the early part of his career, was disposed to recommend that strong measures should be adopted to force conversion upon them. Time and reflection caused these angry feelings to subside; and disapproving, as he still did, of their religion and their practices, he viewed them as ob-

jects of compassion rather than of detestation. He wished to see them made Christians; but in common with every good and every rational man, he felt that this ought only to be attempted by gentle persuasion, or powerful argument. Capnio's anticipation was justified by the event. The Jewish books were no longer pursued to destruction; they were even spared, and read with a view to their confutation; and the members of the orthodox church exulted in having gained the means of vanquishing unbelievers with their own weapons. How far the general interests of Judaism may have been affected by this change of purpose is somewhat dubious; but it is remarked that, since that period, the Jews have gained the advantage of being generally exempted from the suspicion so long attached to them of stealing Christian children to crucify them, in derision of Christ's suffering, and of affronting the Christian religion by piercing or burning consecrated wafers. Attacked by learned men in argument, the Jews, who had before cultivated literature from taste or for profit, now did so in self-defence; and many erudite champions belonging to their community met the advocates of Christianity in the arena of fair discussion, and proved themselves no mean opponents.

In the year 1510, the Jews who were banished from Spain and Portugal were favourably received by pope Alexander VI. They were not so kindly welcomed by their brethren there established, till the latter were seriously admonished by his holiness to adopt a different line of conduct, on pain of being banished. The learned Rabbin Jochanau, a German Jew, who had been settled at Constantinople, was invited to Rome. He afterwards became the preceptor of Picus of Mirandula. This prince had always been an admirer of the cabalistical writings. By Jochanau he was rendered more partial to them than before, and declared that they presented to man the true well, or source of knowledge; and all other learning, in comparison with that, was of little account. The Jews, who about this period found their way to Naples, were pursued by the Inquisition, till the viceroy thought it necessary to banish them. They were allowed to settle in the Venetian territory; and some remarkable services which they rendered at the siege of Candia in the war with the Turks gained them special protection. In its capital they carried on trade successfully; and there it was that Daniel Bomberg ventured to print Hebrew Bibles, in correcting which a hundred learned Jews are said to have been engaged. Bomberg engaged Rabbin Abraham de Balmis to compile a Hebrew Grammar. He died before he had completed his task; but it was finished by Rabbin Calonymos, who was then in Venice, and had a great reputation for learning. Many other esteemed works, printed by him, give the name of Bomberg distinction in connexion with Jewish literature. Another celebrated Rabbin, who resided in Venice, must be mentioned—David, the son of Isaac de Porius. He wrote a book, it is said, in gratitude for benefits he had received, to compliment the Venetians, by proving that its laws were of divine origin, and that a prophet of God had announced it to be the purpose of the Eternal to preserve in glory that commonwealth.

In Sicily, Rabbin Jaacob compiled, early in the six-



teenth century, a learned work, called "the Eye of Israel." It consisted of an exposition of the law of Moses, drawn from the Talmud. What related to the observances of the Jewish religion had been previously collected, but Jaacob brought together all that related to the law. He had not quite completed his task, when he was removed by death from the scene of his labours. His son, whose name was Levi, completed the book, to which, when published, he gave a preface, lamenting, with filial love, that his father had been so early called away. This work caused a serious rupture among certain professors, and the controversy did not cease till Levi was no more. When he was in the grave, and the jealousies which his learning had created were set at rest, due honours were rendered to his memory; and that work, the joint production of his father and himself, which saved the reading of many ponderous tomes, was at length highly approved, and viewed as a desideratum.

In Egypt, the Jews were exposed to some sharp trials. Achmed, the governor, revolted against Solyman II.; and the Jews, by money or other means, were called upon to assist his views. A contribution of two hundred talents was required from them. They answered this demand by offering only fifteen, and by declaring that, being in a state of insolvency, it was not in their power to furnish more. Achmed, upon this, ordered that all who were defaulters should be committed to prison. The arbitrary mandate was in the course of being enforced, when Achmed was overthrown by Solyman, and put to death. These events caused the Jews to be immediately relieved, and they were permitted to return to Cairo. In memory of the deliverance they had to be thankful, for, on this occasion, they established a festival, which they called Nassimo. This word is understood to have named the post on which Achmed's lifeless head was displayed, and also to signify a miracle. The countenance given to them at Cairo not only caused their numbers to increase in that city, but encouraged them to settle and exercise different callings in various parts of Egypt. They established important manufactories; and they are reported to have become more numerous than they had been in that land since the time of Moses.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Jews establish themselves in Suz.—At Rome they become powerful.—Paul III. is attacked for shewing them undue favour by Cardinal Sadolet.—It is ascribed to cupidity, which had for its object the sale, by means of the Jews, of ecclesiastical dignities.—Two bulls are issued against them by Julius III.—They are obliged to sell their possessions at a great loss.—Fourscore and nine converted Jewesses declare themselves possessed of evil spirits, through the wicked practices of the Jews.—Under the scourge they confess to being engaged in a plot against them.—A Rabbin seeks permission to establish a silk manufacture at Rome, which is granted.—Jews distinguish themselves in various countries.*

IN 1535, the Jews appear to have found their way into the province of Suz, formerly a dependancy on Morocco.

A splendid synagogue rose in its capital, which was sustained with appropriate dignity. The priests and officers were maintained at the expense of the Jewish community, as were the judges and expounders of the law. By industry, the common people generally maintained themselves. Many of them enjoyed comfort, and the talents and skill of some gave them affluence.

In the time of Pope Paul III., about the year 1540, they had become so powerful at Rome, that it became a serious matter of complaint against that pontiff, that through his mildness or neglect their numbers had largely increased. Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, lost all patience at beholding it, and vehemently condemned the course pursued by the head of the church. He remarked that he was kinder to them than to Christians, who lived among Jews, as sheep lived among wolves. These feelings he embodied in an epistle addressed to Cardinal Farnese, where he bitterly complains of the pope's culpable partiality for the murderers of Christ, and the foes of his church. He described their influence to have become enormous, and asserted that no minister of religion could be raised to a civil or ecclesiastical post of importance, except through their favour and interest. The failing of Paul he ascribed not to any affection for Judaism, but to cupidity. In other words, he was of opinion, and probably knew the fact, that ecclesiastical promotions were regularly bought and sold; and the large means which here, as in most places, the Jews were found to have at their command, enabled them to be the best bidders, and thus indirectly gave them the nomination of Christian bishops.

At a later period, when Julius III. filled the chair of St. Peter, the allegorical interpretations of the Gemarra were held to be dangerous, and ordered to be burnt. Paul IV., who presided over the Christian world in 1555, was unfriendly to the Israelites, and, early in his pontificate, caused two bulls to be issued against them. By the first every synagogue in the country was ordered to pay annually ten crowns for the instruction of catechumens, who were converted to Christianity; the second directed that every Jew should be distinguished by wearing a yellow hat; and the Jewesses were required to wear yellow hoods, that they might not be mistaken for Christian women. The gates of the quarter in which they resided were directed to be closed every evening. They were not allowed to associate or trade with Christians. Only one synagogue was permitted to be erected in any city. It was thought right that the Jews should not be landholders. Those who had already become such were commanded to sell their estates in the course of the next half-year. Great was the hardship thus imposed, as, from the quantity of land suddenly thrown on the market, its owners could not obtain more than one-fifth of what it was originally valued at. The quantity sold, however, produced the sum of five hundred thousand crowns. A new ordinance was issued, ordering the destruction of their books; but only those of them which spoke blasphemously against Christ.

An old accusation was now revived in a new form; and here again apostates were found directing vengeance against those whose ranks they had forsaken. Four-



score and nine women, Jewesses, had professed to embrace Christianity; and they now made themselves conspicuous by pretending (it would hardly be safe to deny that there were some grounds for the assumption) that they were possessed by evil spirits. They were duly exorcised, and while under this process declared that the Jews, by their infernal arts, had sent devils into them from a malignant wish to punish their defection. The pontiff is believed to have been ignorant and credulous enough to believe this story, and contemplated banishing them altogether, when they found some friend, who had sufficient influence with him, bold enough to insinuate that the demoniacs were cheats. He took a very rational way of testing this, by causing some of them to be seized, stripped, and scourged. A very few stripes sufficed to obtain from them a confession that they had been prevailed upon to fabricate the injurious report by certain courtiers, who were desirous of gaining an opportunity for distressing and plundering the Jews. These nefarious offenders were immediately pursued, and brought to condign punishment; while the pope, congratulating himself on what had taken place, is said to have exclaimed on the occasion, "I might have been irretrievably doomed to perdition for cruelty to the Jews, had not my faithful adviser prevented it. I will pray God to convert them; but never while I live will I indulge hatred against them, or molest them as I have done." This narrative comes to us on the authority of the brother to the chaplain of Cardinal Granville.

In 1563, several canons were framed against the Jews by Cardinal Charles de Barromeo, bishop of Milan. He called upon all Christian princes to do the same, with a view eventually to effect their conversion. Four years afterwards, pope Pius V. subjected them to very harsh restrictions. They were accused of usury, theft, lewdness, sorcery, fortune-telling, and other offences, most odious in their character, and as such denounced by all good Christians. They were in consequence ordered to be banished from all parts of his dominions, the cities of Rome and Ancona excepted. They were not disturbed by Sextus V., who, in 1587, frankly confessed that the profit he gained from Jews disposed him to tolerate them. One Meir, or Magui, a Rabbin, who had been established in Venice, came about this time to Rome. He was a man of great learning and address; and having written a book, he dedicated it to the pope, prefixing to it some verses in his praise. This made a favourable impression on the pontiff, and disposed him to attend to a petition which Meir shortly after caused to be presented to him, which prayed that he might be allowed to establish a silk manufacture in that city, as he possessed a most valuable secret for multiplying silk-worms. To Sextus the scheme seemed so feasible, that he immediately granted the permission solicited, and revoked all bulls and edicts of his predecessors of a contrary tendency, however they might be confirmed by oath, or backed by sentences of excommunication. His holiness promised himself immense advantages from the fruition of the scheme, as he contemplated imposing a tax on every pound of silk that might be manufactured. Clement VIII., it is more than probable, found these sanguine expectations of Sextus had only led to disappointment;

for, in 1593, he renewed the bull of Pius V., which banished them from the Roman States, with the exception of the cities of Rome and Ancona, to which he added Avignon. In these places they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. For such indulgence some mark of gratitude was expected, which they did not think was called for by the occasion. They did not attempt to win his approbation by costly presents; but they applied to him the language of Zachariah, "Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." Such an application of a passage of Scripture was condemned by Abraham Echelensis, as an instance of great ingratitude. Their misconduct in cursing, like Shimei, a prince who had so largely favoured them, he held to deserve the severest reprehension.

Venice, at various periods, was adorned by the presence of distinguished Hebrews. It would perhaps be difficult, but it can hardly be regarded as necessary to name them in chronological order. Simeon Luzati, known as Rabbin Shimtha, deserves to be mentioned. His Socrates, when published, was held to be a work of merit. The object of the author was to shew that

"To err is human;"

and that men of the greatest genius are in some respects weak, and likely to be led astray. At a later period of his life, about the year 1649, he published a treatise on the then state of the Jewish nation. A Rabbin named Samuel Nachmiah, a native of Thessalonica, having settled in Venice, prevailed on his son David and others of his family to embrace Christianity. They accordingly renounced Judaism, and adopted the name of Morosini. This converted Rabbin having once changed his faith, was anxious to have it believed that he had done so not from convenience, but from conviction. To prove his sincerity, he wrote a book, entitled, "Dezek Emunah," or "The Way to the Faith," in the Italian language. In this work he freely attacks the religious observances of the Israelites, and condemns them as utterly useless. The six hundred and thirteen precepts drawn from the law, he maintains are observed by no Jew; and all the sects and superstitions which had subsisted among them, he describes to be unworthy of serious consideration. Morosini eventually left Venice and retired to Rome, where he died in 1687.

Other eminent men we find enumerated in the "Ancient History of the Jews." A few of them we transcribe:—"Pesaro was the native place of Rabbi Jechiel, who took his surname from it. He went thence to Florence; where having heard for some time the sermons of an inquisitor, he went thence to Rome, to abjure Judaism. Pope Gregory XIII. assisted at the numerous assembly, where he made his speech of recantation; and, at his coming down from the chair, received him with these words, 'Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' He was baptized by him some days after, and became a preacher; and some of the Italian sermons which he had preached against the Jews at Florence, were printed in 1585.

"Rabbi Jehudah Arie, more commonly known by the name of Leo de Modena, the place of his nativity, as that of Leo ("Lion") answered to his Hebrew name



**Arie.** He was a learned man, though a professed enemy to the Christians, against whom he forged many dishonourable anagrams, and numerical devices and puns, not worthy of his learned pen. But he published a treatise on the ceremonies of the Jews, which is highly esteemed by the learned of all nations. 'The mouth of the Lion' is another useful work, in which he has judiciously collected and explained all the words used by the Rabbis, which are neither quite Hebrew, nor altogether Chaldee; and has endeavoured to fix the pronunciation of them so far as to be understood by Jews of all nations. He was for a considerable time chief of the synagogue, and reckoned a good poet both in Hebrew and Italian. He wrote several other treatises, and designed to have translated the Old Testament into Italian; but was forbid to proceed by the inquisitors; instead of which, he composed his Lexicon. He died at Venice, in the year 1654, nearly eighty years of age.

"Rabbi Jehudah Azael was no less famous for his sermons preached at Ferrara in the seventeenth century, which were so celebrated, that Christians went also to hear him. He was the author of a cabalistical treatise, entitled, 'The Thrones of the House of David;' and died at Ferrara, A. D. 1677. About the same time flourished Rabbi Jehoshua Menahem at Rome, where he was chief of the academy; and another celebrated doctor, named Jacob Dattilio Delli Piatelli, esteemed one of the best masters to breed up their youth in learning. Here was also, about the middle of the seventeenth century, one Nathaniel Tribotti, who wrote a treatise on women's bathing, wherein he advanced some propositions which excited a number of antagonists. The synagogue and academy of that city were at length obliged to interpose their authority, to prevent the multiplication of books on that subject, by declaring for Tribotti, and obliging the opposing doctors to submit to their decision."

### CHAP. XIII.

*The Reformation favours the Jews by raising up more formidable enemies to the Church of Rome.—Among the common people, hatred subsides into settled contempt for the Jews.—They prove themselves capable of running a race of glory as warriors.—The Jews are excluded from England, since the time of Edward I.—A petition is presented in the time of Oliver Cromwell, praying that they may be allowed to return.—He is furiously attacked in consequence.—The application on the part of the Jews leads to a beneficial result.*

TIME, which refuted the more serious charges preferred against the Israelites, did not induce the nations generally to regard them with kindness. If they were less fiercely pursued than formerly, Milman justly remarks, "It was partly by affording new and more dangerous enemies to the power of the church of Rome that the reformation ameliorated the condition of the Jews ;

they were forgotten or overlooked in the momentous conflict: but to a much greater extent by the wise maxims of toleration, which, though not the immediate, were not less the legitimate fruits of this great revolution in the European world." But if religious hate were gradually assuaged, he adds, "active animosity had settled down into quiet aversion, the popular feeling became contempt of the sordid meanness of the Jewish character justified, perhaps, by the filthy habits, the base frauds, and the miserable chicanery of the lower orders, who alone came in contact with the mass of the people." There is much truth in this unfavourable picture; but what community, if judged by the conduct of its least esteemed members, would deserve a much more flattering report? Want, scorn, and temptation produce greediness, resentment and crime. To all the Jew was exposed in the most aggravated shape. In the fifteenth and following centuries, in many instances, "Everything was against the poor Hebrew. Denied the privilege of making himself a home in any Christian country, precluded from exercising his industry in common with other men, with little security for his life, and none for his property, he of course became timid, indolent, suspicious, and artful. Obligated to conceal the wealth that he dared not to enjoy, his mean attire and neglected person moved the virulent and scornful Pharisee, the *soi-disant* "follower of the Lamb," to revile the Hebrew, "to spit on his gabardine," and to outrage him on account of his deplorable appearance; and when, beneath his wretched tatters, articles of value were found, which he could not hope to retain, except by his personal guardianship, the discovery, it was thought, proved him a cheat, and all his nation were branded as fraudulent, proclaimed the possessors of unbounded riches, and subjected to the most intolerable exactions."

Yet were facts not wanting to prove that, under happier circumstances, the Jew was as capable as the proudest Christian of running a race of glory. That for centuries they were the chief depositories of learning, need not be here repeated, but, it may be added, in numerous instances, their valour was tested. When they were attacked, it was commonly by such an overwhelming force that it might justly be called

"The war of the many with one;"

and where they fought in the ranks of Christian soldiers, there was no anxious disposition to requite the heroism they displayed with fame which might throw the prowess of members of the Catholic church into the background. Nevertheless, there were moments in which their gallantry could neither be questioned, concealed, nor suffered to pass unrequited. In the course of the thirty years' war, they fought on the side of the Emperor, and were often distinguished for their daring and success. Their defence of Prague won them renown as warriors, and happily gained them, from the gratitude of the monarch they served, what was of greater value, toleration and protection as men.

Since the exclusion of the Hebrew race from England by Edward I., but few Jews dared to appear in this island. Its wealth and importance tempted some of their body, at all risks, to visit it; but the dread of the law operated to their exclusion. Those who ventured to



brave the danger probably found it no unprofitable thing to have a monopoly of so large a field for commerce, and were slow to dissipate those apprehensions which kept dangerous rivals at a distance. Still the temptation was great; but to venture to settle here without authority from government was thought too dangerous an experiment to be hazarded by prudent men. Such considerations moved certain leading Hebrews to open a communication, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, with the republican leaders. The proceeding is thus mentioned in Walker's "History of Independency:" "The Hebrew Jews presented a petition to the uncircumcised Jews of the council of Warre, 'That the statute of banishment against them may be repealed, and they re-admitted to a synagogue and trade amongst us; they offer for their re-admission, St. Paul's church, the library at Oxford, and five hundred thousand pounds; but seven hundred thousand pounds is demanded: Hugh Peters and Henry Martin solicit the business.'

It is also stated of them, that certain Asiatic Jews, in order to curry favour with Cromwell, sent a deputation to inquire whether he was not the Messiah, and proposed buying all the Hebrew books at Cambridge, in the hope of clearly making out his pedigree, and proving that he was a descendant of the house of David. According to some writers they wished to purchase St. Paul's church to be their synagogue, and contemplated enriching it with the Bodleian library. That they could seriously entertain such views, it is impossible to believe. It, however, was currently reported at the time; the enemies of Cromwell pretended that he favoured the scheme; and to decry him the following flaming manifesto was prepared, and circulated in reference to it:

"The last damnable design of Cromwell and Ireton, and their junto or cabal, intended to be carried on in their general council of the army, and by their journey-men in the House of Commons, whom they have engaged them desperately in sin, past all hope of retreat, by murdering the king.

"Major White, a member of the army, long since at Putney, foretold, 'that shortly there would be no other power in England but the power of the sword;' and William Sedgwick, in his book called 'Justice upon the Armies Remonstrance,' saith, 'the principle of this army is to break the powers of the earth to pieces;' and John Lilburn, in his 'Plea for Common Right,' saith, 'the army, by these extraordinary proceedings, have overturned all the visible supreme authority of this nation, that is, they have, and will, by seizing upon the members of parliament, dissolving it, and setting up a new invented representative, and bringing the king to capital punishment, and disinheriting his posterity, subvert the monarchical government and parliament of this kingdom, the laws and liberties of the people, and so by bringing all to anarchy and confusion, put the whole government of the land under the arbitrary power of the sword.

"In order to which, they have and will overturn the government of the city of London by a lord mayor and aldermen, and govern it by commissioners, and a schismatical common council of anabaptists illegally chosen, and deprive them of their charter of incorporation and

franchises; and this shall be a leading case to all the corporations of England.

"Their next design is to plunder and disarm the city of London and all the country round about; thereby to disable them to rise when the army removes, but not to the use of the soldiers, (although they greedily expect the first week in February, the time appointed,) from whom they will redeem the plunder at an easy rate; and so sell it in bulk to the Jews, whom they have lately admitted to set up their banks and magazines of trade amongst us, contrary to an act of parliament for their banishment; and these shall be their merchants to buy off for ready money, (to maintain such wars as their violent proceedings will inevitably bring upon them,) not only sequestered and plundered goods, but also the very bodies of men, women, and children, whole families taken prisoners for sale, of whom these Jewish merchants shall keep a constant traffic with the Turks, Moors, and other Mahometans; the Barbadoes and other English plantations being already cloyed with Welsh, Scottish, Colchester, and other prisoners imposed by way of sale upon the adventurers; and this is the meaning of Hugh Peters's threat to the London ministers, that if another war followed, they will spare neither man, woman, nor child; for the better carrying on of which design, the said cabal, or junta, kept a strict correspondence with Owen Roe O'Neal, the bloody popish anti-monarchical rebel in Ireland, and the pope's nuncio there. The anti-monarchical marquis of Argyle, in Scotland; the Parisian, Norman, and Picardy rebels in France, and the rebel king of Portugal. If danger be not held so close to your eyes that you cannot discern it, look about you English. But this kingdom is not to be saved by men that will not save themselves; nothing but a private hand and a public spirit can redeem it."

The truth appears to be this, that a Jewish physician of high character, known as Manasseh Ben Israel, presented a petition, praying that the law passed in the time of Edward I. might no longer remain in force against his co-religionists. The petition was prepared with great care. It spoke of the hand of the Omnipotent being visible in the exaltation of Cromwell, an event which was said to have been hailed with sincere joy by the whole Jewish community. The great humanity of the English commonwealth was lauded, and a general union recommended as desirable, and as fulfilling the prophecies in Scripture, seeing the restoration of the Jews, and the last day, many concurrent incidents shewed to be near at hand.

In addition to such arguments, it was shewn, that supposing this world to continue, great advantages would result to the nation, from permitting the Jews to exercise their industry within its limits. In a word, it at once appealed to the piety and prudence, to the learning and humanity of the nation. Cromwell thought the petition not unworthy of vindication, and submitted it to an assembly, consisting of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines. They were required to determine, first, whether it would be lawful to entertain a proposition for admitting the Jews into England, and next, if lawful, to what conditions ought they to be subjected?



"In 1654," says Mr. Francis, in his "History of the Bank of England," "the French ambassador in Holland, writing to the French minister in England, says, 'A Jew of Amsterdam informed me for certain, that the three generals of the fleet have presented a petition to his Highness the Protector, to obtain that their nation may be received in England to draw the commerce thither.' The mind of Cromwell," the writer remarks, "was undoubtedly aware of all the advantages to be gained by the return of this commercial people. Permission was granted to Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel to reside in London. In all probability, this permission was made with the view of testing the feelings of the people. While in England he presented a petition to Cromwell, praying for the Jew a free exercise of his religion, a permission to exercise the faith of his fathers, a licence to erect synagogues for public worship: at the same time he appealed to the trading propensities of the nation by a declaration to the commonwealth, exhibiting the advantages which would accrue to commerce from the return of his nation. A council was appointed, and, in the fashion of the time, disputations were held. Those who were supposed to be most interested were summoned to the debate. Law, trade, and divinity had their representatives. The first was favourable, the second undecided; but the third opposed the return of this with all the rancour of an ignorant intolerance. The text-quoting fashion of the period, the spirit which led men to dispute in conventicles, and wrest words from their right meanings, the narrowness which only regarded the Hebrew as the outcast, while it forgot that he had been the favoured of God, were all brought into full

exercise. For four days were texts, which had been uttered in a more genial spirit, narrowed and perverted to party feeling; and for four days must Cromwell's enlarged mind have been eminently annoyed by the prophetic denunciations of the divinity of the land. At last it appears that something of the determined spirit which had displayed itself on other fields cut the debate short, Cromwell telling them in very plain language that they had made the question more intricate than ever; that though he wished no more reasoning, he yet begged an interest in their prayers.

"No definite step appears to have resulted from that conference; the general feeling of hostility which prevailed against the return of the Hebrews was increased by the discovery of a somewhat similar proposition of their Asiatic brethren. The avowed design of a mission from some of their rabbis was the establishment of a company to trade to the Levant. But the real object of their visit appears to have been an examination of the pedigree of the protector, in hopes of having a Jewish origin, and of proving him to be the Messiah, after whom the hearts of the people yearned. Whether Cromwell encouraged this idea, or not, appears quite uncertain; but they obtained permission to repair to Cambridge and examine the library. They then went to Huntingdon, the birth-place of the Protector, to investigate his descent. Some rumours of this design were propagated; and Cromwell, aware of the ridicule and sarcasm to which he would be rendered liable, ordered them to return to London, for which place they soon departed."



BOOK V.

COMPREHENDING EVENTS AFFECTING THE JEWS FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAP. I.

*Various factions surround the Jewish question with perplexities, which make Oliver Cromwell content to postpone coming to a decision on it.—It is proposed to sell Ireland to the Jews.—Prague is said to have been saved by their prayers.—The Jews experience some harsh treatment in Hungary.—A grand meeting of the Jews takes place on the plain of Ageda.—The expected coming of the Messiah is there discussed.—Emissaries from Rome are said to have found their way into the assembly.—The proceedings become most tumultuous.*

THE wayward humours of the various factions which he had to control were so embarrassing, that Oliver Cromwell, wishing, as he declared, only to act the part of a constable, and to preserve the peace of the realm, found the perplexities thus created too great even for his powerful mind, and therefore he was glad to postpone the question relative to Jewish disabilities, happy as he would have been to have received the large sum which they offered, to purchase what they might reasonably have hoped for in a commonwealth which affected to secure equal rights to all, free of cost. By this time, it appears that a considerable party in England favoured toleration; and one writer of the period, who was considered not unfriendly to the Israelites, proposed that they should be allowed to purchase Ireland, and form an independent community there. This was spoken of as a concession to the Jews. Whether it would have proved a benefit to them, it is not easy to declare, without knowing the price intended to be put upon the sister island. Many will be of opinion that it must not have been a very high one, or in this case the Jews would have had but an indifferent bargain.

It has been seen that in Prague the Jews were honoured for the courage with which they fought to defend it when besieged. Rabbin Jehudah Leo compiled a history of the operations in which they were concerned. He speaks in glowing terms of their valour and fidelity, of their activity and capacity; but, according to him,

it was not unlikely that all these would have proved insufficient, if, in addition to them, the besieged had not been assisted and benefited by the prayers of the Hebrews. While the siege was in progress, he tells, they often assembled in their synagogues to intercede with Heaven that Prague might be spared, using on such occasions a most appropriate and devout litany, which had been prepared for the purpose by the Rabbin Simeon, a teacher, or divine, of whom it was said, that "his head shone with an unearthly lustre." The discomfited foe seems to justify the praise he bestows on the bravery of his brethren; for, immediately after the siege was raised, the hostile force was marched into Tabor and other Bohemian cities, and there the resident Jews were mercilessly plundered. Perhaps the Jewish defenders of the city were too arrogant in consequence of the praises which their conduct had elicited, for their subsequent conduct provoked the jealousy and hatred of the other inhabitants of Prague.

In Hungary the Jews had long enjoyed the advantage of farming the revenue. Of this Ferdinand II. attempted to deprive them in 1630; but the edict of that date they contrived to evade, and in consequence, a new one was promulgated by Ferdinand III. to enforce it; and this threatened all official persons with the loss of their situations, who admitted Jews into their offices or houses, because it was declared "past experience had proved that they had neither conscience nor honesty, and were therefore unworthy to enjoy the privileges of the kingdom of Hungary." Part of it, at that period, belonged to the Turks; and a form was prepared for the Jews to observe when they claimed the assistance or protection of the law against Christians. Having been first required to turn their faces towards the sun, and take the shoes from their feet, their bodies were covered with a cloak, and their heads with a Jewish hat. This done, the book of the law of Moses was produced, and the oath-maker was to say, "I, A. B., a Jew, do solemnly swear by the living God, the Almighty who hath made the heavens and all that is in them, that I am innocent of the crime of which that Christian accuses me. If I fail in truth, if I am guilty, may the earth open and swallow me alive, as it did Dathan and Abiram; may the palsy and leprosy which Elisha removed from Naaman



upon Gehasi come over me; may the falling sickness, the bloody flux, and gout speedily assail me; may I be removed from the face of the globe by sudden death; may my soul and body perish; may my good fortune here be overturned for ever; may I never be received into the bosom of Abraham; may the law given from mount Sinai blot me out of the book of life; may all the curses contained in the first five books of Moses confound me; and if I now swear not truly, may God, by his divine power, consign me to everlasting darkness.

The treatment of which they had to complain was, however, in comparison with what they had to encounter elsewhere, not so intolerable but that many of them were content to remain. Expecting the speedy coming of the Messiah reconciled them to present suffering. Soon, they had often flattered themselves, their great Deliverer would appear, and all their sorrows be at an end; and this feeling appeared to have prevailed with extraordinary strength in Hungary, about the middle of the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding their Rabbins had been accustomed to declare, "Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah's coming," fond hope, encouraged by flattering coincidences, often caused this solemn injunction to be forgotten, and laid them open to the wiles of any skilful impostor who thought fit to proclaim himself the forerunner of the great Conqueror, or even to assume that august character himself. The murderous contests in which Hungary had been engaged they viewed as presages of the great event for which they sighed; and the plain of Ageda, situate about thirty leagues from Buda, was named as a fit place for an assembly of Rabbins to meet, in order to debate on the important question, whether or not the Messiah was then to be looked for.

A great meeting accordingly is said to have been held; and a narrative detailing the proceedings was published by one Samuel Brett in 1655. It is fit to state that some eminent Jews, and among them Manasseh ben Israel, deny the truth of his statements altogether; but Brett declares that he was an eye-witness of what he relates. According to him, three hundred most learned Rabbins, sent from the Jewish communities of different parts, presented themselves at the time named on the plain of Ageda. Multitudes of Jews flocked to them from all surrounding nations. They encamped on the plain, where they pitched their tents; and one tent, larger than the rest, was set up in the midst of them as the hall of the grand council. A Rabbin, of the tribe of Levi, named Zechariah, was elected to preside on this great occasion; and his chair was placed, with a large table before it, so that he should look towards the eastern entrance of the tent; and all the other learned persons, who were to assist with their advice, were provided with seats around him.

They were somewhat apprehensive that impostors might attempt to sit among them; and the first day of this meeting was consumed in compliments and in examining those who claimed to belong to their body: of these no fewer than six hundred (being double the number that first met,) were rejected; but on the second day the business was opened in form, and the president declared the question to be discussed by that assembly was this,

whether the Messiah was come, or whether the Jewish nation might still expect his coming.

Opinions were divided. Some declared it to be their belief that the Messiah had already appeared. They mainly supported themselves on the troubles which had been experienced by their nation, which it had been foretold they should encounter before their deliverer would be seen. The humiliation the Jews had suffered they viewed as the just punishment of the idolatry to which their fathers had been so fearfully addicted, a crime which they had not been betrayed into since their return from captivity in Babylon. The decision finally adopted, after much argument, was, that the Messiah was not yet come, and that his delay had been caused by their sinful and impenitent conduct.

That he might still be expected the great majority of those present were agreed; but other grave inquiries were then suggested, and they proceeded to consider three points:

1st. In what shape, when the Messiah first appeared, would he present himself to the inhabitants of the earth? Would he come as a conqueror, to restore Israel to the dignity and importance of a sovereign nation?

2nd. Would he, after their restoration, order any alteration of the law of Moses, or leave it as it had been handed down to them by their forefathers for their future government?

3rd. Would the Messiah be born of a virgin, and would this, his miraculous birth be the means of making him known to mankind.

In the debates which ensued, many arguments were urged in favour of the affirmative of these propositions, which were not very efficiently combated by those who dissented from them. Incidentally it was asked, whether Jesus Christ who was crucified, might not be that Messiah who had been announced by their prophets. The negative was here vigorously maintained; and it was forcibly contended, by those who belonged to the Pharisees' sect, that Jesus was not the Messiah, since he had been born and had lived in poverty, humble and despised, while they had ever been taught to expect that the deliverer of their nation would come as a conqueror, in triumph and glory. They could not be persuaded that the son of a carpenter at Nazareth, who had on various occasions manifested an aversion for the law of Moses, could be the Messiah, to whose advent their forefathers had been taught to look forward with hope and unyielding confidence.

The claims of Jesus were more earnestly pressed than could have been anticipated in such an assembly. A Rabbin named Abraham, looking at the miracles which Christ had performed, the history of which he held to be strictly authentic, had asked, if not by divine aid, by what means could they have been wrought? Zebedee, one of the Pharisee leaders, answered this question by supposing that Jesus was a proficient in the arts of the magi. "But magic," Abraham remarked, "could not give sight, hearing, speech, and strength to the blind, deaf, dumb, and impotent, who had been so from their birth." He was answered, that "the parties so afflicted had been operated upon in the earliest stages of their existence before birth by the evil doings of the



magi, and therefore to give them sight, hearing, speech, and strength at a subsequent period, was simply to undo the charm by which they had previously been bound. The Sadducees agreed with those who held these opinions. They were the more disposed to do so, as they denied the resurrection of the dead, which Christ had constantly asserted.

Though this scene is said to be purely an effort of invention, it is difficult to look at all the circumstances and think the narrative wholly fictitious. There is something very natural in the climax supplied by the manner in which the congress closed its session. Six days had been occupied in discussion, when some persons were found to be present who are described to have been emissaries of Rome, and as egregiously overacting their part. Not content with proclaiming the divinity of Christ, they went on to eulogise the ritual and observances of the Catholic church, and, in a word, to attempt the conversion of the Jews. The latter heard themselves called upon to bow before the pope, the undoubted vicar of Christ on earth; and this occasioned murmurs, which soon ripened into a fierce tumult. The council was disturbed by vociferous shouts of, "No Christ! no God-man! no worship of images! no intercession of saints! and no prayers to the virgin!" It was thus that the seventh day's proceedings closed: on the next day, which was the last of their meeting, they only resolved that another council should be held in Syria at the end of three years from that date. It is exceedingly difficult to discover any good that was effected in the plain of Ageda; but it was the boast of the Christians that many Jews were much shaken in their opinions by the arguments which they had heard in favour of the orthodox religion, and that some of the Rabbins had intimated a desire to hear more of the tenets of the Romish church, to which it was probable that at no distant period they would unite themselves.

## CHAP. II.

*A false Messiah appears.—Sabatei Sevi, the son of a poulterer, assumes that character.—Nathan, a Jew, pretends to be the prophet Elias.—Sabatei marries twice, and is as often divorced.—He claims the title of king of kings, and styles his brother king of Judah.—He preaches at Jerusalem.—The Rabbins tremble before him.—Sabatei marries a third wife.—Anakia denounces him as an impostor, and dies immediately afterwards.—The Rabbins pay Sabatei homage.—He names a second brother king of Israel.*

ABOUT the year 1666 an extraordinary sensation was created among the Jews from its being reported that the Messiah had at length come. The person who assumed the character appeared in Smyrna, where his father had been long established, first as a poulterer, and then as a broker to the English factory at that place. Sabatei Sevi was the name of this pretender; he was a native of Smyrna, where he was born in 1626. His father, anxious to give him a good education, sent him to school, where, under able

masters, the youth made astonishing progress. "With the Scriptures" (we quote from Rees) "he became conversant; and from the study of the prophecies, together with an ardent desire to distinguish himself, he was led to believe, or at least to pretend, that he was selected by Heaven as the instrument raised up to be the redeemer of Israel. He certainly possessed qualifications that might command attention and claim popularity, being endowed with a fine person and very persuasive powers of eloquence. He began to preach in the fields about Smyrna; and though he excited only the derision of the Turks, many of the lower orders of his own nation became his admiring and zealous disciples. He soon assumed the power of working miracles, and carried his delusions so far, that the heads of the synagogue, alarmed at his pretensions, cited him before them, and, after a very summary process, condemned him to banishment. He then went to Thessalonica, Athens, and other cities of Greece, and perhaps to Constantinople, from all which places he was expelled by the influence of the Rabbins. He afterwards went to Jerusalem, where his learning and fine abilities secured him an honourable reception, and he gained many disciples. At their request he went a journey to Egypt, in order that he might collect alms of their brethren. On coming to Gaza, he met with a Jew, named Nathan Levi, who was a man of considerable weight with his countrymen. Having heard the pretensions and plans of Sabatei, announcing himself to be the Messiah, he instantly joined in the delusion, taking upon him the character of the prophet Elias, who was to be his forerunner. With this view he assembled the Jews at Jerusalem, whom he persuaded to abolish the fast celebrated in the month of June, since sorrow was incompatible with the feast of the Messiah, who was raised up by the Almighty in the person of Sabatei Sevi. In the mean time, the latter was preaching repentance to the Jews at Gaza, whence his fame spread far and near, and attracted multitudes of that nation to attend upon his ministry, of whom the great majority became his proselytes. When he returned to Jerusalem, Sabatei was received by the infatuated Jewish populace with cries of joy; indeed, in the expression of their attachment to him, they aroused the jealousy of the Turks, whom the Rabbins were glad to appease by presents of large sums of money. He was now obliged to quit Jerusalem, and went to Smyrna, where, by his pathological sermons, he daily increased the number of his adherents; and in consequence of a plan concerted between him and Nathan, the latter sent a solemn deputation of four persons, in the character of ambassadors, to Sabatei, who saluted him in the public synagogue as the Messiah."

In order more effectually to carry on their daring scheme, Nathan, in the character of prophet, did not scruple to exalt Sabatei to the skies. He actually declared that within one year from that time the son of the poulterer would appear as a conqueror in the presence of the sultan, take the crown from his head, and lead him in chains as a captive; while Sabatei, by all nations, and by all tongues, should be hailed sole monarch of the universe. But even this was not enough, in the judgment of Nathan, to satisfy the eager expectations of



the Jews; and he announced that the holy temple would descend from heaven, a glorious edifice in a complete state, in which sacrifices might be offered and prayers addressed to the Supreme Being till the end of the world.

At an early period of his career, Sabatei had been looked up to with honour and veneration by his Jewish brethren, and when only eighteen years of age he was appointed to be one of their Rabbins. By young persons he was most eagerly followed, but not by these only. He affected great austerity, and ostentatiously observed many fasts, and bathed very often in the sea. A woman of beauty and rank attracted his notice when he was twenty years old. He married her, but declined all conjugal intimacy; and in consequence of this, proceedings were instituted against him by her father, which resulted in his being forced to consent to a divorce. Shortly after, he married again; and the second marriage was dissolved as the first had been, and for the same cause. In vindication of the course he had pursued, Sabatei declared that a voice from heaven had communicated with him, and declared that neither of the women he had put away was the appropriate and appointed partner of his destiny. His partisans declared that he was actuated by a sacred desire of sublimely triumphing over the natural grossness and infirmity of human nature. His adversaries taxed him with caprice, and ridiculed the affected holiness which could trifle with the feelings of women by inviting them to marry only to be divorced. He is reported to have sometimes fasted from sabbath to sabbath, yet notwithstanding this, his beauty increased, and from his whole body a delicious odour exhaled, which was at first supposed to have been given forth from a prepared perfume, but which, on a strict examination of his person, was found to issue naturally through the pores of his skin. Feeling that he was looked up to as a personage of vast importance, Sabatei thought he should be wanting to himself if he did not claim regal honours; and he now assumed the title of King of kings for himself, while he affected to bestow upon his brother Joseph Sevi that of King of Judah. He caused letters to be written to the Jews in all parts of Europe and Asia, announcing his exaltation, and calling upon them to support the dignity of their Messiah and his kingdom. Vast numbers of the Hebrew race believed that they might now rejoice in that coming which they had so long fervently desired.

Having boldly asserted his claim to preside over the Jewish nation, he declared himself the son of Jacob, and undertook to preach to his brethren; nor did he scruple to utter before them, and in proof of his high mission, the awful name of Jehovah. His brother Rabbins, who, it may easily be conceived, were jealous of the superiority claimed by Sabatei, affected to be horror-stricken at the reckless impiety which could thus offend the Most High. They denounced him before a Turkish tribunal, and insisted that his crime ought to be punished with death. He was alarmed, and retreated; but having sought concealment in Thessalonica, the Rabbins there rose against him, as they had done in Smyrna. He fled to Egypt, and subsequently to Jerusalem. It was when he was passing through Gaza that he converted Nathan, as above mentioned, or engaged him to support his views. He im-

mediately pretended, swearing to it in the name of the great Almighty and dreadful God, that he had seen the Lord of all, in his cherub-borne chariot, as beheld by Ezekiel of old, with the two sephiroth murmuring around him like the waves of the sea, when a voice was heard to declare, "Your great Redeemer is at length come; Sabatei Sevi is his name. He is the holy one of Israel; he shall go forth as a mighty man; he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war; he shall cry, yea roar; he shall prevail against his enemies." The Israelites were delighted to believe that their promised Chief had arrived, who should "lead the blind by a way that they knew not; who should lead them into paths that they had not known, make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight."

Sabatei preached at Jerusalem, and there affirmed that he was the Messiah with such earnestness and effect, that the Rabbins trembled before him. Then it was that Nathan invented and repeated his boldest prophecies, declaring that all power would be with Sabatei, and that the sultan would become a helpless vassal. The impostor had resided thirteen years in Jerusalem, when he made a journey into Egypt, and for the third time became a husband. The woman to whom he now attached himself was reported by many to be of light character; his friends, on the contrary, declared that their Messiah had united himself to a maiden, who had not only a spotless name, but who was pointed out to him by many astonishing miracles as the woman ordained to be his bride. It is believed that she was the daughter of a Polish Jew, who had been captured by some marauding Muscovites. To this a marvellous addition is made, that, at eighteen years of age, she was suddenly snatched from the bed on which she reclined by the spectre of her father, carried to a great distance, and deposited in a Jewish cemetery. When discovered there, she told those who came round her this wonderful story, and did not hesitate to assure them that she was the destined bride of their Messiah. After this, as it was known she had a brother living at Amsterdam, she was placed under his care. From Amsterdam she went to Egypt, where it was her fortune to meet with Sabatei Sevi. That individual continued his preachings in Jerusalem three years longer, declaring, even in the synagogue, that he was the Messiah. The Rabbins, however, felt little of that admiration which his varied talents had inspired in the common people, and they took proceedings against him, which induced him to retreat to his native place, Smyrna. Though followed in this his exile by the hatred of the Rabbins, he was idolised by the populace; and various miracles were said to have been witnessed, which proved to demonstration that he was what he declared himself to be. The fate of Anakia, a Jew of high rank, made a deep impression on all classes. This person suspected, or more than suspected, the representations of Sabatei Sevi to be false, and declared such to be his conviction in public. After denouncing the pretended Messiah, Anakia returned to his home; there he fell from his chair and immediately died. This incident was thought clearly to evince that the vengeance of Heaven would pursue those who opposed Sabatei. It is not improbable that the sudden



exit of Anakia was indeed caused by the rashness which openly attacked Sabatei. Some of the enthusiasts who followed him might have deemed it piety to dismiss the unbeliever from existence. The Rabbins shrunk from continuing hostile to one who was so obviously protected by the hand of God. No longer pursued by their interdict, they joined to render him homage. On all occasions, with their concurrence, he assumed royal pomp, and a banner was constantly borne before him inscribed, "The right hand of the Lord is uplifted." Besides naming one brother king of Judah, a second brother he appointed to be king of Israel. In the character of King of kings, he degraded the chief Rabbins; and the vice-president, intimidated or gained over by other means, openly swelled the number of the followers of Sabatei.

His fame from day to day increased. In Poland, Germany, Hamburgh, Holland, France, and England, this was the topic of general conversation. Business was in many cases suspended, to discuss the changes which might be expected to follow the coming of the Messiah. The Jews residing at a distance caused inquiries to be made of their agents in the Levant if indeed the Messiah were come. They received this brief but decisive answer: "It is he, and no other." Many rich presents were sent to the adventurer; embassies waited upon him; and sometimes it happened, on account of the great concourse which followed him, that ambassadors from foreign parts would be detained a fortnight or three weeks before they could obtain an audience. His picture was painted and displayed, and a crown of gold appeared above it. The 21st Psalm was sung before him, and harmonious vocalists chanted strains like these: "For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness; thou settest a crown of pure gold upon his head. His glory is great in thy salvation; honour and majesty hast thou laid upon him. For thou hast made him exceeding glad with thy countenance." In all the synagogues prayers were offered up for him, in which he was recognised as the Messiah.

The enthusiasm was now at its height. Persons, pretending to be inspired, raised their voices in honour of Sabatei. The cry was, "The day of the Lord is near," and the words of Joel were repeated, "The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake: but the Lord will be the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel; so shall ye know that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain. Then shall Jerusalem be holy, and there shall no more strangers pass through her any more."

### CHAP. III.

*The women of Samaria, Adrianople, and other places, strongly favour the pretensions of Sabatei Sevi.—A wealthy Israelite declares him to be an impostor.—A charge is preferred against the accuser, and he is sent to the galleys.—The Jews in Persia believing him to be the Deliverer, Sabatei is called upon to proceed to Constantinople, there to assume sovereign power, and reduce the sultan to the condition of a vassal.—In the Turkish capital he is ordered into confinement. The officers sent to arrest him cannot secure his person.—He surrenders, and is imprisoned.—A rabbin named Nehemiah opposes Sabatei violently.—He is in danger of being killed, when he declares himself a Moslem.—Sabatei, brought before the sultan, does the same.—He afterwards conciliates both Jews and Mahometans.—He becomes a widower, marries a fourth wife, and dies.—His followers believed in him after death, and predict his return.*

WHEN any great event forms a remarkable era in the history of mankind, the zeal and enthusiasm of the fair sex is commonly conspicuous, and they are more strongly affected than even the chief actors in the passing scenes. When the belief rapidly gained ground, that the Messiah had at length been seen; that Sabatei was the Deliverer, that it was indeed "He, and no other," the women and maidens of Samaria, Adrianople, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and other cities in Asia, were transported with joy, and indeed excited to madness. In some places they prostrated themselves on the earth, in honour of the reputed deliverer; in others, they went raving about in prophetic raptures; and on this occasion something like the gift of tongues is recorded to have been vouchsafed to the fair converts. In various parts they are said to have at once become able to converse in the Hebrew language, of which before they were totally ignorant; or at least they found themselves capable of declaring in that tongue that "Sabatei Sevi was the true Messiah of the race of David, and to him the crown and kingdom were to be given." The feeling, at first confined to few, soon spread rapidly in every direction, and the contagion extended to those who were most nearly connected with his adversaries. The Rabbin Pechina was among these. He denied the mission of Sabatei, and exposed his pretensions with great bitterness; but he soon found the feelings of admiration and profound reverence which others had manifested had reached his own daughters; and they, assuming the air of inspiration, proclaimed in the Hebrew tongue, which of course they had never been taught, that the Messiah had appeared to Israel in the person of Sabatei Sevi. The sensation created was such that prudent men, who did not share in the delusion, began to feel alarmed for the consequences to which it might lead. While others gloried in the happy conviction which had come over them, one rich Israelite of Constantinople, being afraid that greater disorders would follow, and that these would be severely visited on the adherents of Sabatei, went to the grand vizier, and requested him to certify a declara-



tion which he then made, that he had never acknowledged Sabatei Sevi to be the true Messiah.

This cautious proceeding soon transpired. When it was known that a Jew had thus opposed himself to the popular belief, Sabatei's friends appear to have considered the precedent so established to be fraught with danger. They conspired against the wealthy Hebrew, and soon accused him of treasonable designs against the Turks. False witnesses came forward to prove what was charged against him,—for in such a cause perjury was deemed virtue; and the unfortunate prudence of the sceptical Israelite led to his conviction of a grave offence, for which he was ultimately sent to the galleys.

In Persia the excitement was equally strong. The common people understood by the Deliverer, whose coming had been announced, that he would cause the necessity for labour to cease, and that his appearance would be the signal for them to give themselves up to repose and enjoyment. They refused longer to cultivate the soil, and the authorities appear to have been disturbed with the apprehension of proximate famine. The governor of one province in which this happened felt it to be his duty to remind the Jews that they existed in Persia but as tributaries, and he called upon them to resume their customary occupation, that at the proper time their tribute might be duly paid. They answered in firm but respectful language, that "their deliverer having at last arrived, they could pay tribute no more." The governor smiled at their credulity, and, not sharing their belief, did not punish their refractory conduct further than by requiring them to subscribe a bond to pay two hundred tomans if proof that the true Messiah had indeed come to the Jewish people should not be forthcoming in the course of the ensuing three months. To this they cheerfully consented: their wish was strong; and they easily persuaded themselves to believe what they so ardently desired. The result did not justify their confidence.

The audacious prediction of Nathan that Sabatei should possess sovereign power, and the sultan be seen reduced so as to be no more than a helpless dependant, which had made a prodigious impression on the hearers at first in favour of Sabatei, was soon in a fair way of being turned against him, as those who were most zealous in his cause were anxious to see him possessed of power which would enable him to reward their daring and fidelity. They became clamorous for his proceeding without loss of time to the Turkish capital, there to assert his authority as King of kings over his future vassal the grand signior. The call was so loud, and was so long persevered in, that the adventurer had no alternative; and he at length intimated, though with some reluctance, that he was ready to obey it. He accordingly set out, accompanied by a multitude of companions, and reaching Constantinople, was greeted with loud acclamations from all the Jews resident there, who issued from their dwellings to welcome him on his arrival. It happened that at this moment the sultan was in a distant province. Sabatei, acting up to the part which he had assumed, caused a formal communication to be made to the grand vizier, demanding an immediate audience. The latter was in doubt what course to pursue. The imposing crowd which joined to favour Sabatei made him apprehensive that some disorder would ensue if he treated

his claim with contumely. He however evaded compliance till he had received instructions how to proceed. The sultan did not share the misgivings of the vizier; and he at once directed that Sabatei should be seized, and detained in custody till he returned to Constantinople. The grand vizier no longer hesitated, but sent an aga and a party of janizaries to the abode of Sabatei, with orders to arrest him. To the execution of this command an unaccountable obstacle presented itself; the aga was so overpowered by the august appearance of Sabatei, which he reported was "bright as an angel," that he could not declare his purpose, but returned in trembling dismay, and overwhelmed with confusion, to report his failure. The vizier upon this despatched a second aga on the like errand; but with no better success, as he returned like the former, overawed and confounded. Sabatei, on finding that he had been ordered into confinement, and probably convinced, that notwithstanding he had foiled those first sent to arrest him, to escape ultimately was impossible, made a merit of necessity, and voluntarily surrendered. The grand vizier caused him to be transmitted to the castle of Sestos, but abstained from pursuing him with any undue severity. He was treated as a person entitled to honourable consideration, and his friends were allowed free access to him; and from the castle he sent forth an edict or manifesto, suspending the fast which had been constantly observed on the 9th of August, in memory of the destruction of Jerusalem, which he ordered thenceforth to be celebrated with the utmost festivity, as it was the birthday of their Messiah—being his own birthday.

While still a prisoner in the castle of Sestos, a deputation from Poland arrived, who offered him their homage and congratulations. The deputies were admitted to an interview; and he freely conversed with them, and confirmed the opinions previously entertained in his favour by the eloquence he displayed, and more especially by his cabalistic knowledge. There was, however, a Jew named Nehemiah residing in Constantinople, who regarded Sabatei as an impostor. The friends of the *soi-disant* "King of kings" argued with him for three days, but he still remained unconvinced; and he did not hesitate to stigmatise Sabatei as a rank impostor. The advocates of the captive were upon this highly exasperated; and Sabatei himself threatened Nehemiah with a violent death, as a reward for his unbelief. What Sabatei uttered was meant for a prophecy; but his disciples were disposed to regard it as a command, and rushed forth in fury to seize Nehemiah, with the intention of putting him to death. He fled before them; but finding himself on the point of being taken by his vengeful pursuers, he escaped the impending danger by suddenly transferring a turban from the head of a Turk to his own, while he audibly exclaimed, "I am a true Moslem." The moment these words had passed his lips, the Turks who were within hearing felt bound to protect him as a convert from Judaism. He was then placed beyond the reach of his enemies, and sent to Adrianople, where the sultan remained, and to him he was directed to report all he knew of or concerning the pretended Messiah.



But a short time elapsed before the grand signior returned to Constantinople. He lost little time in ordering Sabatei Sevi to be brought before him. The pretended Messiah went with great apprehension into the presence of the sultan, where a Jewish renegade attended to assist him as an interpreter. The partial gift of tongues, said to have been enjoyed by some of his followers, had not been extended to Sabatei himself, and to him the Turkish language was a sealed book. That brightness, which had dazzled or repelled the agas was now seen no more; and the man before whom they had retreated in wild confusion found himself forsaken by all his courage while near the sultan; and when the latter sternly inquired if he were really the Messiah, he looked abashed, and attempted no reply. The sultan affected to have some doubts respecting his quality, which he was anxious should be cleared up; and an easy course suggested itself by which his mind could be satisfied. He therefore graciously submitted to him this proposal, that he should be placed in a convenient spot as a mark, and three poisoned arrows shot at him. Should he prove invulnerable, or receive no lasting injury from the arrows to be aimed at him, the sultan promised that he would at once recognise him as the Messiah, and render homage to the King of kings. The alternative, however, was, that if he refused to submit to his pretensions being thus brought to the test, it would be concluded that he was a cheat, and he would immediately be punished capitally, unless he consented to embrace Mahometanism.

This caused his followers to experience much sorrow and great alarm. They feared their leader, firm in the truth, would scorn to gainsay it, and must therefore inevitably suffer death. The renegade interpreter pressed him eagerly to save his life by abandoning his religion. His arguments, or the fear of death, caused the resolution of Sabatei to give way; and, imitating Nehemiah, who had so lately escaped popular vengeance in a like manner, he took from the head of a page a turban, placed it on his own brow, and uttering the solemn, the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman," at once ceased to be a member of the Jewish community. He was better treated than many apostates from Judaism, as he received from the sultan the name of Aga Mahomet Effendi, the title of Capidji Basha, and with these was presented a pelisse of honour.

Language cannot describe the amazement, consternation, and dismay experienced by the Jews when the tidings of this abandonment of himself and his followers on the part of the pretended Messiah transpired. Those who had glowed with enthusiasm, who had been most loud in their praise of the divine perfections of Sabatei, now hung their heads in dismay. His talent, however, did not desert him; and in his new character he soon issued an address, which had the effect of conciliating the Jews as well as the Mussulmans. It ran thus:—"I, Mahomet Capidji Basha, make it known unto all that it has been the good pleasure of the supreme God to change me from an Israelite to an Ismaelite. He spake, and it was done; he ordered, and it was fulfilled. Given in the ninth day of my renewal, according to His holy will."

From the prophecies of Scripture, and from ancient traditions or parts of the unwritten law, he borrowed sen-

tences which he made applicable to his case, and these he so shaped as to soothe the friends he had forsaken, without offending those he had joined. He took care to show that it was recorded in Scripture that the most distinguished chiefs of the Jews should for a time reside among strangers and enemies. In the Pirke Eliezer it was stated that the Messiah must remain for a season among unbelievers. He showed it had been so ordered that Moses should for a time dwell among the Ethiopians; and the prophet Isaiah, he urged, had for a time supported a twofold character, honoured by the Moslems as one of the faithful, and still regarded by many of the Jews as their Messiah.

The example furnished by Sabatei had a powerful effect on his brethren; and some of them, following his example, declared for Islamism. He preached in the synagogue with all the energy of a man who speaks from conviction what he is anxious that others should believe, and seldom a day passed but Jews were found snatching turbans from the heads of Turks, and declaring their adherence to Mahometanism.

It does not appear that Sabatei ever formally returned to Judaism. Having gained a situation of no mean distinction, it was his object if possible to stand well with all parties. Nathan abandoned him and his cause when he changed his religion, and prophesied, both in Italy and elsewhere that evil would requite the fatal dereliction. In the mean time the false Messiah conducted himself as a good Mussulman; and, his Polish wife having died, he married the daughter of a learned person. The Rabbins withdrew their homage and confidence, and excommunicated the lady he had last made his wife, in consequence of her giving her hand to an apostate. His influence over her was such, that she also embraced the religion to which he had deserted. The Rabbins could not prevent the common people from still listening to him; and they are said to have feared that by his means Judaism would be eventually extinguished. They exerted themselves to avert the danger, and found means to cause Sabatei to be regarded with suspicion. They represented him, certainly with great appearance of truth, as being insincere in what relates to religion; and they imputed to him designs which, if attempted to be carried out, would endanger the peace of the state, if not the throne of the grand signior. In consequence of these sinister proceedings he was taken into custody, and confined in a prison near Belgrade, where he died of a colic complaint in 1676, being then fifty years of age. His death, under circumstances so humiliating, did not wholly quench the ardour of his followers, who reported that, like Enoch and Elijah, their Messiah, without submitting to the common lot of mortality, had passed from earth to heaven. One very remarkable fact remains to be mentioned. The Rabbin Nehemiah, who had denounced Sabatei as an impostor, subsequently pretended to be converted, and sincerely to believe that the man he had so fiercely reviled was no other than the true Messiah. It was declared, by one of those who at Smyrna had professed to have been endowed by him with the gift of prophecy, that the Messiah would again return at the end of one hundred and eleven years and four months. He did not live to see the falsehood of



his prediction proved, nor did others to bear witness to its truth. One Michael Cardoso declared that the Son of David would not come till all the Jewish fraternity should have become holy or wicked; and as he considered the latter would be the shorter process, he called upon all who sincerely revered Judaism to apostatise forthwith, that the re-appearance of the Messiah might not be delayed. This extravagant doctrine was received in many places with approbation, and in some instances acted upon.

#### CHAP. IV.

*The decision against the Jews in the time of Oliver Cromwell is not quite unanimous.—Prynne is one of the fiercest enemies of the Jews.—The feeling against them gradually subsides.—There appear to have been only forty Jewish families resident in England.—Mordecai, a Jew, pretends to be the Messiah.—In the reign of James II. the Jews are relieved from the alien duty.—It is again enforced in the time of William III.—An attempt is made to revive the sect of Sabatei Sevi in Germany by a person named Frank, who lives in great splendour.—The source of his opulence is a mystery.—He dies, and his family sink into disrepute and poverty.*

THOUGH the application of the Jews to be relieved from the disabilities under which they laboured in the time of the commonwealth was not successful, it is quite clear that the question was seriously considered, and that the unfavourable decision finally adopted was by no means unanimous. This indeed is clearly stated in the "Thurloe State Papers," as the secretary thus declares himself: "We have had very many disputations concerning the admittance of the Jews to dwell in this commonwealth, they having made an earnest desire to his highness to be admitted; whereupon he hath been pleased to advise with some of his judges, merchants, and divines. The point of conscience hath been only controverted yet, namely, whether it be lawful to admit the Jews now out of England to return into it. The divines do very much differ in their judgments about it, some being for their admittance on fitting cautions; others are in express terms against it, upon any terms whatsoever. The like differences I find in the council, and so amongst all Christians abroad. The matter is debated with great candour and ingenuity, and without any heat. What the issue thereof will be, I am not able to tell you, but am apt to think that nothing will be done therein."

Common readers will be startled to find that the notorious William Prynne was on this occasion one of the fiercest adversaries the Jews had to encounter. This man had been most cruelly persecuted, but not by Jews; he was no orthodox churchman, and had opposed bowing at the name of Jesus. He was prosecuted in the Star Chamber, within those walls in which the *starra*, or Jewish bonds, had once been deposited; and there, it was said of him by Lord Cottington, "that which hath been more remarkable is, his spleen against

the church, and government of it; therefore for that I will not sentence him, because Mr. Attorney doth forbear to prosecute against him, for that which belongeth to the church, yet it is an argument of his great and high malice; and when I consider of that, which hath been so often repeated, that he writ this book alone, surely he was assisted immediately by the devil himself, or rather he hath assisted the devil. He hath written a book against the due reverence and honour which all Christians owe to our Saviour Jesus;" yet this man, whom the ruling bigots of the day had subjected to enormous fines—whom they placed in the pillory, slit his nose, and deprived of his ears—could deliberately, on mature reflection, pursue with extreme rancour those who differed from him in matters of faith!

Though, while Cromwell lived the Jews were not formally recognised as having a just claim to all the privileges enjoyed by other subjects of the commonwealth, the angry feelings with which they had once been regarded were no longer cherished by the nation at large; and from time to time individuals were allowed to pursue various callings without being annoyed by their Christian neighbours. After the Restoration, they experienced greater favour. An order of the lords of the council in 1660 was sent down to the commons, pressing upon the latter the expediency of adopting measures for the protection of the Jews. Their numbers, however, were less considerable than might be expected, when they were held to be of such importance as to require a special enactment for their comfort and security. Few as they were, in 1662 they had a synagogue established in the metropolis, though, according to Dr. Chamberlain, a contemporary writer, there were not more than from thirty to forty Hebrew families in the kingdom. After that time it may be presumed their numbers greatly increased; and in the year 1670 they were held to be so important, that when a committee of the house of commons was appointed to frame a bill for the prevention of the growth of popery, it was an instruction given to that committee, that they should also inquire into the number of Jews settled in England, the terms on which they were permitted to take up their residence here, as also the number of synagogues that had been erected or established. The result of these inquiries cannot be given, as no report from that committee is extant.

In the year 1682, a Jew named Mordecai, established at Cirenstadt attracted considerable notice by the old folly of giving out first that he was a prophet, and then that he was the Messiah. Always ready to believe what they could never cease to desire, the Jews settled in various parts invited him to appear among them; and for a time, wherever he went, he was treated with great reverence. But the imposture was soon detected, and the Rabbins, at first disposed to favour him, soon united to condemn. Their disgust was so loudly expressed, that the cheat could not remain in Italy, and was forced to withdraw into Poland.

Some of the alternations of favour and severity recorded in their ancient history, were manifested, but in a slighter degree after the reign of Charles II. had closed. By his successor James the Jews were relieved from the



alien duty. After the revolution the merchants of London complained of this as unfair to them, and in consequence of their petition it was again imposed. This was in the year 1689, and the number of Jews must then have become considerable, as the loss which the government sustained through the export, from duty not being levied on their goods, was estimated at no less than £10,000 per annum.

In the following reign, when Queen Anne swayed the sceptre; an exclusive act of parliament was passed to secure a suitable provision for such Israelitish children as might become converts to Christianity. A measure was framed which seemed well calculated to wake the spirit of discord in Jewish society in the most alarming manner. By a statute, the 1st of Anne, c. 30, it was declared by the legislature, that "if the child of any Jewish parent is converted to the Christian religion, or is desirous of embracing it, upon application to the lord chancellor he may compel any such parent to give his child a sufficient maintenance in proportion to his circumstances." About this time, the conversion of a rich Jew named Moses Marcus, a person who had been much looked up to by his Hebrew brethren, and who had exercised great influence over them, was announced. By some it was perhaps considered that his submitting to baptism was dictated by the view he took of what would benefit his worldly estate; and such an example, it might be supposed, would be generally followed by the English Jews. Such anticipations, if seriously entertained, were not justified by the event.

From this period till about the middle of the eighteenth century we find nothing of striking interest connected with the history of Jews. A person known by the name of Frank, about the year 1750, made an attempt to revive the sect of Sabatei Sevi. Those who became his followers called themselves Zoharites; and they must have contributed liberally to support their deceiver, for he astonished all Germany by the extraordinary magnificence in which he lived. Whence he obtained his wealth was a profound secret; but a crowd of obsequious adherents surrounded him, and this continued while he lived, and sumptuous funeral honours were bestowed upon him when dead. He resided chiefly in Venice, in Brune, and in Offenberg, and was attended by several hundred Jewish youths of both sexes, most of whom were remarkable for their beauty. Vast quantities of treasure were reported to be brought to him in carts from Poland. His deportment was in many respects very singular. He was accustomed to proceed with great state to an open plain to perform his devotions in a handsome chariot drawn by four or six horses. Ten or twelve uhlans, in a rich green or red uniform lavishly adorned with gold, rode with him as his guards, armed with pikes, while their caps were made helmet-fashion, and ornamented with images of eagles, stags, the sun, and the moon. When his prayers and other exercises concluded, water was carefully poured on the spot which he thus distinguished. At other times he attended the temple, where his deportment was marked with the greatest solemnity. By some it was declared that he would never die. This was eventually refuted; for, in 1791, Frank proved that

he was mortal, by departing from this life. His obsequies, as already stated, were celebrated with great splendour, not fewer than eight hundred persons having followed him to the tomb.

The creed which Frank undertook to teach was not consistent with that to which the Hebrew nation have constantly adhered. It rather favoured Christianity; while it disclaimed the Talmud. Frank maintained that the Scriptures could not be understood by every reader, as there was a hidden sense contained in them, which only those especially favoured by Heaven could discover. Frank affected to honour the glorious Trinity, and spoke of the mortal incarnation of the Deity; but he did not distinctly declare in whom the Deity had been incarnate. His ambiguous language left his hearers to doubt whether it was Jesus Christ or Sabatei Sevi. Eventually Frank is said to have embraced Christianity, and to have attended mass. This may account for the obscurity into which his name sunk immediately after his decease. The funeral over, nothing more was heard of his wealth, and his family sunk into indigence. From the opulence in which they had been accustomed to revel they speedily declined, and could only find the means of sustaining life by submitting to exercise some of its humblest occupations.

## CHAP. V.

*The condition of the Jews in England has much improved since Cromwell's time.—In ancient days all they possessed was held to belong to the king.—Tallage was a tax anciently imposed on knights and barons, and by them on inferior tenants.—From the general tallage the Jews were in England exempted, as being the king's bondsmen.—The tyrannical proceedings sanctioned where the Jews are concerned were eventually turned against their enemies.—The court of star-chamber sits where the deeds of Christian debtors were once deposited.—Grants could be made to Jews as well as others.—They could hold lands, but they were likely to be taken from them at the pleasure of the king.—Large fines are paid to enter on an inheritance.*

It has been seen that, subsequent to the time of Oliver Cromwell, the condition of the Jews was in various respects improved in England. They were no longer pursued with irrational hatred, subjected to wanton persecution, or periodically robbed by a profligate king or a rapacious minister; but still their disabilities were the just subjects of complaint. To make this fully understood, and to present in connection the relief afforded, and the evils still deplored, a retrospective glance at what they had been will be necessary to show what they had become.

It was declared by law, in the time of Edward the Confessor, that "the Jews and all they possessed belonged to the king." "The authority of this clause," Blunt remarks, "was called in question by the puritan



Prynne, as it was not to be found in the copy of the Confessor's laws given by Irgulphus in his 'History of Croyland Abbey.' He adds, "the clause has however received the high sanction of Sir H. Spelman, who also states that the laws of the Confessor, as published by Hoveden, agree with an ancient manuscript copy of those ordinances in his possession." At all events he reasonably concludes that such was held to be the ancient law with regard to the Jews.

In regard to tallage, a distinction was made where the Jews were concerned. Tallage or tallage is described by Coke to be "a general name including all taxes, and is derived from the French *taille*, *tax*, founded on the tally of petty tradespeople; as the country people, not being able to write, scored down what they received on tallies. It was originally a certain rate, according to which barons and knights were anciently taxed by the king, to meet the expense of the state, as were superior tenants by their lords, on particular occasions. That raised for the king was on his demesnes, escheats, and wardships. When it was paid out of knights' fees it was called scutage; when by cities and burghs, tallage. The tallage on the customary tenants was sometimes fixed and certain, and sometimes variable, at the arbitrary will of the lord. In the time of Edward I. we find it declared by statute that "the Jews shall not be in tallage with the other inhabitants of the cities where they reside, seeing that they are talliable to the king as his *own bondsmen*, and not otherwise." How far the exemption here made was a privilege or an indulgence, has been seen in the foregoing pages. "The natural consequence," says the author last quoted, "of the Jews being considered as standing in this relation to the crown, was to give the king, their lord, complete power over their persons and property; and this power was frequently exercised in an entirely arbitrary manner. Tallages to an exorbitant and ruinous extent were continually imposed, at the mere will of the king, and payment enforced by imprisonment, by seizing their wives and children, and by confiscation of their whole property and effects. Orders regulating their conduct, and restraining their intercourse with the rest of the nation, were from time to time issued upon the sole authority of the crown, and obedience enforced by the most severe and cruel penalties. The king at his pleasure released their debtors from the payment of the whole or parts of the sums in which they were bound, and commanded the securities to be cancelled. On many occasions individuals amongst them were granted to other persons, and sometimes their whole community was made over by way of mortgage or security for sums borrowed by the crown."

Besides these instances of purely arbitrary exertion of the power of the crown over the persons and property of the Jews, there were certain cases in which that power was continually and systematically enforced. Thus, upon the death of a Jew, the king asserted his right to the whole of the property and effects of which the deceased was possessed; if he left a wife and children, they were permitted to succeed to the estate only upon payment of heavy and arbitrary fines. Upon the conversion of a Jew to Christianity, the king, up to the reign of Edward

the First, seized all his estate, and applied it to his own use. Edward the First granted, that from thenceforth only half of the estate should in such cases be taken. Certain towns were appointed for the residence of the Jews; and they were not permitted to dwell in any other places. These towns were fixed upon the king, and varied at his pleasure.

Notwithstanding the ordinances framed by Richard I. after his return from captivity in favour of the Jews, it appears that they were still regarded as the property of the crown. The right of treating them as such appears, from the rolls of parliament, to have been exercised in the time of Henry III., as he assigned over to Richard his brother all the Jews in England, to secure payment of a debt of five thousand marks, with full power to distrain them, by their goods and bodies, and bound himself, till the same was paid, not to release any of the debts of the Jews, or allow of any extents to issue for them. This harsh proceeding was but moderately severe in comparison with the previous proceedings, the wholesale plunder and murder to which they were occasionally subjected during the reign of that weak and vicious monarch.

The kings of England were not over nice in the excuses they made for plundering the Israelites. When he married, a claim was made on the Jew; on his death, the king was heir to his property; and what seems, if possible, still more abominable, on his conversion to Christianity, half or the whole of his estate devolved to the crown. The most plausible reason assigned for this is, that as the Jew becoming a Christian would no longer be liable to the treatment to which he was previously exposed, royal rapacity at once seized, before the convert was fully recognised as belonging to the orthodox church, what would otherwise get beyond his grasp. The debts, the pledges, the mortgages belonging, were to be registered on oath, and places were appointed at which all contracts to which they were parties must be made in the presence of attesting officers. Where money was advanced by them, indentures of two parts were to be executed, one to be held by the borrower, the other to be left in a chest prepared for that purpose, and kept in one of the government offices.

The court of Exchequer of the Jews need not again be described. It was to the chirographers and the cofferers that the care of the chests which have been mentioned, were confided. The charters granted to the Jews were also placed in their keeping. It was by means of this court that the tallages from time to time imposed on the children of Abraham were enforced. Its efficiency, doubtless, caused it at a subsequent period to be used for other purposes; and in this something like retribution may be remarked. The tyranny established to oppress the Jews was eventually directed against Prynne and others, who were in the ranks of their bitterest enemies. When a debt was paid it was the duty of the officers to see the debtor put in possession of all the pledges which had been given as security to the Jew. Where the right claimed by the king over him and his property was transferred to another, all the powers of the court were employed in favour of the grantee, as in other cases they were for the crown.



Special charters sometimes regulated the proceedings had where Jews were concerned. While John affected to favour them, in the second year of his reign, when a question arose between a Christian and a Jew, the plaintiff was required to support his plaint by two witnesses, a Jew and a Christian; and when a Christian had a plaint against a Jew, it was to be tried by a jury of Jews.

It was the title of the contracts concluded by them that eventually gave the star-chamber its name. "In ancient times," says Selden, "when a contract was made, two deeds were written, one containing the contract at full, with all covenants and conditions, which was folded up and sealed with the buyer's seal, the other containing a general recital of what thing only the contract was; and this last was shown open to witnesses, who inscribed their names on the back of both, that so the witnesses or standers-by might not know the sum, the time of redemption, or such like, yet be able to justify the instrument comprehending them by the inscription of their names. The seal they called *chetour*, and the deed or instrument written *sephar*, which is a book also; but the Rabbins express their deeds, releases, and other obligations and the like, by the name of *shetar*, or *setar*, whence the word *sterim* or *starr* is used for acquittance or written testimonies of contract." In his commentaries, Mr. Justice Blackstone supposes the court of star-chamber was so called from its sittings being held after the Jews were banished from the kingdom in the time of Edward the First in the chamber once appropriated to the chests which contained the *sterim* or *starr*; the part of the indenture placed in the chest, the *res chirographia*. In cases where a debt was claimed, if the *res chirographia* could not be found, the debt was lost to the Jew. By the statute of Merton it was enacted, that no usury on a debt (all interest it will be remembered, was designated usury,) was to accumulate against the heir to property till he was of age. The statute de Judaismo forbade the Jew to seek usurious profits.

The Jews, being held to be bondsmen to the king, could hold no property against the crown. Bracton, writing in the reign of Henry III., held that the Jews were capable of purchasing and taking land. Grants, he states, might be made to Jews as well as Christians, unless in the form of the grant itself there was anything to the contrary: "*Item tam Judæis quam Christianis, nisi modus donationis inducat contrarium.*"

On the authority of the Lansdowne MSS., Blunt says, "In corroboration of the authority of Bracton, several records are preserved which afford instances of Jews being allowed to take real estate. In the 35th of Henry the Second, anno 1189, a final concord was acknowledged before John bishop of Norwich, and Ranulphus de Glanvil the king's chief justice, and others in the king's court, in a real action depending before them, between William de Curzen, plaintiff, and Jornet, a Jew of Norwich, terre tenant of a messuage, with the appurtenances in Norwich; whereby the said William granted the said messuage with the appurtenances to the said Jornet and his heirs, by the service of five shillings yearly. Again, in the 9th of king Richard the First, anno 1199, a final concord was acknowledged be-

fore Simon de Patteshall and several other of the king's justices, in a cause depending before them, between Philip, son of Walter, plaintiff, and a Jew, son of Samuel, of Northampton, terre tenant of a messuage with the appurtenances in Northampton; whereby the said Philip granted the said messuage with the appurtenances, to hold to the said Jacob and his heirs in fee and inheritance, (*sibi et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate*), paying fourteen pence annually to the grantor and his heirs, in full of all services. In the 10th year of king John a final concord was acknowledged before the same Simon de Patteshall, and other the king's justices, between Robert of Norfolk and his wife, and Isaac the Jew, concerning a messuage with the appurtenances in London; whereby the said Robert and his wife conveyed the said tenement to Isaac and his heirs for ever." Bracton, however, seems to have been of opinion (the passage in which he expresses it has been questioned, but the balance of evidence is in its favour,) "that a Jew could have nothing of his own, because, whatever he acquired, he acquired not for himself, but for the king; because they live not for themselves, but for others."

Whatever may be said for or against the principle thus laid down, it cannot be denied that the practice which obtained appears to have been conformable to it. By Prynne and others it is affirmed that John, in the fifteenth year of his reign, granted to Lord Ferrars the house of a Jew, situate in St. Margaret's parish, London; and his successor did the same to one of his favourites, by a house in Paternoster-row, which was the property of a Hebrew. At his good will and pleasure the property of this ill-fated race of men was seized for the use of the sovereign. Nor was this all; for in the thirty-sixth year of king Henry III. a tax of three thousand five hundred marks having been imposed on the Jews, order was granted that it should be raised by distraining on their lands, tenements, cattle, wives and children, &c. Other sums were exacted in the same way, at various times, by the same monarch; and the wives and children of Jews were ordered not to quit the places where they ordinarily resided, that the value of the security given to a favourite or Christian creditor might not be impaired.

When the Jew died, as already stated, the king could claim to be his heir; and his wife and family were only permitted to succeed to his estate on the payment of a heavy fine. Henry III. received fine of one hundred pounds to redeem the lands of a Jew named Samuel. Other sums were obtained in the same way; but one fine will especially excite our wonder by its magnitude. From Ursula, the daughter of Hamon, a Jew, no less a sum than five thousand marks was exacted before she could obtain permission to call hers the lands, houses, debts, and chattels of her deceased parent.

Farther we learn, that a Jew desiring to convey his land was first under the necessity of procuring a licence from the crown. The Patent Rolls show that a licence was granted to Samuel, a Jew of York, by king Edward the First, to sell his house in London.

Other instances could be given of their being thus dealt with. The Jews were permitted to hold lands



but it was in the power of the crown to take them away; a power which was not unfrequently exercised.

"Besides these evidences of the power of the crown," adds Blunt, "over the lands of the Jews, as shewing a direct assertion of the right, there is another circumstance which, taken in conjunction with what has been already stated, may be considered to afford a proof that they held their lands at the will of the crown; and it is this, that the rules, which applied to this species of property in general, did not operate with regard to their possessions; but where they were permitted to enjoy their estates, their own rules and customs were allowed to prevail and be put in force. Thus in cases where they held lands, the eldest son did not inherit to his father, but all the sons succeeded equally. By the Fine Rolls of Henry the Third, it appears that the king, upon a fine paid to him, granted permission to Ursello the son of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, and to his brother, to inherit the lands of their father. Again, the same king, upon the death of Samuel the Jew, on a fine paid to him, directed that *Aaron and Benedictus, sons of Jessei*, should be put in possession of the lands of the said Samuel, as his heirs. And in the 26th year of the same king, the justices of the exchequer were directed to give possession of the land of Jacobs the Jew to Moses and Isaac, his two sons.

"In like manner the widow of a Jew received her dower according to the customs of the Jews, and not in conformity with the general law of the land. Thus the above-mentioned writ, directing possession to be given to the heirs of Samuel the Jew, secures to the widow her dower, *secundem legem et consuetudinem Judæorum*."

Whether this was sanctioned by any regularly framed law admits of doubt, and has been questioned by many acute inquirers. In the first collection of statutes in which such a law could be found, it does not appear; but as that collection was not published till two hundred years after the expulsion of the Jews, by Edward I., Mr. Blunt considers the absence of a transcript of a statute which had no longer application to any persons resident in England does not prove that such a law had never existed. For many reasons which he urges, he is of opinion that such a statute passed, or that the ordinances then not unusually issued were understood to bear the force of law.

When after the lapse of centuries they were again permitted to settle in England, though placed in a much more favourable situation, they laboured under many disabilities. Not only were they disqualified to hold any public office, and excluded from parliament, but they were forbidden to follow various callings, and treated for the most part like aliens in the land of their birth. Under these circumstances their peaceable conduct caused many Christians to wish to see them placed on a different footing. It was seen that the Jew of the eighteenth century no more resembled the fierce unsociable bigot of the dark and middle ages than the modern English gentlemen did the ancient Britons described by Richard of Cirencester as scarcely wearing any clothing, but in lieu of it painting their bodies blue. Humane sympathy was felt for the Jews, and this feeling gained ground;

and at length so favourable an impression was made on the government, in the middle of the eighteenth century, that it was resolved to submit their case to parliament, with a view to afford them important relief.

## CHAP. VI.

*A bill is brought into the House of Lords for the naturalization of the Jews in England. — It passes through and is sent down to the Commons, where it is strongly opposed by Mr. William Northey, Sir Edmund Isham, Sir J. Barnard, Mr. N. Fazakerley, and supported by Lord Dupplin, Mr. Robert Nugent, Mr. Nicholas Hardinge, and Mr. Pelham. — The bill is carried. — Petitions are presented against it. — Lord Egmont opposes it. — The bill passes the Commons.*

If no feeling of regret or self-reproach for the severities to which the Jews had been subjected in former reigns was experienced at this time, during the reign of George II. a general conviction was produced that, for the future they were unnecessary; and in consequence, in the year 1753, a bill for the naturalization of Jews in England was introduced into the House of Lords, where it passed with little opposition. It was sent down to the Commons on the 17th April, read a first and ordered to be read a second time on the 7th of May. A long debate ensued. Mr. W. Northey expressed a hope that some of the gentlemen who were advocates for the bill would inform the House what terrible crime the people of this kingdom had committed; for he must suppose that they had committed some heinous offence, because in each session, for several years past, they had had a bill or bills introduced to deprive them of a portion of their birthright, and to give a part of that away which was solely theirs before. This bill he looked upon as going to rob them of their birthright as Christians. They knew what a curse Esau had brought upon himself, and his posterity by selling his birthright to his brother Jacob for a mess of pottage, when he was faint and almost dying from hunger. He thought they were asked to act more foolishly than Esau; for they were about to give away their birthright for nothing, and when there was no necessity for doing so. He proceeded to argue that the measure in question, if passed, would be followed by innumerable bad consequences, and therefore he hoped it would not be committed. Lord Dupplin was persuaded that there were no real grounds for opposing the bill, either within the walls of that House or for clamour out of doors. What had been said by the last speaker, about their selling or giving away their birthright, he held to be declamation rather than argument. He shewed that no danger was to be apprehended, and that many advantages would result from its adoption. Sir Edmund Isham opposed it, and hoped, if it went to a committee, that an amendment would be moved, that it might not appear to have passed the other House with the consent



of the Lords spiritual and temporal, for it could not be supposed that the reverend bench, or any one of the bishops, approved of the proposed law. He trusted they had joined in a solemn protest against it, and he therefore desired that the word "spiritual" might be left out of the bill. Mr. Robert Nugent stated the bill to have been opposed by very few of the bishops, and on the contrary to have been strenuously supported by some of them. Far from appearing at variance with the prophecies respecting the Jews, in his opinion this bill went to work their fulfilment; and the public interest, he thought, required that it should pass.

Sir J. Bernard spoke against it, and described the Jews to have been always the professed enemies of Christianity, and the great revilers of Christ himself. They, he said, were the offspring of those who crucified our Saviour, and, to that day, were labouring under the curse pronounced against them on that account. He thought this bill likely to be fatal to the present landholders and the other interests of the nation, and was of opinion that it would bring this country into the same contempt in which the Jews were held by every other nation under the sun. Mr. Nicholas Hardinge was surprised at the opposition given to the bill, which he thought a measure that could not be otherwise than beneficial to the public. Towards the conclusion of his speech he forcibly remarked: "They" (the Jews) "have very much contributed not only to the increase of our trade, but also to the establishment and preservation of our public credit, to which we in a great measure owe the preservation both of our religion and liberties; and, in 1745 when our present happy establishment was in the most imminent danger, the Jews in general shewed themselves zealous for the support of our government; and one of them in particular, a gentleman whom I have already had occasion to mention, on account of a very great addition made to our exports to Spain by his means; this gentleman, I say, upon hearing, in 1745, that the government was in distress for a sufficient number of small ships of war to guard our coast, in order to prevent the rebels receiving any succour from France, came to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and told them that he had then no less than five stout privateers in the river all ready to put to sea, every one of which should be at the government's disposal; and farther, that he was so far from expecting any recommendation or reward for this testimony of his loyalty, that for them, or for the service that they might be of, so long as the government had occasion for them, he would man them all at his own expense." He (Mr. N. Hardinge) therefore most heartily voted in favour of the bill.

Mr. Nicholas Fazakerley was unfavourable to the measure, and, if it did pass, hoped the law of the 54th Henry III. would be revived, which enacted, among other things, that no Jew should have a freehold in any lands, tenements, hereditaments, or rents issuing from them; and even as to lands, he thought they ought to revive the law of the 3rd of Edward I., which restrained them to a term not exceeding ten years. In conclusion, regarding the bill as most dangerous to our religion, liberty, and trade, he thought it ought to be rejected with

disdain. Mr. Pelham ably defended the measure, and contended that it was likely to secure great advantages to the nation. The benefit to be derived from it was so certain, so demonstrable, that he was surprised to find such a bill opposed by any gentleman who had ever complained of the decay of trade or of the burden of our debts. "I," said he, "am the more surprised when I consider the chimerical apprehensions upon which this opposition is founded, as if, by naturalizing a few Jews, our constitution were to be unhinged, our liberty sacrificed, and the Christian religion extirpated. I should be extremely sorry if I thought that any gentleman could be serious when he endeavours to possess us with such apprehensions, because I should then conclude that both our religion and our constitution stood upon a very unstable foundation; but, as I am convinced that no man of sense can be serious when he talks so, I fear no danger from this bill, as it will certainly be of some, and may be of very great, advantage to this country. I shall therefore vote for passing it into a law." On a division, the motion was carried by 95 to 16.

Considerable opposition was offered after this. On the 21st of May a petition was presented from several merchants and traders in the city of London, representing that the passing of such a bill would be likely to cause persons of wealth to remove from England to foreign countries; and, on the same day, a petition was received from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the said city, declaring that such a law "would tend greatly to the dishonour of the Christian religion, endanger our excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interests and trade of the kingdom in general, and the said city in particular;" and they therefore prayed that it might not pass into a law. Other petitions were presented of the same tendency, and a long speech was made against it by the Earl of Egmont, after which, a motion for an adjournment having been negatived by 96 to 55, the question for passing the bill was put and carried.

But the triumph thus gained by the friends of the Jews was of short duration. A great sensation was created in the public mind, and it rose to such a pitch, that many of those who condemned the clamour feared that, by persevering in the course which had been adopted, they would only exasperate the enemies of the Hebrew race still farther, and subject them to outrages which it would be desirable to avoid, even by giving up the bill which had passed for their naturalization.



## CHAP. VII.

*A bill is brought into the House of Lords to repeal the act for naturalizing the Jews in England.—It passes, and is debated in the Commons, when Mr. W. Pitt supports it, but speaks against its object.—Horace Walpole comments scornfully on the conduct of the ministry.—Christian zeal is excited to perpetuate eternal calamity and dispersion to the Jews.—The ministers he condemns for yielding to senseless clamour.—Mr. Pitt seems to regret voting for the repeal bill, and expects a septennial church clamour will be raised.*

THIS state of things continued when Parliament re-assembled in November; and on the 15th of that month a bill was brought into the House of Lords by the Duke of Newcastle, to repeal the act of last session. He spoke of the feeling which prevailed throughout the country, and pressed the expediency of repealing a measure which had been made a handle of to raise discontents and disquietudes in the minds of many of his Majesty's subjects." This motion was supported by Lord Chancellor Hardwick, the Duke of Bedford, and the Bishop of Oxford. Earl Temple opposed it. The Earl of Granville was indifferent whether the act should be repealed or not, but doubted whether the Parliament could repeal the "Act for the naturalizing of such Jews as shall go and settle in our Plantations or Colonies in America." The bill was read a first time. On the 20th of the same month the bill had a second reading; it passed the Lords, and was sent down to the Commons on the 23rd. There, having been read a first time, on the 26th the second reading was moved. Mr. Pelham and Sir George Lyttleton (afterwards Lord Lyttleton) supported the bill, which was opposed by Mr. Potter. The second reading was carried, and it was committed on the following day, when the preamble encountered some opposition. It ran thus:—"Whereas an act of Parliament was made and passed in the 25th year of his Majesty's reign, entitled 'An Act to permit,' &c.; and whereas occasion has been taken from the said Act to raise discontents and disquiets in the minds of many of his Majesty's subjects; be it enacted." Sir Roger Newdigate moved, as an amendment, to leave out the words, "occasion has been taken to raise disquietudes," and insert instead, "great discontents and disquietudes had from the said act arisen."

On this occasion a sharp debate arose, in which the speakers were,—Sir Roger Newdigate, Mr. Robert Nugent, Mr. Thomas Prowse, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Wm. Northey, Mr. Horatio Walpole, senior, Sir Richard Lloyd, Mr. W. Pitt, the Earl of Egmont, Sir William Yonge, and Admiral Vernon. The speech made by Mr. William Pitt, afterwards the celebrated Lord Chatham, was by far the most remarkable. The reader will find in it little of that uncompromising spirit on which he subsequently valued himself. Here it will be seen that, while he was disposed to favour the Jews, and to vindicate the policy of the measure which had passed but a few months before to remove the disabilities of which they had so long complained, he was still content

to repeal the bill, because a senseless clamour had been raised against it. Statesmanship so equivocating, so pusillanimous as this, would hardly be excused in a very humble modern politician; yet that in 1753 found a defender and advocate in the senator who was afterwards to be looked up to with such boundless admiration as Lord Chatham. His speech, as handed down to us, runs thus:—

"Sir, if we consider upon what footing and for what reason this act is to be repealed, we must admit that the preamble is right, and that it is the only one that can properly be made use of. I am fully convinced, I believe most gentlemen that hear me are fully convinced, that religion has really nothing to do in the dispute; but the people without doors have been made to believe it has; and upon this the old high-church persecuting spirit has begun to take hold of them. We are too wise to dispute this matter with them, as we may upon this occasion evade it without doing any notable injury to the public. But at the same time we ought to let them know that we think they have been misled, and that the spirit they are at present possessed with is not a true Christian spirit. If we do not do this, we do not deal honestly or candidly by them; and this we cannot do in softer or more modest terms than what is proposed by the preamble as it now stands. In the present case we ought to treat the people as a prudent father would treat his child: if a peevish and perverse boy should insist upon something that was not quite right, but of such a nature as, when granted, could not be attended with any very bad consequences, an indulgent father would comply with the humour of his child, but, at the same time, he would let him know that he did so merely out of complaisance, and not because he approved of what the child insisted on. If he did otherwise, his behaviour would be like that of a sycophant servant, and not like that of a prudent and indulgent parent.

"Thus, Sir, though we repeal this law out of complaisance to the people, yet we ought to let them know that we do not altogether approve of what they ask; and I would desire nothing more for convincing me that we ought not to approve of it than what has been admitted by those that have spoken in favour of this amendment. They have admitted that, as good Christians, we ought not only to wish, but to use our best endeavours for the conversion of all Jews, Turks, and pagans. Can we use any endeavours for this purpose unless we converse with them? Can we converse with them, unless we permit them to live and follow their honest employments among us? But by our laws, as they stand at present, were they to be strictly put in execution, no alien Jew could easily follow any employment in this country; he cannot export or import any goods without paying the alien duty, except only those goods that are exempted by particular acts of Parliament: he cannot so much as take a lease of a house or a shop, nor can any one let him such a lease; and indeed, as Jews are not included in the Toleration Act, no Jew could so much as live in this kingdom, if our laws relating to religion were to be strictly carried into execution.

"It is true, Sir, neither our ridiculous laws against



aliens, nor our persecuting unchristian laws relating to religion, have of late years been carried into execution; but no one can tell when they may; and we cannot expect that any rich Jew will think of settling his family and fortune in this country, when he does not know but that the very next year he may be driven from hence by the government resolving to carry all these laws strictly into execution. From what has now happened, it is plain that in such a resolution the government would be warmly supported by the people. Therefore I must still think that the law passed last session in favour of the Jews was in itself right; and I shall now agree to the repeal of it merely out of complaisance to that enthusiastic spirit that has taken hold of the people. But then I am for letting them know why I do so; and this, as I have said, cannot, I think, be done in a more proper method than by the preamble now under our consideration; for which reason I am against any amendment or alteration."

Upon the question being put, whether the words should be left out, it was carried in the negative; and the bill, after the third reading, on the 28th, was passed, and received the royal assent on the 20th December.

"But," says the editor of the Parliamentary History, "the enemies of the Jew bill carried their resentment against it farther than a bare repeal. By an act then in force, entitled 'An Act for naturalizing such foreign Protestants, and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America,' all Jews complying with the terms of that act were entitled, to all intents and purposes, to be naturalized in England; and consequently the repeal of the act might be of very little signification. Therefore Mr. George Cooke moved for an address to his Majesty, that he would give directions for laying before that House a copy of the lists transmitted by the secretaries of his Majesties respective colonies in America, to the office of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, containing an account of all such persons professing the Jewish religion, who had, since June 1st, 1740, entitled themselves to the benefit of the said act. This motion being agreed to, the papers were laid before the House; but it appeared that very few Jews had taken the benefit of the act. Lord Harley, however, eldest son to the Earl of Oxford, upon consideration that a great number of Jews might become naturalized subjects by that act, and that those who did were free from the restrictions of other acts, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the said act, as related to persons professing the Jewish religion who should come to settle in any of the said colonies after a time to be limited. This motion, which occasioned a great deal of debate, was rejected by a majority of 208 against 88."

This was a matter of triumph for the crowd; but reflecting men took a very different view of the case.

Horace Walpole, speaking of the public events of 1753, says, "The English Parliament, which opened on the 15th November, was employed till the end of the year in an affair which showed how much the age, enlightened, as it is called, was still enslaved to the gross and most vulgar prejudices. The session before, an act had passed for the naturalization of the Jews. It had passed almost without observation, only Sir John Barnard

and Lord Egmont having given a long opposition to it, in order to ingratiate themselves with the mobs of London and Westminster. The bishops had honestly concurred in removing such absurd distinctions as stigmatised and shackled a body of the most loyal, commercial, and wealthy subjects of the kingdom. A new general election was approaching; some obscure men, who perhaps wanted the necessary sums for purchasing seats, or the topics of party to raise clamour, had fastened on the Jew bill; and in a few months the whole nation felt itself inflamed with a Christian zeal, which was thought happily extinguished in the ashes of Queen Anne and Sacheverell. Indeed, this holy spirit seized none but the populace and the lowest of the clergy; yet all these grew suddenly so zealous for the honour of the prophecies that foretold calamity and eternal depression to the Jews, that they seemed to fear lest the completion of them should be defeated by act of Parliament, and there wanted nothing to their ardour but to petition both Houses to enact their accomplishment. The little curates preached against the bishops for deserting the interests of the Gospel; and aldermen grew drunk at county clubs in the cause of Jesus Christ, as they had used to do for the sake of King James. Yet to this senseless clamour did the ministry give way, and to secure tranquillity to their elections submitted to repeal the bill."

The same lively writer says, "It is worth while to recapitulate some instances of the capriciousness of the times. An inglorious peace had been made, and the first hostages imposed that ever this country gave; not a murmur followed. The Regency Bill had been passed, not occasioning a pamphlet. The Marriage Bill, that bane of society, that golden grate that separates the nobility from the plebeians, had not excited a complaint from the latter. A trifling bill, that opened some inconsiderable advantages to a corps of men with whom we live, traffic, and converse, could alarm the whole nation,—it did more; a cabal of ministers, who had insulted their master with impunity, who had betrayed every ally and party with success, and who had crammed down every bill that was calculated for their own favour, yielded to transitory noise, and submitted to fight under the banners of prophecy, in order to carry a few more members in another parliament."

Even this stinging commentary hardly does justice to the spirit which had been excited. Fourteen years before, a bill had been passed for naturalizing in England, among others, Jews who should settle in the American colonies. The repeal of this act was demanded, but thrown out in the House of Commons by a majority of 208 to 88. On that occasion Mr. William Pitt seemed ashamed of the vote which he had given on the repeal bill last described, and said, "he had not expected this would be their first return to Parliament for their condescension in repealing the last act. Here the stand must be made, or *venit summa dies*! We should have a church spirit revived. It is said, disqualify the Jew to-day—it would be the Presbyterian to-morrow: we should be sure to have a septennial church clamour. We are not now to be influenced by old laws made before the Reformation; our ancestors would have said, 'a Lollard has no right to inherit lands.'"



## CHAP. VIII.

*The prevalence of the true principles of Christianity favours the modern Jews.—Jews, Protestants, and Catholics assimilate.—Poland is greatly resorted to by the Jews.—At a subsequent period they are assailed by modern philosophers.—A severe edict is issued against the Jews by Ferdinand the Great.—Special burdens are imposed upon them.—On the marriage of his son, a Jew is required to purchase porcelain to the amount of three hundred rix-dollars.—He is excluded from various callings in Prussia.—Moses Mendelssohn in Germany gains an European fame.—He maintains that Judaism was originally a civil institution.—He becomes acquainted with Israel Moses.—The latter is expelled from the Jewish community.—He dies heart-broken.—Lessing also dies.—Mendelssohn vindicates his friend.—His health declines.—He dies.—Improvements are made in the rabbinical system by Hartwig Wesseley and David Friedlander.—The Emperor Joseph II. is favourable to them.—Great efforts are made to convert the Jews to Christianity.*

BEFORE we proceed to detail the various efforts made in the course of the present century to relieve the Jews of England from the remains of that oppression and proscription which their ancestors had for centuries to deplore, it may be desirable to take a hasty glance at the condition of the Israelite in other countries, where no appalling edict or terrific massacre invites attention. That the dreadful scenes so frequent in ancient days became less frequent in modern times, may be regarded as one of the best triumphs of Christianity. It was no longer the mere name of Christianity that enlightened nations professed to revere; they by degrees came to understand its true principles, and sought not to immolate their fellow-creatures to exalt the glory of God. Mercy, the noblest attribute of the Supreme Being, found its way in later times to the heart of man; and reason whispered that the Creator of all things, if not duly honoured or comprehended by a portion of the work of his almighty hands, was not impotent to avenge himself, and required not for an ally the aid of mortal intolerance. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews began to meet in social fellowship; and each, without suspecting their own persuasion to be erroneous, cherished a hope that those who differed from them might eventually obtain pardon, where they for themselves expected a glorious reward. The Jews by degrees assimilated in a considerable degree to the nations in which they found themselves. Honourable members of their body gained wealth and celebrity as merchants; and the fierce, fanatical, proud spirit of the Israelites of ancient times could no longer be traced. Poland and the provinces adjacent had for centuries been greatly resorted to by Jews; and there, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, we find them engaged in all the various branches of every-day industry. They had synagogues, and the Talmud was treated with general reverence. Coming nearer to our own time, the professors of the Jewish religion we find attacked by philosophers, who might have been expected

to spare them, but who, it has been supposed, "hoped to wound Christianity through the sides of Judaism." "Their fate," says Milman, "was strange; after having suffered centuries of persecution for their opposition to Christianity, now to be held up to public scorn and detestation for their alliance with it! The legislation of Frederic the Great almost, as it were, throws us back into the middle ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited the number of Jews in the kingdom; divided them into those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child; the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia; exceptions were obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married foreign Jews were required to leave the kingdom. The protected Jews were liable to enormous and special burdens. They paid, besides the common taxes of the kingdom, for their patent of protection, and for every election of an elder in their communities. By a strange enactment, in which the king and the merchant were somewhat unroyally combined, every Jew, on the marriage of a son, was obliged to purchase porcelain to the amount of three hundred rix-dollars, from the king's manufactory, for foreign exportation. Thus heavily burdened, the Jews were excluded from all civil functions, and from many of the most profitable branches of trade—from agriculture, from breweries, and distilleries; from manufactures, from inn-keeping, from physic and surgery."

In Italy the Jews enjoyed freedom and repose, somewhat restricted by a particular quarter being named for their residence, and being occasionally required to attend a Christian church, where sermons were preached with a view to their conversion.

Moses Mendelssohn, a Jew, resident in Germany, by his genius and unwearied industry gained an European fame as a philosophical writer. He was born at Dessau, in Anhalt, in 1729. His father was a schoolmaster, and by him he was taught the Hebrew language and the rudiments of secular learning. Devoted to the acquirement of knowledge, he studied the Moreh Nevochim of Maimonides with such diligence, that he seriously impaired his constitution. His spine was injured, and the physicians considered excessive mental exertion was the cause. While very young he visited the Prussian capital, and was there engaged by a Rabbi to transcribe manuscripts. Having possessed himself of Latin, several modern languages, and a knowledge of mathematics, a M. Bernard relieved him, when in very indifferent circumstances, by employing him to instruct his children. Bernard was a silk manufacturer, and was rich. The talents of Mendelssohn commanded his admiration; his integrity won his esteem and confidence; and he first made him his superintendent in the factory, and subsequently his partner. While the Jews rejoiced in his celebrity, they feared he would be lost to their community, and, like many others, become an apostate, and next be found aiding and abetting persecution. Such a course the virtuous and high-minded Mendelssohn disdained to pursue. He continued a member of the synagogue, but put aside the follies which rabbinical fraud had imposed upon his brethren. When



invited by Lavater to embrace the Christian faith, he firmly but temperately refused, and gave reasons for adhering to the religion of his ancestors. He was considered to have attempted to rationalize Judaism by joining to it love and Christian charity. He gained for himself general admiration, and won for his brethren a degree of kindly feeling which till then had rarely been conceded to them. From the instructive works which fell from his pen, Christians gladly recognised the interesting truth that lessons of wisdom and virtue might proceed from a Jew. The works by which he is mainly known are the "Jerusalem," in which he asserts that Judaism was originally designed merely as a civil institution, and the "Phaeden," a dialogue on the immortality of the soul, of which the idea was taken from the work of Plato bearing the same name. The characters are the same with those of the Grecian treatise, and the descriptive parts are mere translations of the original. "But," adds Mr. Huie, from whom the last few sentences are borrowed, "for the arguments introduced by the ancient, he substituted others better adapted to modern readers, the principal of which was refuted by Kant in one of his philosophical works. The Phaeden procured for its author the title of the Jewish Socrates, and has been translated into almost every European language."

From an early period of life he had been addicted to the study of philosophy and literature; and it was his good fortune to become acquainted with Israel Moses, a Polish Jew, who, though uneducated, had become an accomplished mathematician and naturalist; and this person, in the spirit of disinterested friendship, instructed Mendelssohn in matters to which he had not previously turned his attention. From his own Hebrew version he taught him the elements of Euclid; and, says his biographer, "the singular spectacle of the two youthful Rabbis, circumstanced as they were, sitting in the corner of a retired street, the one with a Hebrew Euclid instructing the other, who was hereafter to be classed among the most eminent literati of his country, may instruct the young and the indigent that the cold touch of poverty can never palsy the sublime efforts of resolute genius." A melancholy fate was in reserve for Israel Moses. He was malignantly calumniated, and, in consequence, expelled from the Jewish communion. For such degradation the high-minded scholar was not prepared, and his generous spirit sunk beneath a visitation as unmerited as severe. His sorrow was only terminated by death. Mendelssohn was deeply affected by the death of his friend; but the loss was in some measure made up by the assistance he received from Dr. Kish, a Jewish physician. In 1748 he made the acquaintance of Dr. Solomon Gumpertz, through whom he gained a knowledge of modern languages, and more especially of the English tongue. He was now enabled to read Locke in English, which before he had only known by a Latin translation. At this period he is believed to have added the celebrated Lessing to the number of his friends. Mendelssohn derived much benefit from his instruction, which soon elevated him to the rank of a rival, while he still remained his attached friend; and when Lessing's life had closed, his fame was generously defended by his scholar, at the risk,

and, it may be added, at the expense, of his own life. A German writer, named Jacobi, accused Lessing of atheism. The accusation was energetically repelled by Mendelssohn; but the effort he made was too great for his strength, and his was a spirit ill fitted to encounter the virulence of controversy. The mournful consequence was, his feeble and delicate frame received a shock from which he never recovered; his whole nervous system became so deranged, that a renewal of his studies constantly produced fainting-fits. In this sadly reduced state it became Mendelssohn's care, when these faintings were approaching, instantly to detach his mind from whatever had engaged it, and dismiss all thought. "But how," it was asked, "can you accomplish this? how can you exist, and cease to think, and exercise the powers of reflection?" His answer was, "I retire to the window, and count the tiles upon the roof of my neighbour's house." He died in 1785, at the age of fifty-six.

Hartwig Wesseley and David Friedlander distinguished themselves in aiding the march of intellect, and effected improvements on the Rabbinical system of instruction for youth. By the liberality of Friedlander and other Jews an elementary free school was established at Berlin, of which he assumed the superintendence. The effect of this was in every respect favourable to the Hebrew character, and it led to a society being subsequently (in 1783) formed at Königsberg, under whose auspices the first periodical publication ever produced among the Jews appeared, under the title of "Measseph, or the Gatherer." This was a sort of magazine, which consisted of articles relating to general literature. Essays on the abuses of Rabbinism and the extravagances of the Rabbinical fictions, with hints on the expediency of reform, formed part of its contents, and tended not a little to favour the spread of new opinions and liberal ideas.

When Joseph II. ascended the imperial throne, one of the first measures which he sanctioned went to relieve the Jews, where they had barely been tolerated since the time of Leopold I. Joseph was ambitious of gaining renown as a reformer: and at an early period of his reign he took active steps for ameliorating the condition of the Jews. He exempted them from a poll-tax to which they had long been subjected, and also from the necessity of wearing a distinctive dress. They were permitted to reside in various parts of the several towns in his dominions, and to engage in every trade, that in gunpowder excepted, and to attend distant fairs. It was the wish of the emperor that they should be gradually amalgamated with the other inhabitants of each city; and, with a view of accomplishing this, he ordered the establishment of preparatory schools. The universities were thrown open to them, and they were rendered eligible to take degrees in philosophy, civil law, and medicine, and stipends were granted to those students who should distinguish themselves most. At a later period they were made liable to the conscription, but precluded from rising higher in the army than to be non-commissioned officers.

In the course of this century great efforts were made to convert the Jews to Christianity. In the city of Halle, in Saxony, was established the Callenburg Insti-



tution, an establishment which owed its existence to John H. Callenburg, a professor in the university, who created a general feeling, that instead of punishing the Jews for their errors, it would be acting a nobler part to correct those errors. But the clergy to whom the working out this great plan was entrusted evinced little ardour in the cause; and the institution was so indifferently supported that at length it was abandoned for want of means to carry it on. During its existence it was thought to have effected some good. Tracts were distributed, and persons learned in divinity laboured to remove the prejudices which the Jews had conceived against Christianity. It sent forth one distinguished missionary, named Schultze, who travelled through Europe, Asia, and Egypt, labouring to bring the children of Abraham to faith in Jesus Christ. Among the publications which they promulgated in favour of the Gospel, one consisted of a portion of Grotius "De Veritate," which contains a refutation of Judaism. The Israelites Callenburg describes to have taken great interest in this, and copies of it have been found in late years carefully preserved among the Jews of Poland and Syria. The missionaries found many of the Jews with whom they communicated very imperfectly acquainted with the Old Testament. They had more information concerning the Rabbinical fictions of the Talmud than relating to the law and the prophets.

The Moravians, nearly at this period, manifested an eager desire to bring the Jews to a knowledge of the truth. They introduced into their regular service the following prayer: "Deliver the ten tribes of Israel from their blindness and estrangement, and make us acquainted with their seared ones. Bring in the tribe of Judah in its time, and bless its first-fruits among us, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel be saved." A clergyman named Dober first moved the United Brethren to exert themselves in the cause of the Jews. He was sent as a missionary to Amsterdam, and subsequently laboured to further the said object in London. The Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, a good oriental scholar, distinguished himself by acting a similar part. He mainly applied himself, it appears from a statement addressed by him to the Synod of Marienborn, in 1764, in the way of conversation with the Jews, to impress upon their minds that Jesus was really the Messiah. In some instances, Lieberkühn conquered the prejudices of the Israelites, by contending that if they embraced Christianity they would not be required to abandon their own ceremonial law and that peculiar rite which they had contended for through so many centuries.

Though the spirit of persecution was not dead, it languished during the latter years of this century, and nothing of commanding importance shocked humanity. Generally, the spirit of the age pointed to further ameliorations of the condition of the Israelites.

## CHAP. IX.

*Napoleon Bonaparte forms a scheme which affects the Jews.—An assembly of Israelites is convened in Paris.—A series of questions is laid before them by the French government, to which they furnish answers.—The commissioners express the satisfaction of the government at the answers given.—It offers to them equal rights, but requires their answers to the questions submitted to be confirmed by the decision of a Sanhedrim.—Great princes only can accomplish great reforms.—Bonaparte is likened to the rod of Moses, which brings water from the rock.—The assembly pass resolutions.*

WHEN Napoleon Bonaparte was in the plenitude of his power, and at the head of the French empire, his daring and ever active mind formed some great scheme which was never very clearly explained, in which he contemplated making the Jews the instruments of his ambition. The unscrupulous policy which led him at a former period to affect reverence for the Koran, now disposed him to favour the Talmud. How, looking at the peculiar opinions and habits of the Jews, he hoped to mould them to his will, so as to make them subservient to the objects nearest to his heart, the humiliation of England, and the acquisition of "ships, colonies, and commerce," it is difficult to imagine; but certain it is that, in 1806, he invited them to meet in great numbers at Paris. There, in conformity with his wish, a Jewish assembly was formed, when a series of questions were submitted by commissioners. We give them, for distinctness, with the answers subjoined:

Q. I. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews?

A. Polygamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1030.

Q. II. Is divorce recognised by the Jewish law?

A. Divorce is allowed; but in this respect the Jews recognise the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live.

Q. III. Can Jews intermarry with Christians?

A. Intermarriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage.

Q. IV. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers or as brethren?

A. The Jews of France recognise in the fullest sense the French people as their brethren.

Q. V. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French?

A. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is in their religion.

Q. VI. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land?

A. The Jews acknowledged France as their country when oppressed,—how much more must they do so when admitted to civil rights?

Q. VII. Who elect the Rabbins?

A. The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor



uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community.

Q. VIII. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins?

A. The Rabbins have no judicial power: the Sanhedrim is the only legal tribunal. The Jews of France and Italy being subject to the equal laws of the land, whatever power they might otherwise exercise is annulled.

Q. IX. Is the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom?

A. The election and power of the Rabbins rests solely on usage.

Q. X. Is there any kind of business in which Jews may not be engaged?

A. All business is permitted to the Jews. The Talmud enjoins that every Jew be taught some trade.

Q. XI. Is usury to their brethren forbidden by the law?

A. The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest; but this was the law of an agricultural people.

Q. XII. Is it permitted or forbidden to practise usury with strangers?

A. The Talmud allows interest to be taken from brethren and strangers: it forbids usury.

It was in 1806 that these questions were submitted to the French Jews. The answers returned to them were satisfactory to the government, and, in consequence, on the 21st of September in that year, the representatives of their body having been called together, the following speech was addressed to them by commissioners deputed to meet them by Bonaparte:—

“Gentlemen,

“His Majesty the Emperor and King has seen your answers to the questions put to you with great satisfaction, and he has directed us to acquaint you that he applauds the spirit in which they have been dictated. The communications which we are about to make to you in his name will intimate better than any words of ours all that this assembly may expect from his august protection.

“In meeting you on this occasion, Gentlemen, the impressions and the thoughts are renewed and strengthened which were conveyed to us at our former interview. In fact, who would not be astonished to see this meeting of enlightened men, chosen from the descendants of the most ancient people on the face of the earth? Could a personage who lived in ages long passed away return to life, if such a spectacle were presented to his eyes, might he not believe himself to be transported within the walls of the Holy City, or would he not think that an awful revolution had thrown back human affairs, even to their foundations? He would not deceive himself, Gentlemen. We are now issuing from a revolution which threatened to swallow all religions, thrones, and empires; and re-erected altars and thrones rise on all sides, to protect the world. An insensate crowd attempted to destroy every thing; one man alone has come among us to repair all. The whole world, and past ages from their origin, have been placed before his eyes; he has seen spread over the surface of the globe the scattered remnant of a nation, as celebrated in the day of its humiliation as ever any

other people were in that of their greatness. It was fitting that he should occupy himself with their fate; and it might be expected that those Jews who held so great a place in the recollections of mankind at large would fix the attention of a prince who is about to recall their ancient glory.

“The Jews, overwhelmed with the contempt of nations, and often pursued by the avarice of sovereigns, have not, till now, been treated with justice. Their customs and their usages isolated them from societies, which repulsed them in their turn; and they have never ceased to ascribe to the humiliating laws which were imposed upon them the disorders and vices which have been their reproach. Even at the present day their exclusion from agriculture and the useful professions can only be explained by the little confidence which government can place for the future on men whose existence has depended, through so many centuries, on the whim of the moment and the caprices of power. Henceforward, as they will no longer have cause to complain, they will no longer be able to urge such a justification.

“It is the will of his Majesty that no excuse shall remain to those who will not become good citizens. He will secure to you the free exercise of your religion, and the full enjoyment of your political rights. But, in exchange for the august protection which he extends to you, he claims a religious guarantee for the strict observation of the principles embodied in your responses. This assembly, constituted as it is at present, cannot of itself give the required pledge. It is necessary that its answers should be converted into decisions by another assembly, in a still more imposing and more religious form, in order that it may be placed by the side of the Talmud, and thus gain in the eyes of the Jews, in all countries and in all future ages, the greatest possible authority. This is the only appropriate way of responding to the grandeur and the generosity of his Majesty's views, and of causing the happy influence of this memorable epoch to be felt by all your co-religionists.

Countless multitudes of commentators on your law have no doubt detracted from its purity; and the diversity of their opinions has caused doubts to be entertained by the greater portion of those who have studied it. The Emperor desires to render to the Jews generally the important service of fixing their belief on the questions which have been already submitted to you. To find in the history of Israel an assembly possessed of authority capable of securing the results we contemplate, it is necessary to go back to the grand Sanhedrim. It is the grand Sanhedrim the Emperor and King now proposes to convoke. That important body which fell with the temple at Jerusalem must now re-appear, to enlighten the people it governs throughout the world. It will recall the true spirit of its law, and give such a worthy explanation of it as shall dissipate all false interpretations. It shall teach the Jew to love and to defend the country which he inhabits; and he will delight to learn that all the sentiments which attached him to his ancient land ought to bind him to those places where for the first time since the fall of his nation he has been permitted to raise his voice as a freeman.



"According to ancient custom, the grand Sanhedrim will be composed of seventy members, besides its president; about two thirds of them must be Rabbins, among which those who are now present, and who have approved of the answers returned to the government questions, will first appear. The other third will be chosen by this assembly, after a secret scrutiny. The functions of the great Sanhedrim will consist in converting into a doctrinal decision the answers already received, as well as those which may result from the continuation of their labours. You will understand, Gentlemen, that your mission is not yet fulfilled; your services will be required so long as the grand Sanhedrim sits, which will only ratify and give additional weight to your decisions. Besides, his Majesty has been too well satisfied with your intentions and your zeal to dissolve this assembly before the termination of the great work in which he has called upon you to co-operate.

"In the first place, it will be desirable that you should name, for a secret scrutiny, a committee of nine members, who may prepare with us the matter which is to be the subject of your new discussions, and of the resolutions of the grand Sanhedrim. You will observe that, in the composition of this committee, Portuguese, Italian, and German Jews will all be equally represented. We recommend you to announce without delay, the convocation of the grand Sanhedrim to all the synagogues of Europe, in order that they may send to Paris deputies capable of furnishing to the government new lights on your situation, and persons worthy to communicate with you."

M. Furtado, president of the Jewish assembly, replied to the foregoing:—

"Gentlemen,

"The new communication which you have just made on the part of his Majesty confirms us more and more in the hopes which we had conceived of his views with respect to us.

"Every man endowed with an enlightened spirit, and a benevolent mind, can entertain the idea of a political reform advantageous to humanity; but the philanthropic conceptions of an individual rest for the most part without execution, confounded with the dreams of good people, either because seeing the end, the mind is not sufficiently enlarged to discover the means of attaining it, or because to employ those means is not given to one in a private condition.

"It is not so with a prince powerful and revered; one of those extraordinary men who carry with them every thing in their sphere, who stamp their name on the century which sees them reign, and who are unceasingly animated by a desire to do good.

"When for the happiness of nations Heaven gives them such sovereigns, it is not for the magnanimous designs which they cannot work out. It is that they, by their will, as powerful as it is just, may accomplish the object in view with full and entire success.

"The ascendancy of their genius stamps on their establishment a character of power and durability, which renders them, so to speak, inaccessible to the wayward course of human passions and opinions.

"Such, Gentleman, is the prince who governs us; his valour has secured for him the title of Great; his paternal bounty will cause the world to give him that of Good. It

is for him alone to close for ever the wounds which eighteen centuries of proscription and anathemas had inflicted on the unfortunate children of Israel.

"Subjected, since our dispersion, to a policy equally false and doubtful, the sport of the prejudices and caprices of the moment, we remark with surprise, among so many princes who have reigned in different states, even of those who have appeared animated by a desire to ameliorate our condition, no one has conceived with appropriate force and grandeur the idea and the means of snatching sober, active, and industrious men from the civil and political nullity to which they had been condemned. Always treated as outcasts of society, the butt of calumny, the innocent victims of injustice, the Jews have suffered in silence; such was during many centuries their sad destiny.

"His Majesty has not been able to see with indifference this state of things. In the midst of cares for the greatest interests which can occupy the attention of a mortal, our regeneration has been the object of his thoughts; and this is sufficiently attested by the new communication which he has been pleased to make to us. He has known how to draw good from evil; he has known how to find, in one of the effects still felt of the ancient legislation, concerning the Jews of the North, the means of contributing to the felicity of the Israelites of the West. In this we see the rod of Moses, which causes living water to spring from the arid rock.

"Here let us pause a moment, and reflect that, after the principles of political law, all religious worship ought to be subject to the sovereign authority, as much at least as can be conceded to human power. In the first place, dogmas are not to be taught which are mischievous, and which degenerate into absurd superstitions. Further, churches are not to divide themselves into different sects; for if the nature of things demands that more than one religion shall subsist in the same state, public order and social morality also require that each of these religions should not subdivide itself, and give birth to particular sects, to the great detriment of the internal peace of empires.

"To guard against this danger, reason and the interests of all parties exact that each religion should present to the sovereign a substantial responsibility, and the means of superintendence. It ought to have, to effect this, men engaged by the state to study principles and to preach morality, to preserve purity, to be in some sort the depositaries and the guardians of it. Such is the duty imposed on the ministers of each religion.

"These principles justify and consecrate the first communications which have been made to us.

"At first it was sought to know how far our religious dogmas were in accordance with, or opposed to, the laws of the state; if those dogmas, too long regarded as unsocial and intolerant, were really either the one or the other. Strong in our conscience, and the sentiments by which we are animated, from the maxims which we profess, we have explained ourselves on these points in the bosom of the capital, and in a manner under the eyes of his Majesty, with the same frankness, the same freedom of thought, which we should have used at our domestic firesides, and independently of all provocation on the part of the sovereign authority.



"This was not an equivocal homage rendered to the illustrious depository of that authority, but an abandonment, resulting from boundless confidence in his justice and his eminent virtues. He has, in fine, learned with certainty, that the religious code of Moses contains, neither in its principles nor in its practice, anything which can justify the exclusion of its professors from the enjoyment of the civil and political rights of Frenchmen.

"But his Majesty, penetrated with the great principle that, in a question of religious faith, persuasion alone ought to be used, has felt that it was not sufficient for him to be satisfied with our answers, but he deemed it necessary that they should be received and acknowledged by the synagogues of France and of Italy, and should serve as a rule and an example to all those of the West. It is in conformity with that prudent reserve, with that wise circumspection, worthy of our eternal benedictions, in the most powerful prince of Christendom, that his wisdom has determined to convoke the grand Sanhedrim, which he has named to you, for the purpose of giving to the decisions of this assembly the religious sanction which they ought to bear.

"It is thus that the regulator of the destinies of Europe, the giver of thrones, that monarch every where respected, respects himself, the independence of religious opinions, and the sacred asylum of conscience.

"Thus his Majesty the Emperor and King raises for himself a new monument of glory, more durable than monuments of marble and brass. His reign will be the epoch of the regeneration of our brethren. Europe will owe to him millions of useful citizens; and that which must be grateful to the heart of his Majesty is, that he will have, before his eyes the spectacle of the happiness which he will have made.

"The attributes, most important in themselves, which his Majesty deigns to confide to us, in imposing duties more difficult to fulfil, would give us alarm, if you, Gentlemen Commissioners, did not promise to assist us with your enlightened ideas, in order that we may worthily respond to the grand views of his Majesty Distanced by our past situation, and by the nature of our occupations, from studies relative to objects of an order so exalted, we can only bring to the inquiry the simple lights of good sense, of pure intentions and of unflinching zeal; but these dispositions are not sufficient, we shall have occasion for all your indulgences and aid, and this we solicit."

After this speech, the president proposed to the assembly the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously and by acclamation.

The assembly of the representatives of the Israelites of France and Italy, after having heard the official communications made to them by the commissioners of his imperial and royal Majesty—considering that his Majesty the Emperor and King, in permitting the meeting of a certain number of doctors of the law and of notables, with the laity, in the grand Sanhedrim, has anticipated the wishes, and provided for the most pressing wants, of all those who profess in Europe the religion of Moses; that his imperial benevolence manifests itself every day in a manner so positive and so dazzling in favour of his Israelitish subjects that it

imposes upon them as a duty to concur with all their co-religionists of the West,—

"Resolved, that a deputation from this assembly shall reiterate, to the commissioners of his imperial and royal Majesty, its prayer to carry to the foot of the throne the homage of its profound gratitude, and of its entire and respectful devotion.

"That there shall be addressed by the assembly a proclamation to the synagogues of the French empire, and of the kingdom of Italy and of all Europe, to announce to them that, on the 20th of October, a grand Sanhedrim will be opened at Paris, under the protection and by the express permission of his Majesty.

"That Messieurs the Rabbins members of the assembly shall be invited to form part of the grand Sanhedrim.

"That twenty-five deputies, members of the assembly, shall be elected by secret scrutiny, to form an equal part of it.

"That his imperial and royal Majesty be humbly prayed to give the necessary directions, in order that twenty-nine Rabbins chosen in the synagogues of his empire and of his kingdom of Italy, may repair to Paris to assist at the grand Sanhedrim.

"That there shall be chosen from the assembly a committee of nine members by secret scrutiny, by three scrutinies of the list, which committee shall be charged to prepare, in concert with the commissioners of his Majesty the Emperor and King, the questions which are to be submitted to the deliberation of the grand Sanhedrim.

"That the assembly will not dissolve itself till the grand Sanhedrim shall have closed its sittings; and that it prays the imperial commissioners to transmit to his imperial and royal Majesty the desire which it feels to carry in a body to his feet the homage of its love and respect.

## CHAP. X.

*An announcement of the meeting of the grand Sanhedrim is put forth by the Jews.—It recalls the hopes formerly encouraged, and the disappointments which followed.—The decisions of the Sanhedrim are made public.—A distinction is made between the religious and political dispositions of the Jews.—The political dispositions are not applicable to their condition while dispersed in various lands, having no country of their own.—Polygamy is renounced by the Israelites in the lands where they reside, as inconsistent with the usages of civilised nations.—In other respects they recognise the principle, that they are bound to do to others as they would that others should do to them.—The Sanhedrim declares that they should exercise justice and charity to all men, and that all owe loyalty to the sovereign of the state in which they are born. It favours useful industry, and discountenances usury.*

THESE resolutions passed, the Jewish leaders exerted themselves to keep alive the spirit which had been so unexpectedly awakened. In about a fortnight afterwards



it appears, from the "*Recueil de Décrets Ordonnances, &c.*," the following was issued by their authority :

"Paris, October 7th, 1806.

"The Assembly of the Deputies of the Israelites of France and the Kingdom of Italy to their Co-religionists.

"The goodness of the Most High has visibly declared itself ; a great event is at hand ; that which our fathers have not seen in a long succession of ages, that which we ourselves could not hope should happen in our days, is about to appear to the eyes of the astonished universe.

"The 20th of October is the day appointed for the opening of a grand Sanhedrim in the capital of one of the mightiest Christian empires, and under the protection of the immortal prince who governs it.

"Paris is about to afford this spectacle to the world ; and this ever-memorable event will be, to the scattered remnants of the descendants of Abraham, a new era of deliverance and happiness.

"Animated by sentiments inspired by a common origin and a common religion, we come to explain them to you in the fulness of our joy.

"Who is there that does not admire, with us, the secret designs of that Providence, which, by ways unknown to our weakness, changes the position of human affairs, consoles the afflicted, lifts the humble from the dust, puts an end to trials determined upon by his divine decrees, and re-establishes the hearts faithful to his laws in the esteem and benevolence of nations.

"Since our dispersion countless changes have pointed out the mutability of human concerns. Nations have been eradicated, mingled, and confounded with one another. We alone have resisted the overwhelming torrent of ages and of revolutions.

"Every thing presages for us in Europe a quieter destiny, a less precarious existence ; but this state of things wants nothing but a smiling future to make it a reality ; it was necessary that, from the public tempests and the agitating waves of an immense nation it should be raised — guided by a divine hand — by one of those powerful intellects around which nations rally by a natural instinct of self-preservation.

"This benevolent genius and comforter is about to level with the ground all humiliating distinctions between us and his other subjects. His penetrating eye has discovered in our Mosaic law those principles of durability and power which have enabled it to triumph over the ravages of time, and which imparted to our forefathers that patriarchal simplicity still venerated by the present age, and that heroism of character which history still points to as admirable models.

"The wisdom of his paternal benevolence has thought fit to permit us to convoke a grand Sanhedrim in Paris. The object and the duties of this assembly were pointed out to us in the eloquent speeches of the gentlemen commissioners of his royal and imperial Majesty. We therefore make known to you, dear brethren, that the spirit which has dictated them is actuated only by the desire of recalling our ancient virtues, and of preserving our holy religion in all its purity. The appeal which we make to you to day, for the assistance of your enlightened

minds, in giving the decisions of the great Sanhedrim more consideration and more weight, will produce the happy result of recalling us all to uniform principles of doctrine, harmonizing more with the civil and political ordinances of the different countries we have adopted as our homes. Your advice will be useful, and the government authorises us to request your assistance.

"Do not refuse to hearken to our requests, dear brethren ; choose men noted for their wisdom, friends of truth and of justice, and capable of uniting with us in this great work ; send them to take their seats amongst us, and let them impart to us their wise and enlightened views.

"It must be very pleasing to all the Israelites of Europe to co-operate in the regeneration of their brethren, even as it is glorious for us in particular to have attracted the notice of so illustrious a sovereign.

"Never on earth had men such powerful motives as we have to love and admire this potentate, for never have we had cause to congratulate ourselves on so signal a justice, or on so brilliant and illustrious a protection. To recall to society a people estimable for their private virtues — to reanimate them with a sense of their own dignity, in assuring them the enjoyment of their rights, are the benefits which we owe to Napoleon the Great.

"The sovereign arbitrator of kings and of nations has given him to this empire to heal its wounds, to restore the calm which long tempests had torn from it, to advance its destiny, to settle our fate, and to accomplish the happiness of two nations, who will never cease to congratulate themselves on having confided to him the care of their happiness as well as that of their defence.

"Paris, 24 Tisris, 567. (October 6, 1806)."

The gratitude expressed by the framers of the documents above translated, on the part of the Jews, was, it may fairly be presumed,

"Warm from the heart, and faithful to its fire."

But it is impossible to read the praises of Bonaparte's virtues and power without being struck with the amazing contrast presented by his eventful history, within a very limited period. But a few years from that date, and the power which they celebrated as irresistible, the chosen instrument of Heaven, was denounced as the scourge of mankind ; and his final overthrow left him a helpless captive in the hands of his bitterest enemies !

There exists no published record of the steps taken by the leading Jews in France in consequence of the countenance afforded to them by the government of that day. It appears, however, that they were not idle ; the course recommended to them by the government was adopted, and a Sanhedrim convoked in accordance with the usages of remote antiquity. The result of their various consultations was made known to the world by an important document, which has been strangely passed over by the writers of Jewish modern history. That of which we speak describes itself to be a record of the decision of the great Sanhedrim convoked by virtue of the orders of his Majesty the emperor and king. It bears date April 10th, 1807, and the preamble opens thus :

"Blessed for ever be the Lord God of Israel, who has placed on the throne of France, and over the kingdom of Italy, a prince after his own heart. God has seen the humiliation of the descendants of the patriarch Jacob, and



he has chosen Napoleon the Great to be the instrument of his mercy. The Most High, who alone can judge the thoughts of men, He alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, and his cherished anointed, have permitted that each should adore the Lord according to his conviction and his faith.

"Under the shadow of his name security has entered into our hearts and into our abodes; and we are free for the future to build, to sow, to reap, to cultivate the sciences, in a word, to belong to the great family of the state, to serve him, and glory in his noble destiny. His high-minded wisdom has permitted that this assembly, celebrated in our annals, and from whose experience and virtue the most important decisions have been derived, should re-appear, after a lapse of fifteen centuries, to labour for the benefit of Israel.

"Assembled to-day under his powerful protection, to the number of seventy-one doctors of the law and notables of Israel, we have constituted ourselves a grand Sanhedrim, in order to find within ourselves the means and the power to render our religious ordinances conformable to the principles of our holy law, such as may serve for a rule and an example to all Israelites. These ordinances will teach all nations that our dogmas accord with the civil laws under which we live, and do not necessarily separate us from the society of men. In consequence we declare that the divine law, that pious inheritance of our ancestors, contains religious dispositions and political dispositions.

"That the religious dispositions are from their nature absolute, and independent of circumstances and times.

"That it is not the same with the political dispositions; that is to say, with those which constitute the government, and which were destined to govern the people of Israel in Palestine, when it had its kings, its pontiffs, and its magistrates.

"That the political dispositions can no longer be applicable, since the Israelites have ceased to form the body of a nation.

"That in consecrating this distinction, already established by tradition, the grand Sanhedrim declares an incontestable fact; but an assembly of doctors of the law, assembled in grand Sanhedrim, could alone determine the consequences which should be derived from it.

"That if the ancient Sanhedrims have not laid down this rule, it was because such a course was not exacted by the political circumstances of the times; and that since the total dispersion of Israel no Sanhedrim has been convened before that which is now assembled.

"Engaged to-day in this pious design, we invoke that Divine light from which all good emanates, and we recognise the obligation to labour zealously together, as on us must depend the achievement of the moral regeneration of Israel.

"Thus, in virtue of the right conferred upon us by our usages and our sacred laws, which ordain that in the assembly of the doctors of the age shall essentially reside the faculty of establishing rules, according to the urgency of the case, and which requires the observance of the said laws, whether written or traditional, we will proceed to the object of prescribing religious obedience to the laws of the state in all matters civil and political.

"Deeply impressed with this sacred maxim, that the fear of God is the principle of all wisdom, we raise our

eyes towards Heaven, we stretch out our hands towards his sanctuary, and we implore his goodness, that he will deign to enlighten us with his intelligence, to direct us into the paths of virtue and truth, in order that we may be the means of conducting our brethren into it, to insure their felicity and that of their descendants.

"Finally, we enjoin, in the name of the Lord our God, all our co-religionists, of either sex, to observe faithfully our declarations, statutes, and ordinances; as we shall assuredly regard all Jews, in France and the kingdom of Italy, who violate or neglect them as sinning openly against the will of the Lord God of Israel."

Then follow nine articles. The first sets forth that the grand Sanhedrim, held the 9th February, 1807, declared, after due inquiry, that the polygamy permitted by the law of Moses was but a simple faculty, which has been subsequently recognised by Jewish doctors in certain cases, where the fortunes of individuals were sufficient for the wants of more than one wife; but the Israelites dispersed in the West, feeling the necessity of conforming to the civil laws of the states in which they found themselves, had generally renounced polygamy, as not being in conformity with the customs of civilized nations. Due homage had been rendered to this principle in the synod convoked at Worms, in the year 4790 of their era, presided over by the rabbin Guerson; there pronounced an anathema against every Israelite who should marry more than one woman. The decision of that synod the Sanhedrim renewed and confirmed, strictly forbidding any Israelite to marry a second wife during the life of the first, save in cases of divorce.

The second article declares that the repudiation of a wife, permitted by Moses, shall hereafter only be sanctioned after the marriage shall have been pronounced to be dissolved by competent tribunals, and according to the forms required by the civil code; and all rabbins were required to attend to this rule, on pain of being declared unworthy to exercise their functions for the future.

The third article declares that no marriage shall be valid which is not preceded by a civil contract made in the presence of a public officer; and forbids all rabbins to marry persons who it shall appear have not previously satisfied this condition. The Sanhedrim farther declares that marriages between Israelites and Christians, contracted in accordance with the laws of the civil code, are obligatory and valid; and that much as they may require ratification according to the religious forms, the omission of these will not subject the parties to any anathema.

The fourth article defines what is meant by the Jewish fraternity, and declares, that in virtue of the law given by Moses to the children of Israel, the Jews are required to consider as brothers natives of lands in which God the creator of heaven and earth is recognised, and among whom they enjoy the advantages of civil society, or merely those of benevolent hospitality. The Sanhedrim recognises, as according to the law of God, the maxim that we should only do to others as we would they should do unto us; and as the Mosaic religion commanded Israelites to receive strangers with kindness in their cities, they are bound *à fortiori* to act in the same spirit towards individual members of those nations



which protect them by their laws, defend them by their arms, and admit them, like France and Italy, to participation in all civil and political rights.

The fifth article explains the moral relations which should exist between Hebrews and individual members of nations in which they find themselves, who, professing another religion, adore God as the Creator of heaven and earth. The Sanhedrim declared that all persons professing the religion of Moses, who should not exercise justice and charity towards all men adoring the Almighty, without regard to their particular creed, sinned greatly against the law. The decalogue, and the sacred books containing the commandments of God, in this respect establish no particular relation, and indicate no quality, no condition, no religion, to which they exclusively apply. They are common to the relations of the Hebrews with all mankind; and any Israelite who should infringe this rule, whoever he may be, is equally criminal and reprehensible in the eyes of the law. This doctrine had been taught by the doctors of the law, who constantly advocated love for the Creator, and for his creatures, solemnly declaring that the recompences of eternal life were reserved for the virtuous of all nations. The writings of the prophets afforded multiplied proofs that Israel was no enemy to those who professed another faith than theirs, and that, with regard to charity, Moses, as already stated, had commanded it in the name of God: "Love thy neighbour as thyself, for I am the Lord." The stranger within their gates, as well as him who was not among them, they were to love as themselves, seeing they had been strangers in Egypt. By David they were told that the mercy of God extended to all his works. "What does the Lord require from you?" asks Michael; "nothing more than to be just." They were to exercise charity. It was declared by the doctors, that the man who felt compassion for the sorrows of his fellows was to be viewed by them as if he were one of the blood of Abraham. Generally, Israelites were enjoined to love those of a different faith as brothers, to visit their sick, to bury their dead, to assist their poor, and in short, to omit no act of charity, no work of mercy, in their favour.

The sixth article defines the civil and political relations of the Jews, and declares, on the authority of the Sanhedrim, that it was the religious duty of every Israelite born or educated in a state, or who by residence or otherwise became a citizen of a state, to conform to the law, and to regard that state as his country; and to fulfil those duties growing on the nature of things conformable to the condition of men in society, and therefore, according to the word of God. In illustration of this, it was remarked, the prophet Daniel had said to Darius, that he would not have been saved from the fury of the lions but for having been equally faithful to his God and to his king. Jeremiah had recommended the Israelites to regard Babylon as their country. "Do every thing in your power," said he, "to contribute to its happiness." In the same book this oath was found, prescribed to the Israelites: "Fear not to serve the Chaldeans; remain in the country; be faithful to the King of Babylon, and ye shall live happily." "Fear God and thy sovereign" was the admonition of Solomon.

Thus the highest authorities commanded the Israelite to have for his prince and his laws that respect, attachment, and fidelity, owed to them by all subjects. The Israelite was not more at liberty to isolate his interest from the general interest of the country than from that in his family. He should mourn its reverses, applaud its triumphs, and strive by every means to promote the happiness of his fellow-citizens. The Sanhedrim farther declared, that every Israelite required to give military service was, during the period of that service, excused from all religious observances that were at variance with its usages.

The seventh article speaks of the useful professions to which the Israelites were free to devote themselves; it sets forth the advantages which would result from their betaking themselves to agriculture, from possessing themselves of learning, from acquiring arts and trades, from pursuing studies which would enable them to embrace liberal professions; and considering that if, during a long time, the Jews of France and Italy are compelled in part to renounce mechanical labours, and especially the culture of the earth, in ancient times their favourite occupation, this ought only to be ascribed to the uncertain and insecure condition in which they found themselves, and resulted not from the principles of their religion, nor the interpretations put upon them by their teachers, ancient or modern. On the contrary, it will be seen, from the letter and the spirit of the Mosaic legislation, that manual labour was held in honour among the children of Israel, and that no mechanical art has been interdicted to them, seeing the Holy Scripture teaches in the Psalms, "When thou shalt enjoy the labour of thy hands, thou shalt be blessed, and shalt have abundance;" and in Proverbs, that "he who cultivates his land shall have abundance; but he who lives in idleness shall know want;" and in the Mishna, the Israelite is enjoined "to love labour, and shun idleness." From these quotations it resulted that the Israelite was forbidden to follow no honest trade, but that, on the contrary, his religion attached merit to its exercise, and held it to be acceptable in the sight of the Almighty, that each should devote himself, so far as was practicable, to his particular occupation. The Talmud, regarding idleness as the source of vice, declares that the father who does not teach his child a profession, brings him up to the life of a brigand; and the Sanhedrim therefore ordered all Israelites to act for themselves, and instruct their children accordingly.

The eighth article treats of money-lending among the Israelites. It sets forth that the Sanhedrim was penetrated with the inconveniences growing out of the erroneous interpretations given to the 19th verse of the 23rd chapter of Deuteronomy, which runs thus:—"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury." Feeling it desirable to put an end to the doubts which had arisen as to the moral purity of the religion, it was declared that the Hebrew expression which had been rendered by the word usury had been misinterpreted; that it did not express, in the Hebrew language, any interest, and not an extravagant or usurious interest; and they could only understand, by the French word for



usury, a payment of interest higher than the legal rate of interest, where the law has fixed a limit. They cannot declare that the Hebrew word *nechech* means an illegitimate interest; but if they believed that it had the same signification as usury, it must mean that there existed another description of interest, which was legal; but since no word with such a meaning existed in the Hebrew language, it necessarily followed that the Hebraic expression *nechech* could not mean usury. The object of the divine law, forbidding one Hebrew to take interest from another, was intended to draw closer the bonds of brotherly love, to prescribe to them reciprocal benevolence, and to bind them disinterestedly to assist each other. The divine law and its interpreters permit or forbid interest to be taken according to the different uses made of money. To undertake a commercial speculation, which risks the lender's capital, justifies interest being claimed, where this is permitted by law, and where it constitutes a just indemnity. "Lend to the poor," says Moses, Here the tribute of gratitude, the hope of gaining favour in the eyes of the Almighty, is the only interest sought. The service rendered is requited by the satisfaction growing on the consciousness of a good action. It is not the same with him who employs capital in the extension of his commerce; in that case the lender may share the profit of the borrower. The Sanhedrim therefore declared that Jews were not to claim interest from their co-religionists, but were nevertheless to assist the father of a family in distress. Profit from a loan between co-religionists was not religiously permitted, save in the case of commercial speculations, where the lender risked the loss of his capital.

Article the ninth treats of the relations with regard to loans between the children of Israel, and others who were not of their fraternity. The Sanhedrim, considering that it had been asserted the Jewish religion sanctioned the taking of usurious interest from those who were not of the Jewish persuasion, declared that the text which authorized the taking of interest from a stranger was only to be understood to apply to foreign nations, with whom they might have commercial transactions, and who themselves lent money to the Israelites; this faculty was based on a natural right of reciprocity. The word *nochri* only applied to individual members of foreign nations, not to fellow-citizens, who were to be regarded as brethren. But even with regard to foreign nations, in permitting interest to be taken, it was not understood to speak of excessive or ruinous exaction, since elsewhere it was declared, "all iniquity is abominable in the eyes of the Lord." All Jews were therefore strictly enjoined to act in accordance with the principles thus laid down and explained; and it was proclaimed as a religious principle that thenceforth no difference should be made with regard to loans between fellow-citizens and co-religionists; and declared that whoever should transgress would violate a religious duty, and openly sin against the law of God. All usury was forbidden, not only between Hebrew and Hebrew and a fellow-citizen of another religion, but between Hebrews and strangers of all nations, as this practice was regarded as an abominable iniquity in the eyes of the Lord. The Rabbins were instructed to make this known to all their disciples, and to enjoin them to give force to this decision.

The document above translated and described, which so luminously explains the principles on which members of the Jewish nation were taught by their rabbins to act under the law of Moses, bears date Paris, March 2nd, 1807. It was probably on that day reduced to form, though not issued till the date given at the head of the article, April 11th. It was subscribed:

Le Chef du Grand Sanhédrim, D. Sintzheim.  
Segre, rabbin, premier assesseur.  
Cologne, rabbin, second assesseur.  
Michel Berr, scribe rédacteur.

## CHAP. XI.

*Bonaparte seeks under all circumstances to make the Jews good citizens.—They are empowered to establish synagogues.—A central consistory is established at Paris.—An edict is issued, which subjects the Jews to sharp restrictions.—An exception is made in favour of the Jews of Bordeaux.—The Hebrews do not assimilate with the French people.*

In the midst of the din of arms, while engaged in the most gigantic schemes of conquest, Napoleon seems to have attached no small importance to making the Jews good citizens. By a decree dated March 17th, 1808, he proposed to effect their perfect organization in all parts of the French empire. Wherever two thousand were located, they were empowered to establish a synagogue and a consistory, to consist of three Rabbins, one principal and one subordinate, with three house-keepers of the town or city, who were authorized to elect twenty-five notables. The last were required to be more than thirty years of age, and bankrupts and usurers were excluded. It was intended that the consistory should superintend the Rabbins, and to take notice how far they acted in accordance with the answers given by the Jewish deputies, and the orders issued by the Sanhedrim. The central consistory was established at Paris. It was intended to be the supreme tribunal, and had authority to elect the Rabbins, or, in case of their neglecting duty, to depose them. On the rabbin was imposed the task of giving publicity to the decrees of the Sanhedrim; it was their duty also to preach obedience to the laws; to encourage Jews to serve in the army; and it took upon itself to frame prayers which were to be offered up in their synagogues for the welfare of the imperial family.

The joy and unbounded gratitude which it was seen was manifested by the Jews at being thus largely favoured, was destined to be seriously damped. An edict was issued by the authority of the emperor, bearing the same date, which seriously interfered with their monetary transactions. Among other restrictions they found themselves prohibited from advancing money to minors without the consent of their guardians. They were no longer permitted to supply wives with cash unknown to their husbands, or to soldiers without the sanction of their officers. All bills were declared null and void for which legal proof of value received was not forthcoming. Those who engaged in commercial dealings were required to take out a patent, and all foreign Jews settling in the



French empire were compelled to invest some property in land or agriculture.

These regulations were to remain in force during ten years; and it was hoped, at the expiration of that period, that there would be no difference between Jews and other citizens. Should that hope be disappointed, the operation of the enactments favourable to them was to be suspended.

The sharp restrictions, imposed by the edict which has been mentioned, were not rendered more palatable to the Israelites by the following clause in favour of the Jews of Bourdeaux, with which it concluded:

"The Jews established at Bourdeaux, and in the departments of the Gironde and the Landes, not having given cause for complaint, and not having engaged in any illicit commerce, this decree is not to extend to them."

Elsewhere they were still favoured by Napoleon. He countenanced in Westphalia the praiseworthy efforts of one Jacobson, a benevolent Jew, who had greatly exerted himself in the cause of education; and a number of schools were established, as well as an institution for teachers.

In 1808 an official report made the number of Jews then resident in the French dominions amount to eighty thousand souls. In this number were comprehended twelve hundred and thirty-two landed proprietors, not reckoning owners of houses, who possessed no land. There were two thousand three hundred and sixty artisans, two hundred and fifty manufacturers, and seven hundred and ninety-seven soldiers. It was remarked, after all that had been done, that the Jews did not to any considerable degree assimilate with the French, but still retained their distinctive character, which by many was regarded as the fulfilment of the prophecy or decree, "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." It was said of them, that the pride, which had rendered them open to the charge of being unsociable in ancient days, still adhered to them; and that the children of Israel could not be content to exchange mount Zion for Montmartre, Palestine or Jerusalem for Paris.

Whether there were any real grounds for such a belief, it is useless now to inquire; but some of their body, if they cared not to be themselves confounded with Frenchmen, did not scruple, so far as in them lay, to associate with the sovereign of Frenchmen, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Some one, in honour of the 15th August, Napoleon's birthday, his cipher, and that of Josephine, were "blended with the ineffable name of Jehovah," while he "elevated the imperial eagle above the ark of the covenant." Justly it has been remarked: "No Jew who really adhered to the faith of his fathers could for a moment tolerate such audacious adulation, which in effect placed the Creator and the creature on the same level." The device was probably not sanctioned by the Jews generally; but it is difficult to account for the views which the most seriously disposed sometimes take of things which men agree to regard as holy. We need not look beyond the pale of Christianity to discover many things which some reverence as sacred, and which others recoil from with horror and disdain. As

it is but a single step "from the sublime to the ridiculous," as

"Great wit to madness nearly is allied,

But few partitions do the points divide,"

so, such is the frail, unstable character of the human understanding, the most ardent devotion of some minds has frequently been regarded by others as blasphemy. Strains the most anxiously laboured have been held to be irreverent or puerile,

"And sacrilegious our sublimest song."

Though untoward circumstances, and some instances of culpable misconduct committed by members of the Jewish communion, retarded the progress of their cause, insensibly they gained ground in most countries in Europe. Francis I. in Austria acted in the spirit of his predecessor Joseph II., and had no desire to see a useful and valuable body of his subjects unnecessarily pressed, and placed far below others who had no merit that could entitle them to such a preference. He gave them privileges which had till then been withheld, and security for property. In 1809 their situation was taken into consideration by the Grand Duke of Baden, and changes ordered favourable to their body. Three years afterwards the King of Prussia exerted himself in their behalf. His efforts to improve their condition called forth proofs of unequivocal gratitude. In every respect they proved themselves good subjects; obedient and quiet in peace, when "the blast of war" was heard they were not slow to march to the tented field to combat his enemies, and lay down their lives in his defence. The Jews resident in the German states at this period made the wars of their adopted countries their own. When Bonaparte made his last desperate effort again to bring Europe beneath his yoke, they swelled the numbers of that gallant host which opposed the French Emperor in 1813, and for the time annihilated his hopes on the plains of Leipsic; they fought with valour in the ranks of the allies, and their services were regarded as not unimportant. These facts concurring with the humane views previously entertained, caused a formal declaration to be made in their favour, in 1815, by the Germanic Confederation assembled at Vienna. It ran thus:—

"The Diet will take into consideration in what way the civil ameliorations of the professors of the Jewish religion may best be effected; and in particular, how the enjoyment of all civil rights, in return for the performance of all civil duties, may be most effectually secured to them in the states of the Confederation. In the meantime the professors of this faith shall continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them."

Intolerance, though wounded, was not dead. The dying monster was occasionally still seen to struggle. In several of the trading cities the Jew continued to be obnoxious to the vulgar. His superior skill in trade, perhaps, and the wealth which grew on it, and on the strict frugality exercised by many of their body, moved envy. At Frankfort, the Jew was expected to confess his inferiority in the face of day. The indignities of which Shylock complains as being reserved for the Jews of Venice were exceeded by the outrages which they had to endure at Frankfort. To every Christian they met in the streets they were expected to uncover the



head. If this mark of respect were omitted by a venerable and aged Israelite to a boy, he could expect no less than to be overwhelmed with a torrent of abuse, and a volley of stones would requite his neglect. The fine arts had been put in requisition to insult and annoy, and sculpture had adorned one of the gates of the city with a grotesque representation of a Jew riding on a sow, while the devil, habited in the costume generally worn by the Israelites, looked on, as if waiting for his friend and favourite to alight. At Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen they experienced little kindness. By the higher classes they were disliked, because many of them had been, during the troubles caused by the successes of the French, compelled to dispose of their estates, which had passed into the hands of Jewish purchasers. Some of them were recognised as contractors for the supplies required for the French army, and odium attached to them in that character. Those who had suffered from Bonaparte's aggressions were disposed to revenge themselves on his instruments. Such feelings were not discouraged as they ought to have been, and in time a disgraceful explosion was prepared. In 1820, excited by a hope of plunder, tumultuous mobs rose against the Jews at Wurtzburg, Meiningen, and other places. In ancient times, when a massacre of the Jews was contemplated in the cities of Germany, the cry of "Hep! Hep!" was raised as the signal for the slaughter to commence. The exact meaning of the exclamation is doubtful; the hint it was meant to convey was but too well understood in the middle ages. A fanciful origin is assigned to it, as it is said to have been intended to comprehend the initials of the three words, *Hierosolyma est perdita*, "Jerusalem is lost." Whatever the first signification of the word Hep, it admits of no doubt that it was used as an admonition to shed blood; and this long forgotten cry, often heard in the thirteenth century, was not less vigorously raised in 1820. It happily did not prove so fruitful of murder as formerly. In 1829 the states of Wirtemberg paid such homage to the march of mind, and the progress of humane feelings, as to entertain a proposition for extending civil rights to the Jews. The populace took the alarm on this occasion, and surrounding the Hall of Assembly, in which the question was being debated, they raised a deafening and menacing cry of "Down with the Jews," and, "Down with the friends of the Jews." The states with true dignity disdained to be awed by clamour; they serenely continued their sittings, and adopted the measure, in defiance of the ignorant fury which had wildly reared its head in opposition to policy and humanity.

The German Jews are celebrated for the intellect they possess, and the industry with which of late years that intellect has been cultivated. They have, however, been accused of repudiating the wild and incoherent lessons of the Talmud, to surrender themselves to infidelity. From them it has extended to various parts of the continent; and they are said in many places to have "exchanged their once fondly cherished hopes of a restoration to their native land, under the guidance of the Messiah, for a zealous participation in the various schemes of revolutionary change, which from time to time perplex and alarm the sovereigns of Germany."

Rabbinism, however, is still carefully sustained, and by the most learned members of the Jewish body. Speaking of the German Jews, a writer in the "Quarterly Review" remarks: "The rabbinites, notwithstanding the exclusiveness of their studies, must be considered as an educated people, perhaps more so than any other upon earth: they can, almost universally, read the sacred language, and partially understand it: the zeal of individuals, even the poorest, prompts them to undertake the office of teachers; and so content are they with small remuneration, that nearly a dozen Melammeds might be maintained by the salary required for one English schoolmaster. Parents and relations will endure the greatest privations to save a sufficient sum for the education of their children; and oftentimes, where the income of a single family is inadequate, five or six will make a common purse to provide the salary of a tutor."

## CHAP. XII.

*Many petitions are presented to the English Parliament in favour of Jewish emancipation.—Their case is brought before the House of Commons.—Mr. Robert Grant powerfully advocates their claims.—His motion for leave to bring in a bill to remove their disqualifications is opposed by Sir Robert Harry Inglis and others; it is carried on a division by a small majority.—The bill is brought in.—It is debated on the second reading, and eventually lost.—Mr. T. B. Macaulay becomes the champion of the Jews.—Their claim to be relieved from their disabilities is supported by him in the Edinburgh Review.*

In the year 1829 many petitions were presented in favour of Jewish emancipation; and many speeches were made by various members on the injustice of withholding from them privileges which ought to be open to all British subjects. On the 5th of April, 1830, their case was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Robert Grant, in a motion for leave to bring in a bill for their relief. He went over the early history of the Jews in this country, and touched on the persecutions they had known, founded on the incredible reports which had been circulated to their prejudice. Mr. Grant then described the proceedings of 1753, and the noble vindication of the Jewish claims offered to that House by Mr. Pelham. He called attention to an extract from the works of Bishop Newton, in which that prelate says, Christians should recollect "that, according to the prophecy, the wicked nations only are to persecute the Jews, while the good nations are to shew mercy to, and protect them. We should rather be the dispensers of Heaven's mercy, than the executors of its justice." In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman said, "I have nothing to offer but the weakness of those for whom I claim protection. Let me say, however, that not unrewarded will be the service rendered; not only will the concession have, in this country, all the merit of unforced wisdom and spontaneous bounty, but the know-



ledge of it will be extended to climes where the British name is hardly known. The Jews speak as it were an universal language, and they will spread the story of British liberality in the remotest corners of the globe. Hitherto they have known Christianity only as the author of savage persecution; they will now celebrate the change, not merely with empty praises, but with the solid advantages of commercial preference. How willingly will they contribute to the welfare and prosperity of a Christian kingdom, which, though tardily, has generously conferred benefits hitherto withheld. I shall conclude with a maxim common to both religions; and I hope that, without employing improperly the language of the sacred Scripture, I may say it is the duty of this House, in reference to this question, to act upon the 'wise counsel'—'Do justice, and love mercy.'

The motion for leave to bring in a bill to relieve the Jews from the disqualifications of which they complained, with which Sir Robert Grant concluded his speech, was opposed by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Mr. Percival, and other members. Among its supporters, the names of Mr. Macaulay, Sir James Macintosh, and Dr. Lushington are found. Eventually it was carried by a majority of eighteen; the ayes being one hundred and fifteen, the noes ninety-seven.

On the seventeenth of May, the second reading of the bill was moved. A long debate ensued, and an amendment was submitted by General Gascoigne, that the bill should be read a second time that day six months. Towards the close of the proceedings, Mr. Brougham remarked, "One hon. gentleman has said that the apostate Julian interfered with the decrees of Divine Providence, and tried to stop the dispersing of this people, and to rebuild the temple. I am not afraid of our doing so; that decree must be fulfilled, that decree must be made good which promised that the Jews should remain scattered over the earth. I admit that it must be so, since Providence has ordained it; but I contend that the Jews have, on that very account, a claim on all nations to do them justice. I call upon the House to remember the precept of the divine law,—to do unto others as they would be done unto; to shew justice, and to love mercy; and in following this precept, not to suppose that they are obstructing the decrees of Divine Providence." On a division, the numbers were—ayes, one hundred and sixty-five; noes, two hundred and twenty-eight; majority against the second reading, sixty-three. The bill was consequently lost.

Whatever disappointment might be felt at this result, the Jews and their friends felt that if all had not gone as they could have wished, still much had been gained. The investigation of their case had caused public opinion, hostile or indifferent before, to turn in their favour; and many of the ablest writers of the day became the unbought champions of Israel. The powerful mind of Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay was enlisted on their side, and in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* he exposed, with a mixture of happy irony and irresistible argument, the inconsistencies into which their opponents were betrayed.

"That a Jew," said he, "should be a judge in a Christian country, would be most shocking. But he may

be a juryman. He may try issues of fact, and no harm is done; but if he should be suffered to try issues of law, there is an end of the constitution. He may sit in a box, plainly dressed, and return verdicts. But that he should sit on a bench, in a black gown and white wig, and grant new trials, would be an abomination not to be thought of among baptized people. The distinction is certainly most philosophical.

"What power in civil society is so great as that of the creditor over the debtor? If we take this away from the Jew, we take away from him the security of his property. If we leave it to him, we leave to him a power more despotic by far than that of the king and all his cabinet.

"It would be impious to let a Jew sit in parliament; but a Jew may make money, and money may make members of Parliament. Gatton and Old Sarum may be the property of a Hebrew. An elector of Penryn would take ten pounds from Shylock rather than nine pounds nineteen shillings and eleven pence three farthings from Antonio. To this no objection is made. That a Jew should possess the substance of legislative power, that he should command eight votes on every division, as if he were the great Duke of Newcastle himself, is exactly as it should be. But that he should pass the bar, and sit down on those mysterious cushions of green leather, that he should cry "Hear," and "Order," and talk about being on his legs, and being, for one, free to say this and to say that, would be a profanation sufficient to bring ruin on the country.

"That a Jew should be privy councillor to a Christian king would be an eternal disgrace to the nation. But the Jew may govern the money market, and the money market may govern the world. The minister may be in doubt as to his scheme of finance till he has been closeted with a Jew. A congress may be forced to summon the Jews to their assistance. The scrawl of the Jew on the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal word of three kings, or the national faith of the new American republic. But that he should put Right Honourable before his name, would be the most frightful of national calamities."

In the argument against the Jews, founded on their supposed hostility to Christians, the writer proceeded:

"If the English Jews really felt a deadly hatred to England, if the weekly prayer of their synagogue were that all the curses denounced by Ezekiel on Tyre and Egypt might fall on London, if in their solemn feasts they called down blessings on those who should dash our children to pieces on the stones, still we say their hatred to their countrymen would not be more intense than that which some sects of Christians have often borne to each other. But, in fact, the feeling of the Jews is not such. It is precisely what, in the situation in which they are placed, we should expect it to be. They are treated far better than the French Protestants were treated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or than our puritans were treated in the time of Laud. They therefore have no rancour against the government, or against their countrymen. It will not be denied that they are better affected to the state than the followers of Coligni or Vane. But they are not so well treated as



the dissenting sects of Christians are now treated in England; and on this account, and we firmly believe on this account alone, they have a more exclusive spirit. Till we have carried the experiment farther, we are not entitled to conclude that they cannot be made English altogether. The statesman who treats them as aliens, and then abuses them for not entertaining all the feelings of natives, is as unreasonable as the tyrant who punished their fathers for not making bricks without straw."

The Edinburgh Review, in an article since avowed by by Mr. Macaulay, thus exemplifies the capacity of the Jew to fulfill the duties of a good citizen:

"Does a Jew engage less eagerly than a Christian in any competition which the law leaves open to him? Is he less active and regular in his business than his neighbours? Does he furnish his house meanly, because he is a pilgrim and sojourner in the land? Does the expectation of being restored to the country of his fathers make him insensible to the fluctuations of the Stock Exchange? Does he, in arranging his private affairs, ever take into the account the chance of his migrating into Palestine? If not, why are we to suppose that feelings which never influence his dealings as a merchant, or his dispositions as a testator, will acquire boundless influence over him as soon as he becomes a magistrate or a legislator?"

"There is another argument, which we would not willingly treat with levity, and which yet we scarcely know how to treat seriously. Scripture, it is said, is full of terrible denunciations against the Jews. It is foretold that they are to be wanderers. Is it then right to give them a home? It is foretold that they are to be oppressed. Can we with propriety suffer them to be rulers? To admit them to the rights of citizens is manifestly to insult the divine oracles.

"We allow that to falsify a prophecy inspired by divine wisdom would be a most atrocious crime. It is therefore a happy circumstance for our frail species that it is a crime which no man can possibly commit. If we admit the Jews to seats in Parliament, we shall, by so doing, prove that the prophecies in question, whatever they may mean, do not mean that the Jews shall be excluded from Parliament.

"In fact, it is already clear that the prophecies do not bear the meaning put upon them by the respectable persons we are now answering. In France, and in the United States, the Jews are already admitted to all the rights of citizens. A prophecy therefore which should mean that the Jews would never, during the course of their wanderings, be admitted to all the rights of citizens, in the places of their sojourn, would be a false prophecy. This, therefore, is not the meaning of the prophecies of Scripture.

"But we protest altogether against the practice of confounding prophecy with precept, of setting up predictions which are often obscure, against a morality which is always clear. If actions are to be considered as just and good merely because they have been predicted, what action was ever more laudable than that crime which our bigots are now, at the end of eighteen centuries, urging us to avenge on the Jews; that crime which made the earth shake, and blotted out the sun from heaven? The same

reasoning which is now employed to vindicate the disabilities imposed on our Hebrew countrymen, will equally vindicate the kiss of Judas, and the judgment of Pilate. 'The Son of man goeth, as it is written of him; but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed.' And woe to those who, in any age or in any country, disobey his benevolent commands under pretence of accomplishing his predictions."

### CHAP. XIII.

*The public mind in England becomes favourable to the Jews, especially in London, where a Jew is selected to fill the office of sheriff.—A second is called to the same high office, and is made a baronet. Many attempts are made to convert Jews to Christianity.—A deputation is sent from Scotland to inquire into the state of the Jews in Palestine.—The gentlemen forming it pass through France.—They reach Marseilles; proceed to Geneva and Malta, and thence to Syria.—They visit a synagogue, where they speak to the Jews on the subject of an atonement, with the Torah open before them.*

As already observed, though the bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities did not pass, its introduction was a great benefit to the members of the Hebrew communion in England. It familiarised the public mind with the idea of seeing the English Jew in places of official trust, and it tasked reflection to give a reason for his being denied privileges which were open to the rest of his countrymen. In the city of London this was especially felt. There Mr. William Thornborrow, "long the humble but steadfast friend of civil and religious liberty," as he describes himself, was incessantly labouring in the cause of Jewish emancipation. In the year 1834 he made a determined and successful effort to procure the election of a catholic and a dissenter to be returned as sheriffs, and this he followed up by subsequently prevailing on a Jewish gentleman of high character to offer himself as a candidate for that important office. Many difficulties opposed the accomplishment of Mr. Thornborrow's object; but the same perseverance which had won his former triumph was again exerted, and with like success, and, in 1835, Mr. David Salomons was elected one of the Sheriffs of London by the unanimous vote of his fellow-citizens.

Yet, in some quarters, a spirit still lurked which meanly repined that a Jew should be regarded as an Englishman. Mr. Thornborrow having suggested to the new sheriff that he should give every support in his power to the charities of the city, goes on to say, "he consented, not merely in words, but that afternoon he transmitted by post to a public institution more than four hundred pounds to qualify him to become one of its members. For such bounty he received no immediate acknowledgment; and a gentleman, whom I accidentally met, spoke to me on the subject as follows:—'Your friend Salomons wants to stand amongst the first of our nobles and merchant princes, as a mem-



ber of our institution; but it will not be permitted, and the money will be sent back." This illiberal feeling fortunately was not kept up; and a Hebrew, in the cause of benevolence, was allowed to be associated with "the nobles and merchants of the land."

But another difficulty was yet to be conquered. Though elected by his fellow-citizens, Mr. Salomons could not, as a Jew, take the oath of office. Upon this the government of the day, over which Lord Melbourne presided, determined on submitting a bill to Parliament, to relieve persons in the situation of Mr. Salomons from the penalties to which they would otherwise have been liable. One was accordingly framed, and introduced to the House of Commons by Sir John Campbell, who was then Attorney General. After some delay it was passed, and sent to the Lords, who agreed to it, no opposition being offered on the part of the bishops.

The zeal and intelligence which had gained so much for the children of Israel did not stop there. When Mr. Salomons had honourably gone through his year of office, there were those who, unable to deny his merit, were disposed to say, "He is an exemplary character, but where is there another Jew like him?" Mr. Thornborrow and his friend took care, at the proper time, to be ready with a satisfactory answer; and Mr. Salomons was succeeded as sheriff by Mr. Moses Montefiore, who had the honour of receiving Queen Victoria on her visit to the city in the first year of her reign, and who on that occasion was knighted.

Not to mention that other efforts were made, in various parts of the British empire, to benefit the Jews, would be injustice. A kindly feeling towards them was generally encouraged, and many well meaning persons laboured zealously to convert them to Christianity, in the fond hope that the time was come when the stray sheep might be collected into the fold. This caused many inquiries to be set on foot, both at home and abroad, which had the effect of accumulating much information, not possessed before.

To the present state of Israel the mind naturally turns with interest; to that promised land to which Moses was permitted to look forward, but never to reach; to which the Jew of the present day still fondly hopes, in life or in death, to return. Some remarkable and gratifying particulars are furnished through the steps taken by the General Assembly in Scotland, in 1838, to ascertain the then state of the Jews in Palestine. A committee having been appointed for promoting Christianity among the Jews, that body resolved on sending a deputation to Palestine, there to inquire into the condition of the children of Israel in modern times.

In March 1839, it was resolved that the deputations to proceed on this important mission should consist of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Black, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen; the Rev. Dr. Keith, minister of St. Cyrus, (author of various well known works); the Rev. R. M. M'Cheyne, of St. Peter's, Dundee; and the Rev. A. A. Bonar, of Collace. They left London on the 4th of April, being provided with letters of introduction to ambassadors, consuls, and others, who were likely to contribute to the accomplishment of their object.

Proceeding by the way of France, they reported that in Paris the Jews were generally regarded with great apathy;

but as they went forward, the deputation ascertained they were divided into two classes, the rabbinical and the rationalistic. They appeared for the most part poor, and presenting no very inviting aspect. "In one French town," writes Mr. M'Cheyne, "we called on the Protestant minister. He and a Jew conducted us to the rabbin, an old man with a grisly beard, living in a poor house with few marks of comfort. A few folio volumes, in Hebrew, adorned the drawers; and an old bookcase contained some more. The Jew introduced us as friends of Israel; but the rabbi soon found out that we were Christians. His French was very bad, and his German little better; but we easily understood that he was bigoted and illiterate. We read Isaiah fifty-third, in his own Hebrew Bible, which he explained according to the comment on the margin, referring it to all just men in the world. The Jew who was with us at first opposed us bitterly, along with his rabbi; but he afterwards calmed down, and seemed really impressed, accepted Dr. Keith's book, and refused any recompence for his trouble." The a cable spirit thus evinced by one French Jew was improved upon as they proceeded. A rabbin in the south of France received them very politely, and in a spirit of liberality was ready, in a friendly way, to enter into a discussion of sacred things. He informed them that there were few learned Jews in that vicinity, most of the children of Israel there located being absorbed in commerce. When the travellers expressed their great veneration for Israel, and spoke of the vast obligations which Christians owed to the Jews, his remark was, that a just man might hope for salvation, in whatever religion he had been born. He denied that the fate of Adam had been correctly understood, and proceeded to argue that what had been called a curse was in reality a blessing. The new heart, promised in the writings of the prophet Ezekiel, he maintained, only signified a higher improvement of the mind. He professed to have no confidence in the Talmud, and did not expect the restoration of Israel to the rank of a sovereign power. He argued as a philosopher on various points, and was eventually regarded by the travellers as a rationalistic or infidel Jew. At the close of their conference he conducted them to the synagogue, and immediately commenced chanting the service, which to English ears seemed very deficient in animation. At one part of the sitting all the congregation seemed to engage in silent prayer, as if obeying the invitation of the Christian poet:—

"Come then, expressive silence, muse his praise."

From Marseilles the travellers sailed for Geneva, where they arrived on the 24th of April, and going thence to Leghorn, disputed with a rabbin who contended that Christ could not be the Prince of Peace, because he himself had told them, "I am not come to bring peace upon earth, but a sword." He founded himself on a small volume which he had by his side, entitled a "Defence of the Faith." The reasonings of the deputation were listened to with respectful attention by the Jews they met with there; but they seemed puzzled to reconcile the assertion that the former were friends to Israel, with their zealous efforts to convert them from Judaism.

Dr. Black and his companions proceeded to Malta, thence to Syria, and arrived at Alexandria on the



13th of May. On their way they met with four Jews who were going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From them the deputation learned that this was a very common practice, and that it was not unusual for sixty Israelites to proceed at one time to the holy city. They attended the synagogue of the European Jews at Alexandria, of which they give the following striking description:

"We ascended a dark stair in an obscure street of the town, and, after crossing a narrow passage, discovered at the end of it a room dimly lighted, wherein a few Jews were met. The apartment was not more than ninety feet long, and fifteen broad. At the door in the entrance was a chest, inscribed as usual with the word 'Alms,' and opposite to it another, inscribed 'Oil for the lights.' In the centre of the room the desk for the reader was placed; and the ark containing the Torah and holy books was a sort of projection from the wall at the extremity of the room, covered with poor drapery. The Jews in the eastern dress were present; the rest were mostly in European costume. The service for the evening was soon over; and no sooner was it ended than they one after another came and spoke to us. We entered into conversation; they shewed us their ark, a proof that they were not very devout Jews; and spread before us a copy of the Torah, so that we stood at the desk, and with their own Torah before them, spoke to them of their sins, and their need of atonement. We pressed on some, who continued a good while with us, the fact of Messiah coming first to die for sin, and then the second time in glory. This was all done in a very friendly way, standing in the synagogue, with about a dozen Jews present."

#### CHAP. XIV

*The travellers leave Alexandria for Damietta and the land of the Philistines.—At Jerusalem they reside on mount Zion.—They survey the country from the mount of Olives.—They leave Jerusalem for Ramah, the birthplace of Samuel.—The ruins of Samaria present a remarkable instance of the fulfilment of prophecy.—Mr. M'Cheyne and Mr. Bonar reach Galilee.—They approach the lake of Gennesareth. At Smyrna they find an English chapel.—They pass through Wallachia, Moldavia and Bucharest.—Jewish sacrifices are witnessed at Washie.—Jassy and Botoshani are visited.—At Buckowina the travellers witnessed the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles.—The members of the deputation return by Zulesky, Brody, and Crakow, to Scotland.*

On the 16th of May they left Alexandria, passing along the sea-shore to Damietta, and on the 1st of June reached the land of the Philistines. This is a pastoral country. From one eminence Mr. M'Cheyne counted ten large flocks of sheep. The reapers were at work in the valley of Eschal, but its vines were no longer to be seen. Their advance thence through the hilly country of Judea awoke many scriptural reminiscences. Their attention rested on these marked and distinguishing

features, which no time can efface or materially change. The animated description of Mr. M'Cheyne we transcribe.

"The terraced hills, above all, excited our admiration. You have no idea to what an extent that wonderful method of cultivation must have been carried on by the Jews, nor of the perfect condition in which the remains are at this day. We have scarcely seen a hill in the whole land, however rocky and barren, that does not bear the traces, more or less perfect, of having been terraced literally from top to bottom. We often counted fifty, sixty, and seventy terraces, on one rocky hill. No spot was left uncultivated; so that, when the vines were planted and trained, the words of the Eightieth Psalm were literally true, 'the hills were covered with the shadow of it.' Indeed, we remarked that God himself seems to have suggested this method of cultivation to his people, by the very structure of the Judean mountains. Most of them are stratified in a horizontal direction, and the strata appear at such regular distances, that in many cases they are used as the foundation of the dyke, or rough wall which supports the terrace. The question was continually rising to our lips, 'Where are all the vines that covered these hills with their fragrant clusters?' We found the answer in Hosea, ii. 12, 'I will destroy her vines;' and in Joel i. 11, 12, 'Howl, ye vine-dressers! for the vine is dried up, and the fig-tree languisheth;' and in Isaiah, xxiv. 7, 'the vine languisheth.' Another question also was suggested,—'Are these empty terraces ever to be replenished again?' Again we found the answer in the prophet Amos, ix. 14, 'I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof. The mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt.'"

At Jerusalem they were enabled, by a Mr. Nicolayson, to occupy one of the mission-houses in mount Zion. He accompanied them to all the most interesting and most celebrated spots in that vicinity. They were much struck with the prospect from the mount of Olives, with Gethsemane, and with Bethany. The last they found a peaceful and retired village, amidst the rising ground of Olivet, to which they were conducted by a path commanding prospects of singular beauty. Its secluded air suggested to them that here the Redeemer might have loved to walk, and to teach his followers lessons of immortal wisdom. They complain of Calvary, as being disfigured by the images and other marks of Roman Catholic worship which it has been made to exhibit. On the 18th of June they quitted Jerusalem, after having first visited Hebron, where they found two small and indifferently furnished synagogues. Ramah, the birthplace of Samuel, they next reached; thence they proceeded to the site of Bethel, and on the next day to Naplous, the ancient Sychar. There the Samaritans, about sixty in number, and the Jews, meet for morning prayer, each wearing his phylactery. From Naplous they went forward to the spot on which proud Samaria stood; and here they saw what struck them with awe and adoration, an ample fulfilment of the dread prophecy, "I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as planting of a vineyard; and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof." The city Mr. Bonar describes to have stood upon the hill top, and now the stones thereof are literally cleared off, like



heaps in a field, as men do when they plant a vineyard, to make room for fields and gardens; while the stones themselves of the large foundations, and pieces of columns, are seen poured down the sides of the hill, and on their way to the valley. The 21st of June saw them at mount Carmel. They were prevented from visiting Tiberias and Zaphed, and took their way to Beyrout. By this time the health of Dr. Black began to be seriously affected by the climate; and it was resolved that he and Dr. Keith should proceed without delay for Smyrna and Constantinople.

In consequence of this determination the travellers parted company, and Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar took their departure on the 8th of July from Beyrout for Galilee, and on the following day arrived at Saide, the ancient Sidon, which has since become an obscure port, frequented only by a few fishing-boats. Several synagogues were established there, which the travellers visited, and next proceeded to Sour, the Tyre of other days. A few Jews were found to inhabit it, some of whom had but recently arrived from Algiers, Zaphed, and other places; and they were at that time in daily expectation of being attacked by the Arabs. As a measure of precaution they buried all their valuables; but why they suffered this precaution to transpire to stranger travellers, we are left to conjecture. A Russian, who had been converted to Judaism, was then at Zaphed. A village called Bereeah was spoken of as being only a few miles distant, where twenty Jews supported themselves by cultivating the soil. Two days afterwards they skirted the lake of Gennesaret, "which is clear, and has a pebbly channel." It is fringed with reeds, rhododendrons, and a species of convolvulus, forming a beautifully varied border to its "soft and sweet waters." They soon saw Tiberias, where its Jews have few synagogues, which were well maintained, though the Hebrews there were by no means in a flourishing state. Their mode of worship is described to be accompanied with an extravagance of voice and gesture like that of the Jumpers in America. They next directed their course to Nazareth, crossing mount Tabor by the way; and from Nazareth they entered the valley along which the road to Acre passes. One of their attendants was here robbed by the Arabs, and the travellers themselves narrowly escaped a like visitation. At Acre they visited a small synagogue, where they found an aged man, who was said to occupy six hours every day in praying for his soul's salvation. It was no doubt, matter of regret to Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar that this poor man, by embracing the truths of Christianity, could not be taught, on the authority of the Saviour, that long prayers were not required, and that it is not every one who exclaims, "Lord, Lord," that shall be saved.

Having again found their way to Beyrout, they set out for Smyrna, and reached it on the 1st of August. In an English chapel, which they attended, they remarked this inscription over the pulpit: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Sailing from Smyrna, in a day and a half they reached Constantinople, which they were informed at that period contained eighty thousand Jews, who are presided over by a Rabbin, and regarded as a distinct community by the government. The Grand Signior holds the Rabbin re-

sponsible for the conduct of those under him. There the travellers met with Mr. Forman, a missionary from the London Jewish Missionary Society, who showed them a Hebrew MS. "History of the coming of the Jews to Constantinople, when forced to retreat from Spain." Having visited Wallachia and Moldavia, where they found little to note in regard to the Jews there established, and proceeding to Bucharest, they found that Dr. Black and Dr. Keith had passed through but ten days before, having been detained to perform a three-weeks quarantine. At Bucharest there are two thousand eight hundred Jews, though they themselves are said to report that their numbers amount to five thousand. The travellers here witnessed the ceremonies of opening the new year. The Hebrews shouting joyfully, uttered parts of the forty-seventh Psalm. In concert they repeated:

"O clap your hands, all ye people; shout unto God with the voice of triumph.

"For the Lord most high is terrible; he is a great king over all the earth.

"He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet.

"He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved."

These passages were constantly on the tongues of the Hebrews of Bucharest, while prayers and loud blowing of ram's horns added to the animation of the scene.

On entering the province of Wallachia, they learned that no Jew is permitted to settle there who cannot produce a certificate to prove that he is skilled in some trade by which he can gain a livelihood. They reached Foxany, and afterwards Birlut. In the former they found two hundred, and in the latter three hundred Jews. At Washie, where they next arrived, they were present at the slaughtering of the only sacrifice which is still used among the Israelites, the *chiferá*. The Jewish men at this season sacrifice a cock, the women a hen. The manner in which this form is satisfied, the travellers thus describe: "In a house where a mother and son resided," they write, "we saw the son reading the prayers—the mother standing with a white hen in her hands. At a certain point in the prayer she waved the struggling fowl round her head three times, saying, in Hebrew, 'This is my atonement,—this is my ransom,—this is my expiation,—this hen shall go to death, and I to happy life.' This was repeated thrice; the door then opened, and the boy was sent off with this fowl to the shochet (slaughterer) to get it killed." Of the efficacy of the offering, of the feathered victim being accepted in her stead, she appeared to possess no manner of doubt.

At Jassy, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar found many Jews, who were well dressed, and seemed in comfortable circumstances. Some of the females were richly adorned with jewels. They were thus dressed to attend the morning service on the first day after absolution. The travellers visited two places of worship, which they found numerously attended. Three days they passed in that place, visiting the synagogues, and conversing with the people. They witnessed a marriage ceremony, which presented nothing very remarkable. Of twenty thousand Jews resident in Jassy, they were



informed two only understood the Hebrew tongue grammatically, and these were reputed infidels, and members of a secret society in Gallicia.

Leaving Jassy on the 20th of September, they were at Botoshani on the following morning. Here they found about four thousand Jews, whose appearance was in every respect creditable. Having reached the Austrian frontier, they entered Buckowina at the time of the feast of the tabernacles. Every Jewish house had a distinguishing mark; and booths were erected by their walls, made of willows or other trees. In villages where Jews were located, it was found that a naboth, or string, was stretched from house to house. Any place thus dealt with is, by a Talmudical fiction, regarded as a place walled up; and being so walled up, Jews may carry burdens on the sabbath, such as their books of devotion, to any part within its range. This practice is founded on the words of the prophet Jeremiah, "Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the sabbath day, nor bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem." Some of their dwellings exhibited a small tablet suspended in a frame, which was inscribed, *Metrah*, "the East," in large characters. The intent of this is to direct the thoughts of the observer to the part where Jerusalem lies, in order that, when engaged in prayer, they may turn their faces towards the holy city.

They crossed the Dniester, and having reached Zalesky they encountered many Jews, of whom they report unfavourably, as they for the greater part seemed poor and ignorant. Those who were in good circumstances had embraced the Catholic religion. On the last day of the feast of the tabernacles, they found it was observed with much fanatical extravagance, by dances and song, and ridiculous gesticulations. Tarnapale, a considerable town in its vicinity, contained a Jewish population of about two thousand families. Many of them had joined what was called the new synagogue, an infidel class, who renounce both the Bible and the Talmud, but worship after the manner of the Israelites of old. Those who have not abandoned the belief of their forefathers appear to have been in a state of great mental darkness. As an object of great veneration, a grave was shewn to the members of the deputation, said to be that of the daughter of a Jewish rabbin, who died two hundred years ago, at which, as they reported, many miraculous cures have been effected.

At Brody a population of thirty thousand Jews was found, and not more than ten thousand Christians: the former possessed one hundred and fifty synagogues, the latter but three churches: one of the former, which has the appearance of a Gothic erection, was capable of containing three thousand persons. When leaving Brody the travellers were deprived of all their books, even their English Bibles and Testaments. One small Testament was left to them for their own use, but the rest were claimed by the custom house officers, as such works are not permitted to be introduced into Austria. They were, however, sent forward to Cracow, where the travellers were to receive them again.

It need not be stated that the original object of the expedition had ceased to occupy the returning travellers; but the information which they gleaned on their road is

not wholly destitute of interest. Mr. Huie thus concludes his sketch of their journeyings:

From Cracow, Messrs M'Cheyne and Bonar proceeded to Breslau, the capital of Silesia; and thence to Posen, where they arrived on the 19th of October. There they called upon Mr. Bellson, the missionary of the society just mentioned, and visited the schools belonging to that institution. They state:

"At Berlin, where they found about eight thousand Jews; they visited both the old and the new synagogues; and, in the latter, heard a sermon from the rabbi, on Abraham offering up Isaac. The service was a close imitation of the Lutheran church. The great majority of the Hebrew population in the Prussian capital are believed to have sunk into infidelity. One of them observed, 'Christ was a good man, and Moses was a good man, but I believe neither.' They heard Mr. Becker, the missionary, preach to the Jews in the Cloister church; and met with two proselytes, doctors of medicine, who were willing to act as medical labourers among their brethren. While surprised to learn that Dr. Neander, whom they heard lecture in the university, is no friend to missionary exertions among his brethren, they were gratified to find that the movement of the Scottish church in favour of Israel excited the liveliest interest, and generally called forth the warmest good wishes among the religious public in Prussia.

"A journey of two nights and a day from Berlin brought our countrymen to Hamburgh, where they visited both the old and new synagogues. The latter is styled the 'Temple of the Israelites;' but it is a temple without the Shechinah. The rabbi, Dr. Gothold Solomon, who preached in German, spoke of patience as a *Christian* virtue, and quoted a Christian author. The congregation of the 'Temple' have a liturgy, from which they have erased all mention of the Messiah. Mr. Moritz, who has been a convert thirty-two years, is the missionary of the London Society at Hamburgh. He was employed from 1817 to 1825, by the emperor Alexander of Russia, to preach to the Jews, which he did with great acceptance, and often with cheering success. His present labours are impeded by the influence of the people themselves, who have put down a school which had been established for Hebrew children. He stated his decided opinion, that no deep impression would be made upon their minds there until a congregation of converts should be formed, on a plan in some measure similar to that of the Moravians, by which they might maintain themselves while receiving the benefit of the instructions of a stated pastor. At Hamburgh the travellers embarked for England, which they reached after an absence of about seven months. While they were proceeding homewards through Turkey, Poland, Prussia, and the north of Germany, the other members of the deputation, Dr. Black and Dr. Keith, were detained in Hungary by severe illness. Although they were providentially restored to health, their recovery was not so speedy as to permit them to corroborate in person the statements made by their younger brethren to the Assembly's commission, in November, 1839. Before the meeting of the General Assembly itself, in the following year, the senior clergymen arrived



in Scotland; and Dr. Black and Mr. M'Cheyne appeared in the name of the deputation at the bar of that venerable court, on the 22nd of May, and presented their Report."

## CHAP. XV.

*Dr. Wolff goes to Bokhara to ascertain the fate of two Englishmen, supposed to have been murdered.—He converses with the Jews of Kurdistan.—Old Scriptural usages are upheld.—He visits the Jews of Meshed.—Dr. Wolff is sought by the Jews of Bokhara.—Practices of the Jews of Mowr.—The sect of Beni Israel in Bombay.—The Jews of Cochin.—In Egypt the Jews principally inhabit Alexandria and Cairo.—But few Jews are found in America.*

VARIOUS sources of information respecting the state of the Jews in modern times have been opened to us by accident. The murder of two British subjects at Bokhara caused Dr. Wolff, a converted Jew, to journey from England thither, to ascertain the fate of the unfortunate gentlemen who were unhappily lost to their country. The circumstances in which he was placed, whatever might be said of his capacity, and love of truth were not very favourable to calm, impartial observation. Some of his statements may gratify curiosity, though they are not of great importance. A converted Jew, it will easily be conceived, was not likely to be admitted into the confidence of those who adhered to the religion of Moses. Dr. Wolff says, speaking of a former journey:—

"In passing through Asia Minor, I held numerous and interesting conversations with the Armenians and Mussulmans. With the latter especially, I omitted no opportunity that was afforded me, consistent with their habits, of inculcating a far higher reverence for Christ, than that profound respect even in which they hold his name. I omitted no opportunity, I say also, of examining both Armenian, Persian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek MSS. In the Armenian Bible, for example, I found an important variation. In Daniel viii. 14, they read two thousand and sixty-eight, whereas in our version it is two thousand three hundred. In this passage a MS in the possession of the Jews of Bokhara reads two thousand four hundred instead of two thousand three hundred. With the Yesedee, or worshippers of the devil, I held long conversations. This singular people, amid one of their strange rites, dance annually around the ruins of ancient Babylon.

"In Kurdistan I had long conferences with the Jews, whom I found possessed of much learning. I spoke to them in Hebrew and Chaldean, which they mix considerably with Turkish. Several rabbins, however, spoke Hebrew remarkably well. I had also, in Teheraun, affecting interviews with the Jews, in which I expounded to them the Scriptures. Various curious conversations that I had with the Sheahs, or followers of Ali, in Persia, would fill volumes. With the Guebres, or worshippers of fire, how often have I conversed in Thiraz,

Isfahan, and Kashaun! How singular and wild the aspect of the sons of fire! How analogous their ancient history to the Jewish! How similar to the rites of Vesta! How like that early adoration when my people bowed to the luminous Shechinah of the Lord! Yet, if idolatry has been rife on my path, rarely has my step fallen where I did not trace Christianity. In Egypt I found the Kopts; in Palestine, the Maronites, Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, and Armenian Catholics; in Mesopotamia, at Merdeen, Mosool, Arbel, and Bagdad I met the Jacobites, the followers of Nestorius, and Roman Catholics; in Asia Minor, at Trebizond, Bayazid, Shoooshe in Karabah, again Armenians; at Tiflis, the Georgians. Again, how singularly did I find in these regions the same great differences of Calvinism and Arminianism that exist among ourselves. We are too apt to look on the Mohammedan as a fatalist; but in Mecca, as well as elsewhere, the limits of the will are freely discussed. Haje Sheikh Mohammed told me, in the words of Milton, 'Foreknowledge of God does not affect the free-will of men.' How eternal and inextinguishable also appeared the customs of the east! For instance, the shepherd precedes his sheep, and the sheep follow him; the judges sit under the gate; the disciples of the learned pour water on the hands of their masters; the Jews swear by the Temple of Jerusalem; and Jew, Christian, and Mohammedan by their heads; the bride is awakened by the screams of other women exclaiming, 'The Bridegroom cometh;' torches are carried before her at midnight; the war about wells, as in the time of Moses and Jacob, still subsists in Yemen; the lamentations over a nurse are also continued; the names of people are still given to indicate the events of the period; the king bestows a name significative of his employ on his minister; the lepers sit outside the gates of the cities; bad vines are Vines of Sodom; holy places are approached by putting the shoes from off the feet; the scarf is wrought on both sides; the Rechabite plants no vineyards, sows no seed, and lives in tents; the Derveesh, like the Nazarite of old, still makes vows that no razor shall come upon his head; barren women still perform pilgrimages to holy places, and this state is held in abhorrence, as in ancient time; Armenian women vow, like Hannah of old, that if they receive a son, he shall be devoted to God; cities of refuge for the shedder of blood unawares, still subsist, and the person guilty of blood must flee with his family, like the first murderer, to other places."

Of the Israelites established at Meshed, Dr. Wolff says:—

"All the Jews of Meshed, a hundred and fifty families, were compelled seven years ago, to turn Mussulmans. The occasion was as follows: a poor woman had a sore hand; a Mussulman physician advised her to kill a dog and put her hand in the blood of it; she did so, when suddenly the whole population rose, and said that they had done it in derision of the Prophet. Thirty-five Jews were killed in a few minutes; the rest, struck with terror, became Mohammedans; and the fanatic and covetous Mohammedans shouted, 'Light of Mohammed has fallen upon them!' They are now more zealous Jews, in secret, than ever; but call themselves,



like the Jews in Spain, *Anusim*, 'The compelled ones!' Their children cannot suppress their feelings when their parents call them by their Mohammedan names!"

The foregoing concurs with all history in showing the utter worthlessness of forced conversions. He says further of the Jews of Meshed:—

"At Meshed I had long interviews with my nation. The Jewish Sooffees of this place acknowledge Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets. They are under small moral control. They have a poem in Persian, written with Jewish-Persian characters, called *Yous-suf-u-Zuleika*, Joseph and Zuleika, describing the love of Potiphar's wife for Joseph. They have *Hafiz* in a similar character. They speak of an exoteric and esoteric religion, like the philosophers of old."

He had interviews with the Israelites settled in Bokhara. Of them he writes:—

"The Jews of Bokhara have taken courage, and called on me. The name of Sir Moses Montefiore, and the rumour of his exertions for the benefit of the Jewish nation, have reached their ears and those of their brethren in Samarcand, Balkh, Khokand, and Heraut. And Sir Moses Montefiore will be surprised to learn that his exertions in behalf of the Jews have drawn the attention of the Jews in those distant regions to the doctrines of Christianity; for many Jews, when at Bokhara, observed to me that the religion of the Gentiles in England must absolutely be better than that of Mohammed, as the proceedings of Sir Moses Montefiore, in behalf of the Jews, are not only tolerated, but also countenanced, supported, recommended, and eulogized."

On another occasion, having been visited by Jews, he says:—

"They desired me to sing a Hebrew melody, for they said, 'Your voice is sonorous and sweet.' I sang in a plaintive strain, 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, for we remembered Zion, &c.'

"After this we sang the hymn of the Jews in Turkish:—

'The King our Messiah shall come.  
The Mighty of the Mighty is He.  
The King, the King, the King our Messiah shall come,  
The Blessed of the Blessed is He.  
The King, the King, our Messiah.  
The Great One of the Great is He.'

"The Jews here asked me whether there were any Jews of distinction in our days who had embraced Christianity. I replied, 'Several;' and they wished to have their names, which they wrote down. I gave the following:

- 1st. Emanuel Veitti, M.D. now Domprediger of the Cathedral of St. Stephen's at Vienna.
- 2nd. Dr. Mayers, Professor of Jurisprudence at Tübingen.
- 3rd. Dr. August Neander, at Berlin.
- 4th. Rev. Dr. Ratisbon, in France.
- 5th. Isaac da Costa, in Amsterdam.
- 6th. Dr. Kabbadose, in Amsterdam.
- 7th. Madame Dorothea Schlegel.'

According to the same writer, the Jews of Mowr have some remarkable peculiarities.

"It is to be observed, that the Jews of Mowr call the inhabitants of Khiva *Philistines*; and they maintain that they are the descendants of the Hivites of old. The Jews of Khiva intermarry with the Mohammedans at Khiva, whilst the respective parties preserve each their separate religion: a great proof that the Turkomans and Usbecks are, with regard to their religion, in many respects less fanatics than the Mohammedans in Turkey and Arabia, where they would instantly put to death both husband and wife. The Jews of Mowr, as well as those of Bokhara, assure me that the Jews residing at Khiva are so intimate with the Turkomans, and have such a hatred against the King of Bokhara, that they frequently assist the Khivites in battle; and one may frequently hear among the Khivites, when attacking the enemy, the war-cry in Hebrew, 'Rabone Shel Olam' Lord of the world, mixed up with that of the Turkoman war-cry, 'Sereuk!' Brave, or 'Bismillaha Arrahman Arraheem!' In the name of the most merciful God. The Jews of Mowr, as well as those of Bokhara, assure me that children of Israel of the tribe of Naphtali and Zebulun, are in the Hindu Koosh among the Balkhwee, and live on robbery; and they know the exclamation, 'Shama Yisrael!' Hear Israel. Ghengis Khan had a whole corps of Jews among his troops."

The Nestorian Christians of Koordistan are reported by some to be the descendants of the ten tribes. These Christians, from their hostility to worship images, and to various dogmas held in reverence by the Catholic church, have been called the Protestants of Asia. They are a bold warlike people, and have an episcopal form of church government. The Jews in their vicinity are not very friendly to them. Believing them to have sprung from the same stock, they hold them to be apostates. Dr. Grant, on visiting Koordistan, read to some of them the Scripture history of the ten tribes under the Assyrian kings, which they at once declared told the story of their removal from the land of their fathers. That they have really descended from Israelitish progenitors, is a tradition which commands general belief, but it is unsupported by proof. They converse in a Syrian tongue, but in this are not distinguished from their brethren in neighbouring lands. They have no sin-offerings, which is accounted for from their being Christians, as such were only to be required till the atonement of the Messiah should have been made. The Christianity which they profess, however, does not preclude them from making peace-offerings. Doing this, they wish to be understood as offering homage to the Giver of all good, thanking him for past mercies and present enjoyments, and invoking his future blessing and protection. First-fruits they regard as an acceptable sacrifice to the Deity. They keep the sabbath with strictness, but less so than formerly, as till a recent date they were accustomed to put sabbath-breakers to death. A holy place is reserved in their churches, which those connected with the ministerial duties of the place are alone permitted to approach; and still more carefully is their Holy of Holies guarded against intruders generally. In this a figure of the cross, an object of great veneration with the Nestorian Christians, is carefully preserved. They have names of Jewish origin;



the patriarch's family is said to be descended from Naphthali. Among their usages may be mentioned, the nearest male relative is, as amongst the ancient Hebrews, the avenger of blood. Churches offer an accused person the benefits of a sanctuary, or city of refuge. Here the homicide may reside in safety till some decision has been pronounced on his case.

In Bombay, the Beni-Israel, a race which has some Jewish usages, has been supposed to be the representatives of the ten tribes. They are found not merely in Bombay, but in various parts of the Indian continent, and their numbers are said to amount to eight thousand. There are reasons, however, for supposing that they do not greatly exceed five thousand. The account they give of themselves is, that they are descended from seven men and as many women, who were shipwrecked in the neighbourhood sixteen centuries ago. They have adopted many Hindoo customs, and some of the Hindoo gods. They have Hebrew names joined to Indian names, and the Hebrew names are given with the rite of circumcision, while the Indian ones are not given till the child is a month old. In many respects, they differ little from the Indians, and those resident in Bombay, work as artisans. They are masons, carpenters, goldsmiths, tailors, and blacksmiths, and many of them keep shops. They are also found in the army; some of them fill up most of the regiments of native infantry. Any question that may arise on the subject of religious discipline among them, is decided at a meeting of the adult members of the community, by their Mukadam or Kazi; the former has the power of a magistrate, and it rests with the latter to decide on all ecclesiastical questions. They are commonly assisted by four chogale or elders. They admonish witnesses called before them to speak the truth, as they regard the torah or law, but do not often exact the solemnity of an oath. Though they profess to worship Jehovah, they also bow before Hindoo deities, and especially apply themselves to conciliate the kindness of those who are said generally to pursue mankind with malevolence. They profess to have founded their religious law on the Pentateuch, but they depart from it in practice. They have no manuscript copies of the law in their synagogues, but they acknowledged the divine authority of all the books in the Old Testament. Till lately they were not acquainted with the names of many of the inspired Hebrew writers. They, however, profess to believe in the later prophets. The sabbath is less carefully honoured than in many places, as some of the principal men in the presidency pass the day in examining their accounts. Formerly, on the occasion of the passover, they commonly indulged in riotous excesses, but latterly greater decorum has been observed. The two first and two last days are more carefully kept than the rest. One of their ceremonies is thus described: "An individual member of a family holds a bason in his hand, into which the contents of a cup are poured in ten portions, corresponding with the ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians, which are respectively mentioned as the ceremony proceeds." They duly celebrate the festivals of weeks and of tabernacles. The peculiar rite belonging to the eighth day is introduced by the officiating Kazi, with these words: "Blessed be

thou, O Jehovah our God, the Universal King, who sanctifies us by his commandments, and ordains to us that which relates to the coming of the Messiah;" and at the same time, Elijah and the coming Messiah are invoked, to favour the rites then in progress.

There is another Jewish colony in India, known as that of the Jews of Cochin, divided into two classes, the white and the black. Various accounts are given of their origin. The "Oriental Christian Spectator" gives the following notice of them, obtained from some of their own body: "After the destruction of the Sacred Temple, in the 3829th year of the creation, the 3168th of tribulation, and the 68th of the Christian era, about 10,000 Jews and Jewesses came to Malabar, and settled themselves at Carranganore, Paloor, Mahdam, and Poolooto; and three-fourths of this population remain at Carranganore, then called Mahodranapatna, and subsequently Chingly, under the government of Churan Perumal. In the 4139th year of the creation, 3479th of tribulation, and 379th of Christ, Cherumal Perumal Eravy Verna, Emperor of Malabar, granted to the Jews the honour and privileges which they were to exercise, and which grant was engraved on a copper-plate, called Chempeada in Malayalam; and thereby appointed Joseph Rabbaan the head of the Jews. In the deed, it is mentioned that the sovereign of Malabar, while wielding the sceptre of royalty in a hundred thousand places, had conceded to the Jews the privilege of using day-lamps, of wearing long-cloths, of being carried in palanquins, and of having at their command, umbrellas, copper vessels, trumpets and drums, garlands for the person, and to be suspended on particular occasions of rejoicing over their roads; and taxes and rates on all these, as well as on houses and synagogues, were given up. The Malabar Jews formerly resided at Carranganore, but fled from Portuguese oppression to Cochin, in the year 1565. They were followed by their enemies, from whom they experienced much severity; but in 1663, when the Dutch took possession of Cochin, they were treated with much more kindness. They were visited by four eminent merchants from Amsterdam, in 1686, who found them in such a state of peace and prosperity, that they decided to live among them. The names of these visitors were Moses Ferrara de Paiva, Isaac Argus, Isaac Mookat, and Abraham Bat. The accounts they sent over to Holland gave great satisfaction to their brethren there, who forwarded them books of the law and the prophets; and a liturgy was printed for the Jews of Malabar, at Amsterdam. The white never marry with the black Jews, and regard them as inferiors; the latter have nothing of the Levi or Cohen family among them. The towns inhabited by the black and white Jews are Cochin, Aujecannal, Paroor, Chanotto, and Mala. Various causes have reduced their numbers down to 1050. These persons have taken occasion to vindicate the industry of the Jews. They have declared them to be able and willing to take part in every honest labour, as handicraftsmen, sawyers, fishermen, blacksmiths, bricklayers, tailors, bookbinders, and other mechanics. Dr. Claudius Buchanan visited these people in 1806, and discovered, among the manuscripts in their possession, a curious version of the New Testament.



The doctor says: "I had heard that there were one or two translations of the Testament in their possession, but they were studiously kept out of my sight for a considerable time. At last, however, they were produced by individuals in a private manner. One of them is written in the small rabbinical or Jerusalem character; the other in a large square letter. The history of the former is very interesting. The translator, a learned Rabbi, conceived the design of making an accurate version of the New Testament, for the express purpose of confuting it. His style is copious and elegant, like that of a master in the language, and the translation is in general faithful. It does not indeed appear that he wished to pervert the meaning of a single sentence; but, depending on his own abilities and renown as a scholar, he hoped to be able to controvert its doctrines, and to triumph over it by fair contest in the presence of the world. The translation is complete, and written with greater ease towards the end than at the beginning. How astonishing it is that an enemy should have done this! That he should have persevered resolutely to the end of his work; not always indeed calmly, for there is sometimes a note of execration on the Sacred Person who is the subject of it, as if to unburden his mind, and ease the conflict of his labouring soul. At the close of the gospels, as if afraid of the converting power of his own version, he calls heaven to witness that 'he had undertaken the work with the professed design of opposing the *Epicureans*,' by which term he contemptuously designates the Christians." According to Wolff there are about fifty families there.

There are only two places in Egypt where Jews are found in considerable numbers; in Alexandria there are about one thousand, at Cairo five thousand. Many of these are Europeans, attracted there by commercial pursuits. There are ten synagogues at Cairo, and five schools; the attendance at each school averaging from thirty to forty. They are taught the Arabic and Hebrew languages. The Jewish quarter of the city is very deplorable in appearance. The streets are dirty, and so narrow that two persons cannot walk abreast in them. The place is very unhealthy, and the mortality great.

There are many Jews in the Barbary states. One hundred and fifty thousand are reported by Mr. Ewald, the missionary, to live under the Tunisian government, forty thousand of whom are established in the capital. Their spiritual concerns are regulated by five rabbins, the chief of whom has the ancient title of Ab-Beth-Din.

The empire of Morocco contains a vast number of Jews. They are said to be no fewer than three hundred thousand. At the accession of every sovereign, a tribute is imposed upon them; but notwithstanding this, they are content to remain, and have founded many synagogues and academies. At Mogador, and all the places on the coast, they are found actively engaged in commerce. Some of the Morocco Jews pretend that Joab, King David's general, came from that country, and point to a mark which, they say, was made by his horse's foot. Africa is supposed to contain about one fourth of all the Jews existing in the world, and it is conjectured that they cannot fall short of a million.

From inquiries made some years ago, it appears that

in America there were not more than twenty thousand; they were more numerous at New York and Philadelphia than in any other part of the United States. There are from four to five thousand in Jamaica, having been attracted to that island by a law which enabled them to become landholders, which they were not permitted to be in other Christian countries.

## CHAP. XVI.

*While the Jews are favoured in Europe they are oppressed in Egypt.—They are accused of shedding Christian blood to celebrate the Passover.—Father Thomaso, a Capuchin friar, is missing and supposed to have been assassinated.—An inquiry is ordered at the suggestion of the French Consul.—A barber is apprehended on suspicion.—He is tortured, and accuses seven Jewish merchants of the crime.—They are arrested and tortured, but confess nothing.—The servant of one of them is treated with like severity, and inculcates the merchants.—They are subjected to new tortures.—Confessions are extorted from them.—M. Merlato, the Austrian Consul, interferes in their behalf.—Russian Jews solicit permission to visit the Holy Land, and there await the coming of the Messiah.—State of the modern Jews in Persia, Yemen, Aden, and Daghistan.—At this last place the Sabbath is celebrated with dancing.*

EGYPT, the ancient scene of Jewish suffering, has witnessed, while Europe was breaking the fetters in which the Hebrews had been too long restrained, a renewal of horrors which bring back to memory those of the middle ages. Under the sway of Mehemet Ali, enlightened as that ruler is admitted on many points to be, the Israelites have experienced severities not surpassed by those they had to deplore while Pharaoh Necho filled the throne. Happily they have been of brief duration. The active benevolence of a British Jew carried him from the banks of the Thames to those of the Nile, and his powerful representations gained for his brethren a pledge that for the future they shall not be exposed to like hardships.

The case which called for this interference was founded on the old ridiculous assumption, that the Jewish passover could not be properly celebrated without the shedding of Christian blood, and it was there believed, or at least reported, as was formerly done in England and elsewhere, that the most abominable practices were had recourse to in order that a fitting sacrifice might be found. The charge preferred against the Jews on this occasion represented that, on the 5th of February, in the year 1840, a certain Capuchin friar, known by the name of Father Thomaso, who had gained wealth, and who for more than thirty years was resident in Damascus, had, with his servant, suddenly disappeared. Report declared that he had last been seen in that quarter of the city in which the Jews resided, and thence the injurious conclusion was drawn, that he had



been murdered by them; and this idea gaining ground, a rigid inquiry into all the circumstances of the case was ordered by the authorities. It was found, on examination, that the effects of the missing parties remained untouched in the house where they had resided. M. le Comte de Pratti Menton, the French consul, was entrusted with the management of the investigation. Of this person the Jews report, that he had always hated their name and nation, and was therefore ill qualified, on such an occasion, to act for the interests of impartial justice. Menton, it is added, engaged as his agent one of the lower orders, a Turk of bad character, whose release from prison, where he had been confined as a debtor, he first obtained. This man, whose name was Mohammed Eltelli, immediately went to work with the intention to criminate somebody. An unfortunate barber was among the first he pitched upon, and who, from the confusion and alarm he manifested while under examination, was violently suspected by many of being implicated in the crime supposed to have been committed. The barber, though greatly alarmed, had the fortitude to endure beating and torture, and the integrity sturdily to reject promised rewards; and for a time no confession could be drawn from him. Renewed inflictions, and the dread of worse to follow, in the end conquered his firmness; and Eltelli succeeded in drawing from him an accusation against seven eminent Jewish merchants, whom he named. The wretched sufferer declared that, having caused him to meet them at the house of David Arari, one of the parties he accused, they there required him to assassinate Father Thomaso, whom they had previously seized and bound, and who was then on the floor of the apartment in which this abominable design was avowed. It is hardly worth while to comment on the absurdity of this statement; happy or probable invention could not be expected from the rack. But the examiners must surely have perceived that it was extravagantly improbable that the conspirators, having Father Thomaso in their power, should not have preferred striking the deadly blow themselves to pressing into the service an accomplice, who not being moved by the same feelings which animated them, might be likely to reveal their guilt. The barber declared that he would not commit so atrocious a crime; and then, according to his report, the conspirators gave him a sum of money not to make known what they had called upon him to do, and permitted him to withdraw, which he immediately did, without ascertaining what was to be done with the intended victim. This confession Eltelli affected to view as highly important; and all the merchants who had been named were speedily arrested. It was in vain that they expressed surprise at the charge, and steadily asserted their innocence; torture was had recourse to in order to vanquish obstinacy, and to obtain an acknowledgment of their guilt. Some of them were aged men, and so feeble, that it was thought, if subjected to the bastinado, they must instantly expire; but ingenious cruelty found what was deemed a safer method of prevailing over them. They were ordered to stand in one position for thirty-six hours without being permitted for a moment to close their eyes in sleep. When slumber irresistibly pressed on their weary eyelids, some sharp pain caused them to resume the sad consciousness of their situation. Yet this severity,

added to beatings with rods, produced no acknowledgment of guilt.

Disappointed in his essays on the merchants, Menton now turned his attention to those who were in their service; and, affecting extreme vigilance, the servant of David Arari was apprehended. He was tortured so cruelly that his courage broke down; and to gain a respite from intolerable pain, he owned that he had murdered the Capuchin. The deed, he said, was done by order of the merchants, and in the house of Arari; the blood of the victim being carefully preserved in a crystal vase, in order to be used in connexion with certain ceremonies pertaining to the Jewish religion. He further declared, that after Father Thomaso was dead, the barber and himself had been ordered to cut the body into pieces, to pound the bones and the skull in a mortar, and after this operation had concluded, to carry the whole away to an aqueduct which flows through one of the streets peopled by Israelites, at some distance from Arari's house. This confession was at variance with part of that obtained from the barber, who had declared that, when he refused to perpetrate the crime, he left the place, and did not know the ultimate fate of Father Thomaso. He was now recalled, and re-examined, and at length brought to make his story agree with that told by Arari's servant. Some bones were discovered near the aqueduct which had been mentioned, which might be those of animals, but which were assumed to be those of the murdered persons. The accused, when the bones were produced, asserted their entire innocence as firmly as before; but new tortures eventually vanquished truth; and, by degrees, all were brought to confess the imputed crime. But that which they yielded to insufferable agony, they afterwards revoked. With the most solemn appeals to the All-seeing One, they now affirmed their innocence; and though again subjected to torture, no fresh acknowledgment of being implicated in the murder could be obtained. Besides the merchants, other Jews, suspected of being their accomplices, had been visited with great severity; and two men died under the pain inflicted to gain a disclosure of their guilt. The mob, fond of horrors, greedily listened to the wild stories promulgated of the Jews combining to shed Christian blood, and all Jews were supposed to participate in the crime imputed to the seven merchants; and the more reflecting, more humane Christians, who on such grounds, refused to persecute, themselves became the objects of persecution. The Austrian consul at Damascus, M. Merlato, because he differed from M. Menton as to the course which ought to be pursued on this occasion, was himself assailed as a friend to the atrocities pretended to have been committed. He, however, was too bravely independent to suffer himself to be swayed by clamour, and made an application to the Pasha on the subject of the disgraceful proceedings which had been witnessed, and pressed the case on Mehemet Ali with such energy and success, that the latter put a stop to the examinations, and forbade the suspected to be again tortured in the absence of proof.

Dr. Loewe, who subsequently accompanied Sir Solomon Montefiore to the east, and was personally acquainted with most of the sufferers, states some painfully interesting facts in connexion with this tragedy. He writes:—

"When it became known that the priest Thomaso had



mysteriously disappeared, seven individuals were charged with having decoyed him into their power, and with having murdered him amongst them; it was positively asserted that these seven had been seen altogether in the afternoon of the day of his disappearance in the house of David Arari. One of the seven, however, offered to produce, as evidence to disprove this, two persons, one a Mohammedan and the other a Christian, who were sitting with him in his own house all that day and the greater portion of the ensuing evening. A child of his had just died, and, according to the precepts of the Jewish law, he was compelled to remain in his house during seven days from its decease, in a state of mourning: that day was one included in the seven, and these persons came to condole with him on his loss. Had these witnesses been allowed to come forward, the whole of the case must have fallen to the ground at once, in spite of the malicious craft and cunning which the originators of the charge displayed; for as they were in nowise connected with the Jews, their testimony must have been received as valid; and the absence of one out of the seven being proved, the charge, specially implicating the seven, could not have survived for a moment. But this man was instantly put to the torture; and though they were all subjected to the most horrible appliances that the human mind can conceive, yet the mode of torture used with him took effect so speedily, that he died before any of his friends could have any chance of putting forward the witnesses referred to. He was still included in the accusation, for now he could only testify his innocence to his Maker.

"There was another remarkable circumstance, which shows how determinedly the charge was carried over every impediment which truth and justice opposed to it. Three ministers of the Jewish congregation were, at the outset of the calumnious report, commanded by the governor to discover the criminals; these three straightway repaired to the synagogue, and having summoned all their brethren that could come into their presence, made a proclamation that, if any Jew knew aught that might lead to the detection of the criminals, he should instantly communicate it to them, under pain of excommunication, which is the most serious punishment that the Jewish clergy can inflict, and which every Jew contemplates with the utmost dread. The rabbies likewise enjoined all their auditors to make diligent search for the criminals for the honour of the nation at large. In consequence of this proclamation, a young man, a Jew, who kept a tobacco-shop in the Mooslimin quarter, just without one of the city gates, came forward, and stated that he had seen the priest and his servant pass by his door at six o'clock in the evening of the day on which he was last seen, which he the more clearly remembered as he then solicited them both to purchase *toombak* of him.

"In the accusation against the seven, it was stated that the priest was last seen at David Arari's house at half-past four. This evidence, then, tended strongly to refute the accusation; but the ill-fated youth was directly arrested as an accomplice, and hurried into eternity simultaneously with the first of the seven.

"Thus the testimony that could not have failed to weigh on the minds of the multitude was entirely suppressed;

and the multitude were now induced to raise a clamour against the unfortunate prisoners; and the individuals in office, whose actions can clearly be traced to motives of revengful jealousy, excited against the most distinguished Jews in Damascus by certain circumstances which had long since occurred, took shelter under this clamour, and gratified their atrocious malice not only with impunity, as regarded the major part of the inhabitants of the place, but with the approbation due only to a rigid act of justice. On nearly all former occasions, when the Jews have been persecuted in consequence of the superstitious impression that they used Christian blood in their Pass-over ceremonies, similar means have been practised to stifle the voice of truth, and similar feelings of revenge have, without doubt, first kindled the flame of persecution."

Frequent mention has been made of the desire felt by Jews at various periods of their history, in whatever countries they might find themselves, to visit Palestine. Since the present autocrat has been on the throne of Russia, a petition was presented by thirty thousand Polish Jews, the prayer of which was, that they might be allowed to proceed to Palestine in a body, and await there during three years the coming of the Messiah. The petitioners were willing to engage to return to Poland at the end of that period; and many of them were so confident that the deliverer was at hand, that they were willing to promise to become Christians if in this they were disappointed. What answer the emperor Nicholas gave to this singular appeal has not transpired. It is difficult to say what numbers of Israelites are now established in Palestine. Since 1832, when Mehemet Ali took possession of Syria, great numbers of Jews have flocked thither. The total has been assumed by some writers to reach forty thousand. For the most part they are found in the four cities, which, from sacred history appear to have been most important, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Zaphet. The last named place suffered greatly from an earthquake in January, 1837, which caused many of the Jews previously established there to withdraw. Some years before, there were not fewer than seven thousand Israelites in Zaphet, but three fourths of that number left in consequence of the earthquake, and have been slow to return to the new city. To this spot, the Jews are, however, fondly attached, as an ancient tradition reported that there the Messiah would first appear. It is situate on the summit of a mountain in the neighbourhood of the sea of Galilee, and has been said to be the very town pointed out by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount, where he says, 'A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' In Jerusalem, which contains six synagogues, there are believed to be seven thousand Jews, in Hebron eight hundred, and in Tiberias twelve hundred. Mr. Fremantle, in his journey through Palestine, found the Jews for the most part, extremely poor, and mainly dependent on their wealthy brethren in Europe for subsistence. He represents them to be subjected to many hardships, and in consequence, their synagogues were in debt or mortgaged, and those who had become converts to Christianity were exposed to many distressing privations.

In Persia the Jews suffer severely; according to Dr. Wolff more severely than elsewhere. He indeed, says; 'I have travelled far; the Israelites are every-



where princes in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burden, heavy is our slavery, anxiously we wait for redemption.' He adds, many of the Jews there become mad and blind from the want they experience and the sufferings to which they are exposed, giving in his view of the subject an illustration of that solemn passage in Deuteronomy xxviii. v. 28; "The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness and astonishment of heart."

In happier circumstances appear the Jews who are found in Yemen, the ancient Arabia Felix. Their numbers are estimated at two hundred thousand. They have eighteen synagogues in Sana, the chief town; their houses are neat and commodious; and they possess beautifully written copies of the law. Polygamy exists among them; and it is their belief that their ancestors never returned to Jerusalem after the Temple had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, as, when invited by Ezra to accompany him thither, their answer was that they would not quit their dwelling-places till the Messiah should be come.

At Aden there is a considerable Hebrew population; they form, indeed, the majority of the inhabitants, but are generally poor. They follow the occupations of carpenters, stonemasons, silversmiths, and indeed, are found in most of the ordinary walks of industry. They have few merchants among them, and are strict Talmudists. They have a synagogue, very regularly attended, and three public schools. The population of the place is said to be very generally educated, and the affairs of the community are for the most part regulated by the chief of the synagogue and four elders. They possess many copies of the law, portions of the Old Testament, and parts of the Talmud, which they highly value. They have cemeteries of their own, which cover several acres. The inscriptions of the tombs are in the Hebrew language.

For the ten tribes who were subjected by the monarchs of Assyria, many conjectures have been hazarded as to their fate. By some they have been supposed to have returned with those of Judah and Benjamin after the Babylonian captivity, but others believe them to have been amalgamated and lost in the heathen nations which surrounded them. The fact is, the question, though often mooted, can receive no satisfactory and decisive answer.

The Jews of Daghistan, a district on the western coast of the Caspian Sea, have claimed to be regarded as being that remnant of Israel which prophecy has declared "shall return to their own land." These Jews observe the great feasts of the Passover, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles, after the manner enjoined by the Mosaic law. The rabbinical additions which the modern Hebrews have adopted, they disregard. They have no religious institution for the celebration of any event in their history subsequent to the captivity, with the exception of the Purim. They do not keep the Sabbath with great strictness. They hold themselves open to perform works of necessity and mercy, and mirth they deem not inconsistent with the holiest exercises of religion. They encourage the lively dance on the Sabbath day, founding the practice on the words of the Psalmist, "Praise the Lord's name in the dance," and music is also invited to the cele-

bration in conformity with the injunction, "Sing praises unto him with the timbrel and harp." On Sabbath afternoons, the dwellings of their elders and teachers are open to the people, who repair thither to be instructed in the religion of their forefathers. The practice of circumcision is general. They possess manuscript copies of the law of Moses, which they call the book of the covenant, written in the ancient Hebrew characters, and not divided into chapters and verses. The Pentateuch, as here preserved, omits the last chapter of Deuteronomy; in other respects it is the same as ours. With the exception of part of the book of Esther, they have no portion of the Bible, and they know nothing of the Apocrypha. They are described by Mr. Samuel as very anxious to obtain the psalms of David. In most respects the Jews of Daghistan are supposed closely to resemble what the Israelites were three thousand years ago.

#### CHAP. XVII.

*More cheering prospects open for the Jews.—The voice of Christianity is heard in their favour.—They are reproached for not engaging in agricultural pursuits.—Persecution is the cause of it.—Sir Moses Montefiore applies himself to refute the calumny.—He sets out for the Holy Land with Lady Montefiore.—They proceed through France to Nice and Rome.—The Jews are little favoured in "the eternal city."—They arrive in Egypt.*

THE serious reader, who has perused with interest the story of the various fortunes of the most ancient and most celebrated people on the face of the globe, will, at the period we have now reached, feel something like the cheering anticipations of the weary traveller, who, long perplexed in dreary deserts and savage forests, at length finds himself in safety on the verge of civilization. The dismal massacres, the atrocious proscriptions, and the heartless oppression which through many ages the Israelites had to deplore, seem not likely to be renewed. The voice of reason has been listened to, and that of Christianity is heard, with appropriate dignity, to call on all who reverence its precepts, even where the Jews are concerned, to "do justice and love mercy."

If such feelings now prevail, the Israelites are greatly indebted for the happy change to the bold, determined, and humane efforts made in their behalf by one gentleman, who has already been mentioned with honour, but who claims of right a more especial notice. It had long been urged against the Jews that they were not found engaged in the cultivation of the soil. The late Mr. Cobbett was accustomed to launch his bitter invectives against them on that account, and tell his readers that the Israelite was never seen to take a spade in his hand, but waited, like the voracious slug, to devour what had been produced by labour in which he had no share. The unhappy situation in which cruel laws and narrow-minded bigotry had placed the Jew was overlooked; and the ample refutation of the calumny offered by their ancient history, and the expositions of their modern



teachers, which appear in the foregoing pages, were disregarded. Sir Moses Montefiore, sensible that this charge had no foundation, was anxious to disprove it in the most public and authentic manner, and to obtain evidence that the Jew was never reluctant to appear among the industrious cultivators of the soil, where mild and equitable laws secured the enjoyment of the fruits of his labour. Proof of this has been quoted from Mr. McCheyne, who expresses great admiration of the manner in which even the least favourable places in Palestine were cultivated, sometimes exhibiting "sixty and seventy terraces on one rocky hill."

Sir Moses had travelled in the east many years before. He knew that what had been alleged against his brethren was unfounded; and, in pursuance of the object above described, he resolved to revisit Palestine.

It was in November, 1838, that he commenced his journey, accompanied by Lady Montefiore, who shared his ardour in the cause of their aspersed co-religionists. Her ladyship kept a journal of their progress, which has never been published. It is deeply interesting, from the pure spirit of love and devotion, which breathes in every page, but can only be quoted here where it throws light on the state of the modern Jews, or brings before us Scripture scenes such as they now exist, in which the Israelites of other days appeared.

Passing from Calais to Ghent and Brussels, her ladyship says, at the last mentioned city:

"The synagogue is an extremely neat building, and government contributes five hundred francs annually to its support. Government also appoints the high-priest and the readers; and there is a school for the poor, who receive various kinds of instruction, amongst which music holds no insignificant place. Sermons in German are delivered weekly by the high-priest. About eighty families of our persuasion reside in Brussels; but some of them are far from being distinguished for orthodoxy."

Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence, Strasbourg, Colmar, Besançon, Bourges, Lyons, the Rhone, Avignon, Aix, Marseilles, Nice were successively reached. The travellers were well received as they advanced; but at Nice, Lady Montefiore says: "In the course of conversation we learnt that this country was greatly wanting in liberality, and that the members of our community are subject to much oppression, and many disadvantages. How long will the powerful oppress the weak, and endeavour to stifle the energies of their fellow beings? One consolation remains under such a state of things. Conscientious feelings, well maintained under oppression, ever excite the sympathy and admiration of independent and virtuous minds."

Thence proceeding to St. Remo, Chiavari, La Spezia, Carrara, Leghorn, Florence, and Foligno, the travellers at length find themselves at Rome. Here the march of mind had done little for the Jews. "How painful," exclaims the writer, "it is to find our people under so many disadvantages here. Three thousand five hundred souls are obliged to maintain themselves by shops, and in a confined part of the city. Arts, sciences, mechanism are prohibited. Four times in the year two hundred are obliged to attend a sermon for their conversion. It is said that no proselytes are made, except

occasionally from among the most destitute. Leo XII. deprived them of the privilege granted by Pius VII. of keeping shops out of the Ghetto. The present pontiff has permitted them to have warehouses in the city. He is favourably disposed, and kind in his conduct, and it is to be hoped that the cardinals and the government will soon become equally so."

It, however, appears that the Jews were allowed the exercise of their religion, and that the synagogues of "the eternal city" are maintained in great splendour. Having accompanied Sir Moses to one, her ladyship says: "A crimson velvet and gold chair was placed in the centre for me, and the whole interior of the building was illuminated with wax candles and lamps, the walls being hung with rich crimson satin, while the crowns and bells of the seraphim were of chased gold and silver, and the cloaks of rich brocaded silk, embroidered with flowers and various devices, and with the arms of the donor in gold and silver. At the conclusion of the service I was conducted down, and requested to walk through the synagogue, and sit in the chair appropriated to the Haham. Embarrassing as was the proffered honour, I did not like to refuse it, lest my doing so might have offended the kind feelings of those by whom it was tendered. The prayers were said in a very devout manner, and without the introduction of modern airs in the chanting. After the service an excellent sermon was delivered in Italian, by a senior student of the Talmud Torah, a young man of ability, who has studied medicine with great success, but his practice was limited to the Ghetto, his religion being an effectual bar to his more extensive encouragement. We were afterwards shown a superb and numerous collection of mantles, curtains, &c. belonging to another synagogue."

It was at Rome that Sir Moses Montefiore happened to encounter Dr. Loewe, an eminent Jewish scholar, who had just returned from the East, and who was master of several oriental languages. That gentleman was prevailed upon to accompany Sir Moses to Egypt. He will be further mentioned hereafter.

Pursuing their journey, Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, proceeded to Civita Vecchia and Malta. Though advertised on the road that the plague was raging at Jerusalem, and that robbers infested the parts through which they were to pass, benevolence was not to be deterred by danger from pursuing its sacred object. Their arrival in Egypt is sketched with great animation.

"It was at an early hour that I heard the call to make ready the anchor—a most satisfactory sound. At seven o'clock we dressed and went on deck to have a sight of Pompey's pillar and Cleopatra's needle, objects bright and familiar to our memory.

"The pilot now came on board, and we were soon surrounded by Turkish boats, turbans, and divers-coloured costumes. The quarantine-boat then approached, and our bill of health was demanded. Captain G—, on handing it out, said that it might be taken with the hand; but no! a long pair of scissors, more resembling a pair of tongs, were stretched forth, and by these the document was held till perused by the janissary. When it had been ascertained that all were healthy, this singular instrument was laid down, and the



paper taken by the hand. A corpulent Turk, the British consul's head dragoman, came on board, and the letter-bags were handed out; while amidst the voiciferations and unintelligible jargon of the Arabs, numerous boats surrounded the ship, the anxious masters of which pleading for themselves, or the hotels for which they were employed, could only be kept off so as to afford a free passage from the vessel, by a copious sprinkling of water."

### CHAP. XVIII.

*Sir Moses Montefiore collects information from the Jews of Egypt relative to their disposition to engage in agricultural pursuits.—All reports prove their willingness to become cultivators of the soil.—The Jewish agriculturists had been exposed to heavy losses.—Sir Moses Montefiore solicits the Pacha of Egypt in favour of the Jews.—Mehemet Ali offers to give him one or more villages, to be ruled by a governor of his choosing.—He promises the Jews his protection.—The exertions of Sir Moses are gratefully acknowledged.*

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE in Egypt carefully laboured to inform himself of the then situation and disposition of the Jews of the East. He communicated with those from whom he might expect the fullest and most correct information on these points. Some of them throw great light on the condition of the Israelites, and they clearly established what Sir Moses was most anxious to ascertain, that they were well disposed to apply themselves to the cultivation of the land, if their industry were duly protected. During a residence of six months in Egypt, he had ample opportunities of satisfying himself on this head, as the rabbins, and the spiritual representatives of all the congregations, reported there was every disposition on their part to maintain themselves as agriculturists when enabled to do so. What had been the feelings and the condition of the Hebrews in Palestine, cannot be better pictured than in one of the letters addressed to him by the Rabbins from whom he sought information. Rabbi Mordekkay, the son of Rabbi Abr-Shel-Salman, at Jerusalem, in a letter dated 4 Tamooz, 5599 (1839) writes :

"I feel prompted to ask, why should our condition be worse than that of Christians in the Holy Land? for they have no inheritance in the soil, nor have they absolute possession of any portion of it any more than we; yet the Christians here derive a sufficient sustenance from the fruitfulness of the land, and the abundance of its seas. It has been my chief endeavour, from earliest youth, to live by the labour of my hands, and to help to sustain those who devote their lives to the study of the holy law. I engaged in commercial pursuits, intending to make a journey once a year into Egypt: and on my return I sold the goods I had purchased to shopkeepers, but, that I might duly attend to the law, I refrained from appearing in any shop myself. On my second return from Egypt, I was exposed to great danger, for my

preservation from which I have to give thanks to the Almighty. But my father, seeing that we had not the means requisite to extend our business, so as to derive from it incomes which might support our families in comfort, and especially as the necessities of life and the articles of commerce were at that time very expensive, and the roads to Egypt in a state of great peril, would not sanction my going thither any more: two years have now elapsed since I gave up that undertaking.

"My present employment is connected with the reconstruction of the former ruin of Rabbi Yehooda, Hakhasid, which I deem a good action. I am mindful so to inspect the work that nothing, not a half-penny, be lost by miscalculation in the purchase of the building materials. I have refused compensation for my labours, and have also declined taking charge of any of the money for defraying the expenses, that my conscience should be clear before God and before Israel, trusting in the Almighty that I should obtain a maintenance through some other channel. The director of the work, on seeing my task thus performed with zealous rectitude, presented me with, as a reward, a seat in the great study, called the 'Consolation of Zion,' and secured it by a written deed to me and my heirs for ever. I supplicate the Almighty incessantly that I may always find some mode of sustaining myself in the Holy Land, and that no circumstance may arise to draw me hence, hurting my feet on foreign ground, and my heart by having to knock for succour at the doors of the benevolent.

"Last year I purchased some wheat from a certain person, whom I will call Manzoor, in one of the villages here, and I then observed that all the peasants of the village were as slaves under that person, he taking nearly all that the land produced. I inquired of the peasants how that person acquired so powerful a position, and from them I had the information which follows. In that district there is much land fit for cultivation; and whoever has the means to erect a house in the village, and to purchase about six oxen for the plough, the cost of which is about two thousand five hundred Turkish piastres, or fifty ducats; who also appoints a person to do the necessary manual labour, providing him with seed, may obtain an income which, after the subjoined conditions are complied with, may be deemed very profitable. These are, to give a fifth part of the fruits to the pasha, as a tax on the land, and a fifth part to the labourer. The cost of food for so many oxen during the period of four months in which there is no pasture for them, is about three thousand piastres, in seasons when things bear a fair price. The three-fifths remaining to him, subject to this last outlay, provide, as said before, a very considerable income. Manzoor had built several houses, and had conducted all the other requisite operations on a large scale, having also constructed stalls for the cattle and for sheep, and thus he had acquired great wealth.

"Reflecting on these facts, I said to myself, 'This agricultural business in the Holy Land must be an advantageous one.' I wished to engage in it myself, but my own property consisted of only three thousand piastres. It happened, however, that I met an Israelite



belonging to our Portuguese brethren, who sometimes transacted business with Manzoor, and I proposed to him that we should purchase six oxen, and place them under the care of Manzoor, having first induced him to enter into partnership with us, and to add six more oxen to them, and to appoint peasants to till the ground. This he agreed to; Manzoor also was agreeable to the plan, we paying him six thousand piastres to cover the expenses of the seed and the maintenance of the oxen. It was further stipulated, that the produce should be divided between us equally, and a correct statement furnished by Manzoor after the harvest of the expenditure, so that if any portion of the six thousand piastres remained it should be rendered back to us. He had the charge of all my available property, and thus I became his partner.

"When the season arrived for reaping the corn, I went to the village, and remained in the neighbourhood several days, anxious to see that the work was properly executed. Some of the inhabitants, remarking my attention to the business, said to me, 'Why do you put yourself to so much trouble and expense in watching here so constantly, exposed to the heat of the day and the extreme cold of the night, when all the land you have in cultivation is only half a fadan? you ought to have taken up two fadans at the least, (consisting of twelve oxen,) and have furnished money for the necessary expenses of such a quantity. In that case, this undertaking would have sufficed for the full maintenance of you and your family, and would have been worth the attention which you now show.' My answer to these observations was, that what I was now doing was only an experiment; but that the ensuing year, I would, with God's leave, act upon their advice.

"After this short conversation I went to Manzoor, and desired him, on behalf of my partner as well as myself, to furnish me with an account of the expenses of our speculation. He told me he would do so when the harvest was over, 'and then,' added he, 'I will divide the oxen also, for I do not like partnership.' His reason for wishing to dissolve our contract was a disinclination to have any of his proceedings overlooked in the manner in which I had been employing myself; indeed, he wished to do everything in his own way. From this I concluded he must have heard of the conversation between me and the people just referred to respecting my future agricultural operations. He was an avaricious man, and it seemed that he could not endure to see another derive any benefit from the soil. I certainly felt much chagrined, and I reminded him that the sustenance of every human creature depended on the will of the Almighty.

"Then was I moved to pour forth my troubled spirit to the eternal God of the world. 'O Lord!' I ejaculated, 'this man is rich in cattle, in sheep, and in asses; he has built himself many houses, which are fair to see, and I, thy poor servant, whose all, a mere trifle, was embarked in this matter, I, trusting in thy beneficence for success, am now envied by the man, who would debar me from the recompense to which industry is justly entitled. Glorify thy name, O Lord, for the sake of thy servants by whom it is glorified; succour me in this strait, O Lord, that I may not be dependent on the favour of this envious man.'

"Before I departed from the village, it so happened one day that I met a peasant belonging to another village, named Gezaze, who told me that the land around that place was of a much better quality than the fields to which my present venture related. This peasant, having married a woman of this village who was reluctant to quit her family, was in some sort compelled to dwell here; but he suggested to me that I should send some oxen to Gezaze, and occupy some land there as soon as the present harvest should be over.

"When I was about to return to Jerusalem, as my father limited my stay till the last month of Sivan, in order that I might not neglect the general prayers of the congregation, (and the necessity for attending to these devotions compelled me to appoint another person to watch the harvest in my stead, whose expenses, in addition to the others, nearly swallowed up all my profits,) when there came a messenger from my father, to inform me that Sir Moses had delighted him with his benign consideration, in seeking to benefit the very means which had lately so much engrossed my attention. At this intelligence I fervently gave praise to the Almighty for his merciful interposition in our behalf at so important a crisis. I saw by the tenour of my father's letter, that it was your wish, Sir, to establish the prosperity of our holy institutions by the occupation of the land, to be effected by our cultivating it, and that I should ascertain what villages were most suitable for the abode of those of our brethren who might undertake to labour on the soil. Upon this, I at first thought of the villages bordering on the Jordan. Here, however, though the land is very good, agricultural pursuits are attended with much hazard, for in the vicinity of the Jordan, there are many Arabs, who support themselves chiefly by plunder; and to such an extent are their depredations carried on, that the Moslemin are afraid to approach them. The villages suitable in the plain near Ghaze and Ramle I knew to be in a very wretched condition, for as there are no building materials close at hand, stones and wood have to be brought from a considerable distance; in lieu of wood for fuel, indeed, the villagers are often obliged to burn the excrement of cattle to dress their food; consequently there could be no places in which any Israelites could comfortably dwell. While my thoughts were thus roving, the suggestion of the peasant recurred to me, and though it was night when I received the letter, I went forth at once into the village in which my fadans were lodged, and inquired of the man what were the dimensions and precise advantages of the village of Gezaze.

"He assured me that its advantages were numerous, and that few villages beside had so many. He further suggested that I should go thither in person, in order that I might be fully satisfied; I thought it well to do so. It is situated seven hours' distance from Jerusalem, and three from Ramle. I found it had not been misrepresented. In former years it must have been populous, for I saw the ruins of very extensive buildings. It has three wells, supplied by living springs, just as those are in the neighbourhood of Jaffa; and, contiguous to these wells, gardens and plantation-grounds could be laid out, and, in process of time, rendered as beautiful as those on the road leading to Jaffa."

Sir Moses received from another of his correspondents



the following particulars respecting the villages in the vicinity of Jerusalem, which are described as being in a prosperous state.

“*Gebbel Toor*.—This at present engages twelve fadans; but eight more might be worked with advantage. The neighbourhood abounds with fruit. It contributes ten thousand piastres annually to the pasha's revenue.

“*Issabie*.—This is situated half a mile from the above, and, like that, has vineyards and other delightful appendages. Twelve fadans are worked here, and it contributes twelve thousand piastres to the revenue.

“*Indte*.—Another village situated at about two hours' distance from Jerusalem. A great quantity of stone is obtained from this place for the chief buildings at Jerusalem. It contains many advantages. Twelve fadans are employed here, and its contribution to the revenue is ten thousand piastres.

“*Sib*.—Situated two hours' distance from Jerusalem. The lands abound with vines and olives. Its fadans are twenty, and the pasha derives from it twenty thousand piastres annually.

“*Elmisre*.—This stands at three hours' distance from Jerusalem, and abounds with olive-trees. It employs thirty fadans, and pays thirty thousand piastres annually to the revenue.”

Having by anxious and persevering enquiries possessed himself of facts which he deemed all sufficient to support the claim he was disposed to make on behalf of his brethren, Sir Moses Montefiore sought and obtained an interview with Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. He was introduced by the British consul, and received by the pasha in a spacious divan in his palace at Alexandria, accompanied by Dr. Loewe and several English gentlemen. They were courteously welcomed. Age or reflection had subdued into amenity all the sternness which once marked the conduct and the deportment of Mehemet Ali. The manner of the Egyptian ruler was marked by great urbanity. He listened with evident interest to the representations which the Jewish advocate offered on behalf of his suffering brethren. It was first read in English, and then translated by the interpreter of his highness. The pasha expressed himself anxious to relieve the Jews from the disqualifications under which they laboured. He declared it would afford him much satisfaction to improve the condition of his Hebrew subjects, and to encourage them to engage in agricultural pursuits. Having this at heart, he offered to give Sir Moses any village or villages in the Holy Land, and to place over them any governor whom he might recommend. He further declared that every facility should be afforded to those who might settle there to carry out their designs, and every protection afforded to them. The generous intercessor had the gratification to find that his labours were duly appreciated. An address made to him by the Portuguese and German congregations of Jerusalem, after dwelling on the benevolent object of Sir Moses's journey, thus concludes:—

“When our united wishes shall have been accomplished, then will Sir Moses and his brethren here raise this song of thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty with an abundance of joy.

“Blessed be the eternal Lord of Hosts, who failed not to send a redeemer to his land, and succour, from the majesty of his power, to the offspring of his righteous servants. On the head of his people he has placed a helmet, and in his great mercy has appointed his servant Moses to exalt the light of his resplendent might, and to make it a wonder before all the nations of the earth. By the blessing of the Almighty did Moses obtain the accomplished, honoured, and most virtuous Lady Yehoodit. May all the blessings of ladies in their tents rest upon her.

“And now, Lord of Hosts, God of Israel, who alone dost know the misery of our life, cast thine eye, we implore thee, on the various habitations of us thy people, for the power of helping ourselves is nearly bereft us. Strengthen, O Lord, the hands of those princes, who, by thy mercy, have given to us their aid. Be to them, O Lord, as an impregnable rock and a shelter, that thy nation may not again become the prey of violence. From thy transcendent holiness in heaven look down upon them; bless their lot in this life with peace, grant that their days in this life may be long, and fill their houses with good things from that great store which thou alone dost possess. Let the end of their greatness be happier than the beginning, so that our friends may not be fatigued and discouraged with the compassion shown to us, but be incited with a holy desire to promote our welfare in future time.

“Thou, O Lord, dost know the righteousness of their hearts and the worthy plans they cherish—strengthen them with thy great mercies, and show to all men the good effects which by righteousness are wrought. Yes, O Lord, open to them the fountain of thy treasure; pour upon them water therefrom, until we be inspired with thy Holy Spirit, and thou dost send to us the righteous and glorious Redeemer whom thou hast promised. Let the kingdom be restored to the house which is now laid low, and may glory arise to the house of Sir Moses Montefiore throughout the world.—Amen, Amen.

“Now, thou Moses, upon whom have descended the Almighty's blessings, according to thy dignity, looking with condescension upon others, wilt accept this tribute of our respectful gratitude. That the music of our song may be soothing to thine ears is our humble and fervent wish.”

After leaving Alexandria, Sir Moses and his companions visited many scenes rich in Scripture reminiscences. On reaching Beyrout, Lady Montefiore writes:

“At an early hour the land of Syria was in view, and at seven o'clock the anchor was cast in the Bay of Beyrout. We were soon on deck, and magnificent was the scene presented to our view. Immediately before us rose the lofty mountains of Lebanon, precipitous and crowned with snow, in strange contrast with the yellow barren shore, and in stranger still the glowing sky and the dazzling rays of the sun, which threw their effulgence far and wide over every object that the eye could reach, wrapping the town of Sidon itself in a blaze of morning splendour.”

At Zafed they found the Jews in a state of great poverty. They were heavily taxed, they had suffered from an earthquake, and had been plundered by the Druses and the robbers had beaten them, says the writer



"to that degree that many of them were left cripples for the rest of their lives. These sorrows," we are told, "they suffer with more than imaginable patience, consoled by the reflection that they are in the Holy Land, and may cherish the hope of a happier futurity. They are sustained by contributions from other countries, and pass their lives principally in study and religious worship; but as their number increases and their means diminish, Montefiore contemplates proposing to them some mode of industry for their youth, whose incapacity and disinclination might render them unable to do justice to a holy profession."

It was the Pentecost holiday when the travellers reached this place. Notwithstanding the distress which prevailed, their religious celebrations were not neglected. Lady Montefiore attended the opening of a new synagogue, when a very old and venerated sepher was to be presented by a widow. On this occasion, her Ladyship reports:—

"The synagogue was lighted in a brilliant manner, and decorated with festoons of laurel leaves. I had a seat opposite the ark. After prayers the whole congregation walked a short distance towards the residence of the donor, for the sepher, which rabbi Dob was then seen carrying under a white canopy, attended by a concourse of people, singing, dancing, and clapping their hands, keeping time with the psalmody. A wax taper was handed to me, and I was conducted under the canopy, immediately behind the venerable rabbi, who carried the sacred scroll, while the crowd which followed continued their dancing, singing, and clapping of hands. I trembled amidst this most novel, imposing, and joyous scene, lest I might set fire to the canopy, by the flaring taper which I carried in my hand, or drop any wax on the white silk, a spot or two being already visible on the robes of the benevolent and kind-hearted R. Abraham Dob.

"The procession was conducted round our house, in order that Montefiore might enjoy the gratifying sight. He was seated at the window, being warned of its approach by the shouts and joyful voices of the people. Having paused for a few seconds we returned to the synagogue in the same manner, and the sepher was deposited in the ark, while appropriate prayers were chanted, followed by hymns and clapping of hands, and the dance as before. How was I struck with the manners of the people, whose joys, as well as anxieties, are all the offspring of devotional associations, and whose songs are addressed to the Deity alone. I felt the honour of being distinguished by them; sitting near the ark and continuing to hold the wax taper to the khakhamim. The whole might truly be termed the rejoicings of the law. It was the beauty of holiness in the midst of desolation."

In the vicinity of Zafed is a place much resorted to by those who take an interest in Jewish history. It is called "Bet Hamedrash Shel Shem Vaeber," the Place of Mourning. Here, tradition tells, the patriarch Jacob repaired to weep for his lost son Joseph. The spot is much revered by the Arabs, who rarely permit any one not of their religion to approach it. The Sheikh, however, who had it in his keeping, having heard of "the worth and great dignity" of Sir Moses, permitted him and his friends to visit the Place of Mourning. They found it to be "a spacious enclosure of buildings which appeared

to consist of abodes for the living as well as for the dead. The tombs were usually cut out of the solid rock, and bore the words "O Eternal! O Everlasting!" There are some small openings in the rock, through which a spacious apartment may be seen, and there it was, so the Sheikh declared, that Jacob wept bitterly.

Leaving Zafed, the descriptive narrative becomes very striking:

"At a short distance forward the beautiful lake of Tiberias, part of which some of our suite called Beer Miriam, presented itself to view. A delicious valley then appeared to our right, extending to the famous village Akbara, mentioned in the Talmud. After a continued ascent for some distance we began to descend, and noticed to our left the rock called Akebi, in which are extensive caves, where the inhabitants took refuge during a former attack on Zafed by the Druses. The rock is also famous for its number of bees; and when we witnessed the honey exuding from it and filling the air with its fragrance, how forcibly did the words of the Psalmist recur to our minds: 'And with honey out of the rock should I have satisfied thee.' We then passed the cross-roads, of which the right leads to Acre, the left to Damascus; and soon after, several villages and valleys filled with luxuriant corn, interspersed with fig, olive, mulberry, and pomegranate trees, covered with bright blossoms, delighted the sight. On the road lay some pieces of stone, which our muckarries amused themselves with striking; the sound returned was like that of a fine bell; verifying the saying of Scripture: 'A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.'"

A joyous and honourable reception here awaited the travellers. They soon reached other scenes described in Scripture. The writer says:—

"We had early in the morning passed beneath the highest point of Mount Tabor, covered with forests that breathed the air and wore the aspect of remote antiquity. To this majestic spot succeeded sweet pastoral scenes, where the flocks and herds seemed to be fed at the very hands of nature, and the Almighty appeared to be pouring forth the plenty of the harvest, to reward the slightest efforts of human industry.

"Having seated ourselves in a small cavern, formed in the rocks of Mount Djalood, the ancient Gilead, how many solemn though pleasurable thoughts floated through our minds! 'Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?' Jer. viii. 22. So sighed the prophet in times when the sorrows of Israel were as yet but beginning. Oh, how does the heart of the pilgrim cling to and yearn over the later words of the same prophet, 'I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon Mount Ephraim and Gilead. In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found; for I will pardon them whom I reserve.'"

Leaving this spot, "so rich in associations that, to the eye of fancy, Jacob and Laban might still almost be seen making their league," they advanced to Naplous. On the outside of the town Doctor Loewe selected a spot



for the encampment of the party at the foot of Mount Gerizim, and close to the well of Jacob. We are told: "Late events have added to the celebrity of this scene, so venerable in our eyes. It was by the well of Jacob that Ibrahim Pacha sat, when, having assumed the disguise of a dervise, he misled the people from Hebron. On one side of us lay the beautiful plain which the patriarch purchased of Hamor, the father of Shechem; on the other was Mount Ebel; on our front the tomb of Joseph, the place where Jacob built an altar, and called it El-elohé-Israel, and behind us, the town of Shechem, well known as the scene of many events recorded in the sacred annals of Scripture.

"It was here that Dr. Loewe directed our tents to be pitched. Shortly before sun-set, he proposed making a visit to the tomb of Joseph, but a feeling of oppressive fatigue soon compelled us to return. We partook of a draught of the excellent water of the well, and experienced its salutary qualities, so valued by the inhabitants of the place, that it is used as a remedy against many disorders."

Next day the party "At an early hour repaired to the tomb of Joseph, the walls of which form a square with a small entrance. There is no roof, and the natives affirm that they have never succeeded in building a cupola to this tomb, it having always fallen in. Towards the right of the entrance stands the sarcophagus, and on either side are two short pillars, surrounded by a large basin for the use of oil, which is lighted up on solemn occasions: opposite the tomb, to the left of the entrance, is a beautiful vine, interwoven with another luxuriant plant, in allusion to the passage, 'Joseph will be an evergreen young in branch.' Opposite the entrance is a Hebrew inscription, containing the name of the person who built the walls around it, and the date."

After visiting various objects of interest, Lady Montefiore gives the following striking reflections on the progress of herself and companions on the hallowed soil which they now trod:—

"What the feelings of a traveller are, when among the mountains on which the awful power of the Almighty once visibly rested, and when approaching the city where he placed his name; whence his law was to go forth to all the world; where the beauty of holiness shone in its morning splendour; and to which, even in its sorrow and captivity, even in its desolation, the very Gentiles, the people of all nations of the earth, as well as its own children, look with profound awe and admiration.—Oh! what the feelings of the traveller are on such a spot, and when listening to the enraptured tones of Israel's own inspired king, none can imagine but those who have had the privilege and the felicity to experience them.

"As we drew nearer to Jerusalem the aspect of the surrounding country became more and more sterile and gloomy. The land was covered with thorns and briars, and sadly did the words of the Psalmist rise to the thoughts: 'He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground; a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein!' Ps. cvii. 33, 4.

"But solemn as were the feelings excited by the melancholy desolateness of the rocky hills and valleys

through which we were passing, they were suddenly lost in a sense of rapture and indescribable joy—for now the Holy City itself rose full into view, with all its cupolas and minarets reflecting the splendour of the heavens. Dismounting from our horses, we sat down and poured forth the sentiments which so strongly animated our hearts, in devout praises to him whose mercy and providence alone had thus brought us, in health and safety, to the city of our fathers.

"Pursuing our path, we soon passed the tomb of Nabbi Shemuel, (the prophet Samuel,) and at about five o'clock reached the gates of the holy city. Khassan having dismounted, his mule instantly ran off, and notwithstanding the efforts of his master, of Ibrahim, Armstrong, and Bekhór, kept them in chase till he stopped on the Mount of Olives. There Dr. Loewe proposed we should encamp; but Montefiore, being greatly fatigued, considered that it would be better to select a less elevated situation. We accordingly proceeded to the valley fixed on by the mukkarries; but soon discovered that we had committed a serious error, in choosing a spot whence the air was excluded, and which the contagious atmosphere of the town was so much more likely to infect: we, therefore, ascended a steep path, cut out of the mountain, almost like a flight of stairs, but which our horses scaled with their customary ease and safety. The pure air of the Mount of Olives breathed around us with the most refreshing fragrance; and as we directed our attention to the surrounding view, Jerusalem was seen in its entire extent at our feet, the Valley of Jehosaphat to our left, and in the distance, the dark misty waves of the Dead Sea.

"In the course of our journey we passed a number of Arab women, who endeavoured to create some disturbance, but were speedily silenced by Khassan and Sadd-Eddin. Some other women were seated in groups round newly-made graves, in the valley, and which, with affectionate care, they were decorating with fresh flowers."

When they sought admittance into the tomb of King David, they met with rudeness, and were shown a paper brought by a Sheikh, which told that Ibrahim Pacha had forbidden its being entered by strangers. By their resolute bearing, the English party vanquished the opposition they at first encountered, and the journal proceeds: "Having entered a spacious vaulted chamber, painted in Turkish fashion, we saw at the further end a trellised door, and being led to the spot, we beheld through the lattice the sacred and royal deposit of the best and noblest of kings. Yes! there we contemplated the resting-place of all that was mortal of him, whom the electing wisdom of the Almighty had placed on the throne of a kingdom, which had, at first, but the Lord himself for its King: of him, who, resplendent as he was in royal dignity, was still more glorious for those gifts of wisdom, of holiness, and heavenly genius, in the sublime power of which he moulded the thoughts of countless generations to forms of celestial beauty, and still furnishes worshippers of every clime and nation with the purest and noblest language of devotion. In the records of his experience, whether tried by affliction and humbled by the weight of



conscious sin, or filled with the gladdening feelings of hope, the heart never fails to read revelations of its deepest secrets, to discover more of its state and nature, and to learn better how to adore the eternal Spirit, who spoke by the mouth of this kingly prophet."

A remnant of king Solomon's temple still exists. Writing on the 13th of June, Lady Montefiore says:—

"We yesterday went to inspect the western wall of the temple of Solomon. How wonderful that it should have so long defied the ravages of time! The huge stones seem to cling together; to be cemented by a power mightier than decay, that they may be a memorial of Israel's past glory: and oh! may they not be regarded as a sign of future greatness, when Israel shall be redeemed, and the whole world shall, with one accord, sing praises to Israel's God!"

At Hebron the travellers were desirous of visiting the last abodes of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here the writer describes her party to have been the object of bigoted rage, and says: "The inhabitants of Hebron differ from their turbaned brethren of Jerusalem and other cities. Much of urbanity and kindness are discernible in the conduct of the latter, while the former, strutting about, or seated on the sides of the streets, seem only anxious to show the pride, and exercise the violence, of conquerors.

"On arriving at the gate of the mosque, we found a great crowd assembled, and consisting chiefly of Turks, among whom was a dervish, the sound of whose hideous cries, as he shook his head and tossed his arms furiously about, his whole appearance rendered doubly frightful by a dark grizzly beard, was almost enough to terrify a bolder heart than mine. To his hideous yells, as we continued to approach, were added those of the multitude; but encouraged by the governor and cadi, who led the way, we dismounted and gained an entrance. It was soon apparent, however, that the authority of office exercises little influence here. A turbulent throng of Musselmans was collected in the interior of the mosque, and they were soon joined by the raving dervish. In the meantime the noise outside continued to increase; and the Jews, who were anxiously waiting to obtain a sight of the burying-place of their revered forefathers, experienced the most violent insults. The Moslem, with pale face, pointed to an iron door, saying that it was that which led to the interior of the cave. But the rage of the Turks, and the howling of the dervish now became more violent than ever, and we decided that it would be prudent to retire to without attempting a further entrance. We accordingly retreated as we had advanced; the governor and cadi, with their officers, preceding us. Khassan and Saad-Eddin behaved most valiantly, repulsing with their silver-headed canes those who had assailed our poor brethren, and exultingly challenging a dozen at a time. On leaving this scene of fanatic fury, the governor attempted some apology for what had occurred, observing that it was impossible for him to check the violence of religious enthusiasm."

## CHAP. XIX.

*The persecution of the Jews at Damascus induces Sir Moses Montefiore to return to Egypt.—To Salomon Hirschel, David Meldola, and others, such rites as required Christian blood in their celebration were never known.—The Pasha of Egypt is convinced by Sir Moses, that the Jews had been calumniated.—From Egypt Sir Moses proceeds to Constantinople.—He obtains an audience of the Sultan, who issues a firman in favour of the Jews.—Dr. Loewe, at Galata, exhorts them to combine with the study of Hebrew and theological literature that of secular science, and literature in general.—In consequence of a new affront offered to the Jews, Sir Moses goes to Rome.—A proclamation is addressed to them by the Hebrew Bashi.—Sir Moses establishes a dispensary at Jerusalem.*

HAVING returned to England in 1839, in 1840 Sir Moses Montefiore found a new call made on his humanity, which induced him to revisit Egypt. The cruel treatment of the Jews at Damascus rendered him anxious to vindicate the character of the religion he professed. He left England provided with two important documents in refutation of the monstrous calumny from which the Hebrews had so frequently suffered. These, it will be seen, deny in the most solemn manner that the abominable rites pretended to be connected with the celebration of the Jewish passover had ever been countenanced or known by their fraternity. They bore the signatures and official seals of their respective writers.

Salomon Hirschel, then chief Rabbi, wrote thus:—

"To Sir Moses Montefiore, Knt. F.R.S., President of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews.

"MY MOST WORTHY FRIEND.—Before you proceed on your important and pious mission, I wish to address a few remarks to you, which the duties of my office dictate and existing circumstances render necessary.

"As you well know the Jews are perfectly innocent of the foul and barbarous crime with which they are charged, you will readily stake your honour here, and your salvation hereafter, on the truth of the declaration that no religious rite requiring human blood does, or ever did, exist among the Israelites. But from what has been lately published, I apprehend you will be told by our calumniators that such a rite may exist, and you not know it, because, as our accusers assert, 'this mystery of blood is not known by all Jews, but only by the Rabbins;' that therefore your asseveration might be perfectly true as far as your own personal knowledge goes, and yet be false as to the crime of which our nation is accused.

"To meet this objection I come forward. I am a Rabbi; Providence has permitted me to be the spiritual guide of the great Jewish communities of Britain for nearly forty years, previous to which time I filled a similar office in Germany. My honoured father (of



blessed memory) for many years presided over the Jewish congregations in London, Berlin, and other towns of note in Europe; so did his father before him: and for more than ten generations my ancestors have, with great renown, held the highest clerical dignities amongst us. Their instruction has been transmitted from father to son, until it reached me; so that if any man, from the office he holds, the instruction he has received, and the ancestry from which he descends, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with all our laws, precepts, customs, rites, and observances, I may without the slightest tincture of vanity, and in accordance with strict truth, declare I am that man.

"Moreover, I am far advanced in life. On this earth I individually have nothing to hope for, but must expect it cannot be very long ere I shall appear before the Supreme Judge of the Universe, the Holy One of Israel, who on Mount Sinai proclaimed, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.'

"With a full sense of my responsibility, I voluntarily come forward, and, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, join in the awful oath of expurgation, which, nearly two hundred years ago, in the name of the whole Jewish nation, and on the subject of this very accusation was taken by the pious and learned Rabbi, Manasseh Ben Israel, to whose efforts the Jews owe their re-admission into Britain, and, which oath he has recorded in his defence of the Jews, called *Vindiciae Judæorum*. With him, and using his words, I say, 'As this matter on our part is purely negative, and therefore cannot be cleared by the evidence of witnesses, I am constrained to use another kind of proof which the Lord, blessed for ever, has prescribed (Exodus xxii. 11.), and that is an oath.' Wherefore I swear, without any deceit or fraud, by the Most High God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who promulgated his law to the people of Israel on Mount Sinai, that I never yet to this day saw any such custom, as the use of human blood in any religious rite among the people of Israel, and that they do not hold any such thing by divine precept of the law, or any ordinance or institution of their wise men; and that they never committed or sought to commit any such wickedness (that I know, or have credibly heard of, or have read in any Jewish author.) And if I lie in this matter, then let all the curses mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomy come upon me, let me never see the blessing and consolation of Zion, nor attain to the resurrection of the dead.'

"This my solemn oath, which the virtuous and highly gifted Mendelssohn declares he is ready to repeat after Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel, with a clear conscience, I place in your hands; although the high authorities I have quoted require no support from my attestation, and I am convinced that in this enlightened country every such declaration is uncalled for and superfluous; but even where you are going this asseveration ought to satisfy the friends of truth, and that it will I firmly trust.

"My best wishes attend you, my worthy friend. Go forth and prosper, and may a just and merciful God grant you that success which the justice of our cause deserves,

that our innocence may be made manifest to all the nations of earth.

"Believe me yours ever faithfully,

"SALOMON HIRSCHTEL, Chief Rabbi.

"No. 5, Bury-court, City.

"29th Sivan (30th June,) 5600, A.M."

The second document which has been mentioned, ran thus:—

"To Sir Moses Montefiore, F.R.S, President of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews.

"WORTHY SIR,—In consequence of the atrocious aspersion which is attempted to be cast on our holy faith, and which is calculated to create an unjust prejudice against us, I deem it my duty, as presiding Rabbi of that congregation of which you are so distinguished a member, promptly, and in my official capacity, to declare that I fully and solemnly concur and join in the oath taken by the Rev. Salomon Hirschel. And as the descendant of a family, the members of which, for the last three centuries, have held distinguished appointments as chief Rabbins of the largest Hebrew communities—viz., London, Leghorn, Mantua, &c.; moreover, as my honoured father, the late Rev. Dr. Raphael Meldola, who for twenty-four years filled the high and important office of Haham, chief Rabbi, of our ancient congregation in Bevis Marks, was justly celebrated throughout Europe for his profound learning and extensive acquaintance with our laws, customs, and institutions, I declare it impossible that any such horrid rite should ever have existed or been sanctioned by any authority among Jews, without his knowledge thereof.

"I therefore fervently trust your efforts to vindicate the religion of our forefathers from the foul calumny with which it is assailed, will, under Divine Providence, meet with a prosperous result. And that the protecting power of the Almighty may guide you in all your steps, and his blessings descend on all your actions, is the ardent prayer of,

"Worthy Sir, your faithful servant,

"DAVID MELDOLA,

"Presiding Rabbi of the Bevis Marks congregation.

"Bevis Marks, City, 29th Sivan. (L. S.)

"(30th June), 5600 A.M."

"We the undersigned members of the Bethdin (ecclesiastical tribunal) of London, solemnly join in the oath and declaration subscribed by the Rev. Chief Rabbi Salomon Hirschel, and the Rev. David Meldola, presiding Rabbi of the Bevis Marks congregation, and hold ourselves bound thereby, as fully as if each of us had repeated the oath word for word.

"May a just and merciful God vindicate the innocence of Israel, and Judah dwell in peace!

"ABRAHAM HALIVA,

"ISRAEL LEVY,

"AARON LEVY,

"A. L. BARNETT,

} Members of  
the Bethdin.

"London, 29th Sivan (30th June), 5600 A.M."

Sir Moses, accompanied by Lady Montefiore, Dr. Loewe, Dr. Madden, and D. W. Wire, Esq., proceeded to Alexandria. By the pasha, as before, Sir Moses was received with courtesy, and listened to with attention. He completely succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of



the viceroy, that the Jews of Damascus had been aspersed; and Mehemet Ali manifested every disposition to redress the evil, so far as might be practicable, and to prevent a repetition of such outrages. He issued a firman commanding the liberation of the parties who had been confined, ordering that they should experience no further molestation, and permitting those who had fled to return to their former homes and avocations. Before leaving Egypt, Sir Moses had the satisfaction of receiving letters from the surviving sufferers, which announced that they had been set at liberty in the most honourable manner, and that both the Christian and Mohammedan population assembled in their synagogue on the occasion, to return thanks to the Almighty for the vindication of innocence.

At this period, serious differences had arisen between the sultan and the pasha. The English government favoured, to a certain extent, the views of the former, and hostilities were expected to break out immediately. One day after the interview above described, an English fleet appeared off Alexandria.

This state of things threatened to render the labours of Sir Moses in a great measure nugatory. By some it was expected that Mehemet Ali would be deposed; and a British diplomatist writing to him did not hesitate to declare that unless his pretensions were abated, "his highness would be sent into exile." At all events, Sir Moses considered that his task would be imperfectly performed if he did not attempt to move the sultan in favour of the Jews as well as the viceroy, and with this feeling he resolved to proceed from Alexandria to the Turkish capital, which he reached on the 5th of October, 1840.

The high character of Sir Moses, and his previous exertions in favour of the Jews, were already known at Constantinople. He was admitted to the presence of the sultan, and the 28th of October witnessed a memorable scene, the precursor of great benefit to the Hebrew race in that portion of the globe. On the evening of that day, "Sir Moses Montefiore (we quote from the *Manzari Shark*, or *Oriental Observer*, of November, 9th, 1840,) was admitted to an audience of the sultan, in order to present an address expressive of gratitude, for the justice his Majesty had shown the Jews in the affair at Rhodes. Sir Moses was accompanied by George Samuel, Esq., David Williams Wire, Esq., of the City of London, and Dr. L. Loewe, attended by Mr. Pisani, first dragoman of the British embassy. They were preceded by torches, and escorted to the palace by several cavasses on horseback, and a military guard of honour. On reaching the palace, they were received by his Excellency Reschid Pasha, minister for foreign affairs, and his Excellency Riza Pasha, governor of the imperial establishment. Coffee and pipes were served, and after a short pause the visitors were conducted to the hall of state. Sir Moses having been presented to the sultan, who was seated on a divan, read the following address:—

"May it please your Imperial Majesty.

"In the name of my brethren who have deputed me, I come to lay at the foot of your imperial throne the grateful homage of their respect.

"England my country, and other enlightened nations of the earth, heard the cries of the suffering and perse-

cuted Jews at Damascus and at Rhodes, and they hastened to offer to the sufferers their sympathy and affection; but the Lord God, who ruleth over all, prevented the necessity of their aid at Rhodes, and inspired your Imperial Majesty with wisdom, justice, and the love of truth. Under your righteous direction the oppressor was laid low, the designs of the wicked made known, and the innocent delivered. I therefore crave permission to offer to your Imperial Majesty the profound gratitude of the hearts of our people, and to utter our prayers that the merciful God may bless your Imperial majesty with length of days, with wisdom and honour, and riches, and so direct all your actions that your name may be inscribed in golden characters for ever, and the memory of your deeds smell as sweet as a garden of roses.

"In ancient times the Lord God brought our people out of Egypt, and for ages they dwelt in the land of Palestine; to them were committed lively oracles of God, and though now dispersed amongst the nations of the earth, they are numbered with the most peaceful and loyal subjects, and by industry they have augmented the riches and prosperity of the countries in which they live.

"They look with love and veneration upon that land where their forefathers dwelt; they pray that all who live therein may enjoy the shadow of your sublime protection, and in peace be permitted to worship the God of their fathers. Their prayers ascend to him, whose wisdom is absolute, whose decrees are fixed and immutable, whom none can withstand; that he will make your enemies bite the dust; that they may vanish as the morning dew, and flee away as chaff before the wind; that your throne may endure for ever; and that all who live under your sceptre may have peace, sitting under their own vines and under their own fig trees, none daring or wishing to make them afraid."

"This was repeated in Turkish by Mr. Pisani, and the reply of the sultan was to the following effect:—

"The communication made, and the sentiments expressed by the deputation, have given me great pleasure. I was greatly affected by the occurrences at Damascus, but endeavoured to offer some satisfaction to the Israelite nation, by giving orders that justice should be done at Rhodes. The Jewish community will ever enjoy under me the same protection and the same advantages as are accorded to all the other subjects of my empire.

"I grant the firman the deputation have asked for; and truly appreciate, Gentlemen, the philanthropic views that have brought you to this capital."

In the same paper, the following particulars are added:—

"The sultan then desired Sir Moses to draw nearer, on doing which, he was again presented to his Imperial Majesty, by Reschid Pasha. Sir Moses was requested by the sultan to present by name the gentlemen who accompanied him. Sir Moses complied; and, in bringing forward Dr. Loewe, took the opportunity of stating that it was this incomparable linguist who, two years ago, translated for Sultan Mahmoud the hieroglyphics on the beautiful Egyptian obelisk, that had for so many ages been standing in the hippodrome, without



any one being able to decipher correctly the inscription.

"His Imperial Majesty remembered the circumstances clearly, and expressed his admiration of the doctor's profound learning.

"The demeanour of the young sovereign throughout the scene was at once gracious and dignified. Whilst it lasted, a band, placed in the garden, executed in admirable style several fine pieces of music.

"Sir Moses and his friends had reason to feel pleased and flattered at the kind and distinguished reception they had met with.

"They withdrew from the hall of state to the apartments of Riza Pacha, where was served sherbet and other refreshments; after partaking of which, Sir Moses and his companions took leave, and quitted the palace. A guard of honour, drawn up in the outer court, presented arms; the band struck up; and the party were dismissed with the same consideration that had been shown them during the whole course of their visit. Nor were the public indifferent to the matter: the visit of Sir Moses to the palace being known, crowds of persons assembled, as well to witness his departure, as to greet his return."

The firman granted in favour of the Jews was in the following form:—

"Let that be executed which is prescribed in this Firman.

"An ancient prejudice prevailed against the Jews. The ignorant believed that the Jews were accustomed to sacrifice a human being, to make use of his blood at the feast of the Passover.

"In consequence of this opinion, the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes (who are the subjects of our empire) have been persecuted by other nations. The calumnies which have been uttered against the Jews, and the vexations to which they have been subjected, have at last reached our Imperial Throne.

"But a short time has elapsed since some Jews dwelling in the Isle of Rhodes were brought from thence to Constantinople, where they had been tried and judged according to the new regulations, and their innocence of the accusations made against them fully proved. That, therefore, which justice and equity required, has been done in their behalf.

"Besides which, the religious books of the Hebrews have been examined by learned men, well versed in their theological literature, the result of which examination is, that it is found that the Jews are strongly prohibited not only from using human blood, but even that of animals. It therefore follows that the charges made against them and their religion are nothing but pure calumnies.

"For this reason, and for the love we bear to our subjects, we cannot permit the Jewish nation (whose innocence of the crime alleged against them is evident,) to be vexed and tormented upon accusations which have not the least foundation in truth, but that, in conformity to the Hatti Scherif which has been proclaimed at Gulhane, the Jewish nation shall possess the same advantages, and enjoy the same privileges, as are granted to the numerous other nations who submit to our authority.

"The Jewish nation shall be protected and defended.

"To accomplish this object, we have given the most

positive orders that the Jewish nation dwelling in all parts of our empire shall be perfectly protected, as well as all other subjects of the sublime Porte, and that no person shall molest them in any manner whatever, (except for a just cause,) neither in the free exercise of their religion, nor in that which concerns their safety and tranquillity. In consequence, the present Firman, which is ornamented at the head with our 'Hoomaioon,' (sign manual) and emanates from our imperial *chancellery*, has been delivered to the Israelitish nation.

"Thus you, the above-mentioned judge, when you know the contents of this Firman, will endeavour to act with great care in the manner therein prescribed. And in order that nothing may be done in opposition to this Firman, at any time hereafter, you will register it in the archives of the tribunal; you will afterwards deliver it to the Israelitish nation, and you will take great care to execute our orders and this our sovereign will.

"Given at Constantinople, the 12th Ramazan, 1256 (6th November, 1840)."

While Sir Moses was labouring so successfully, the companions of his journey were in various ways exerting themselves to prosecute the good work. Dr. Loewe at Galata acted a very remarkable part. A correspondent of the Smyrna Journal already quoted, writing under date of October 5th, describes a scene of no small interest. His letter opens thus:

"To the Editor of the *Manzari Shark*.

"Constantinople, 5th October.

"Sir,—Being a great admirer of personal merit, and having heard the other day that the celebrated Dr. Loewe, oriental linguist to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, now here, was about to address his co-religionists on the last day of the feast of tabernacles when the 'rejoicings of the law' are celebrated, I with some difficulty penetrated the synagogue at Galata, which was excessively crowded, to hear him.

"Dr. Loewe opened the Pentateuch, selected a passage, and commenced one of the most learned discourses possible. The congregation consisting chiefly of four classes, he used as many languages, and without the slightest confusion, hesitation, or difficulty, made his observations and comments to each in rotation. To the learned body he spoke in pure biblical Hebrew, in which it appeared to me that he was particularly eloquent; to the Levantines he spoke Spanish, to the Mediterranean Jews Italian, and to the German and Polish portion of his hearers German; and had men of other nations been present, to the extent of upwards of thirty more, each would have been addressed in his own language. The doctor has truly *the gift of tongues*. In his oration he made it clear to all present that he who properly comprehended the law in its full and true sense, could not but be a virtuous and enlightened man, but that to enjoy the full benefits of it he must be deeply erudite, well versed in all the sciences, and many of the languages in which the full benefit of those sciences are best taught. Thus unless a man be highly intellectual and refined, it is impossible for him to understand completely the advantages to be derived from a perfect knowledge of the law.



"The scope of Dr. Loewe evidently was to encourage his auditors to give more attention than hitherto to the acquisition of a liberal education; and a few more such orations would produce great good in this country, where education has for ages been greatly neglected."

While Sir Moses still remained in Constantinople, he received intelligence that at Damascus certain parties who were hostile to the Jews, having found some bones of animals near the spot where father Thomaso had disappeared, thought proper to declare that they were his remains, to give them a funeral in the church of the Capuchins at Damascus, and place over them an inscription, which set forth that beneath were interred the bones of father Thomaso, who had been murdered. This imposed upon Sir Moses a new work of charity. From Constantinople he hastened to Rome, where, according to the *Gazette du Mide*, for Thursday, February 18th, 1841, he saw the head of the Capuchins, the Cardinal Rivarolo; and in presence of Mr. Kolb, consul of his Majesty the King of Wurtemberg at Rome, D. W. Wire, Esq., and Dr. Loewe, obtained from him a distinct promise that an order should be sent to the Capuchins at Damascus, commanding the removal of the tablet with the obnoxious inscription.

But before he left Constantinople, Sir Moses, not satisfied with having obtained important concessions from the sovereign of the country, applied himself to making the Jews sensible of their importance. After the firman had been granted in their favour, he exhorted them to study the language of the country, the arts and sciences. The Jews of former days had never failed to do this in countries where they were treated with kindness and toleration, and some of their number had been found among the most distinguished orators of Spain and Egypt. The chief rabbin at Constantinople, sensible of the importance of this wise council, exerted himself to carry out the views of Sir Moses. It should be mentioned that the rabbin there is a government officer. He receives his seal from the sultan, is called the Haham Bashi, and is considered the spiritual head of the community. It was the request of Sir Moses that he would issue his mandate, calling the attention of the Jews to the duties which, in these altered circumstances, devolved upon them; and it was in consequence of this that the Haham Bashi put forth the following admonitory proclamation to the Jews inhabiting Constantinople and the Ottoman empire:—

"Praise be to God, we, under the reign of our present just and gracious Sovereign, enjoy ease and security. In order to make known to you all the contents of the Hatti Sheriff last year promulgated at Gulkhané, it was translated into Hebrew, and copies were sent not only to you, but to every community of the nation distributed over the Empire. For this great benefit, we are in duty bound to offer up, constantly in our Temples before the Holy Pentateuch, supplications for His Highness the Sultan. The motive of the present, however, is to state that since it is proper for men to use all diligence in acquiring knowledge and learning, and as we have seen that in the reign of the present Sovereign, persons devoting themselves to science and literature attain consideration and respectability, whilst none of our people

have yet shown a taste for erudition and the acquisition of other languages; from this time henceforth let the children of our nation learn to read and write the Turkish language, whereby, it cannot be doubted, they will obtain many precious advantages. Therefore, hereafter I enjoin all of you to be particularly attentive, to have your children taught Turkish, and other branches of education, and to pray daily and perseveringly for the prosperity of the Sultan.

"And now, may the God of glory bless His Majesty, guard him safely from all the evils of existence, and secure him perpetually on the Throne of the succession! Amen, 1st. Hashavan 5601."

The work, so happily for the Israelites, undertaken by Sir Moses in the east, was not neglected after his return. He then took steps for establishing a dispensary in Jerusalem. He engaged a competent medical practitioner, at an annual salary, to superintend, and provided drugs and all other things necessary for the comfort and relief of the sick poor. Anxious that Jews in the Holy Land should maintain themselves by the labour of their hands, and not depend upon the charity of their European brethren, he sent three workmen out from Preston to instruct them in the art of weaving. While inviting them in this way, by industrious exertion, to sustain their bodies, he was not less eager to improve their minds; while inviting them to till the earth he also urged them to cultivate their understandings; and one of his cares was to send a printing press of the most approved construction, to assist their labours for the acquirement of knowledge. It is gratifying to know that these labours were not in vain. Since the press was sent out by Sir Moses, several works on astronomy and geography have been published in the Holy Land. We may add that his exertions were appreciated in the highest quarter at home; and in requital of them, on his return from home, he received from Her Majesty, as an especial mark of her royal favour, license and permission to bear as supporters to his family arms, on the dexter side a lion guardant, and on the sinister side, a stag, each supporting a flag-staff, therefrom flowing a banner to the dexter inscribed, "Jerusalem" in Hebrew characters.

Dear to Jewish ears the name of Moses must ever remain: the ancient wearer of it brought his brethren out of bondage and through the wilderness; its modern owner has relieved them from calumny and oppression, and placed within their reach the means of causing the spread of knowledge far and wide.



## CHAP. XX.

*The Jews of Russia are reported to be labouring under serious disqualifications.—Sir Moses Montefiore goes to St. Petersburg to plead in their behalf.—He is graciously received by the Emperor Nicholas.—He investigates the condition of the Jews in the Russian Empire, and reports on it to the Emperor.—The old charge against the Jews is renewed at Damascus.—A boy, supposed to have been murdered, re-appears in good health.—Sir Moses Montefiore repairs to Paris, and lays the case before the King of the French.—A letter from M. Guizot condemns the charge as calumnious.—It is at variance with the Scripture descriptions of the Jewish law.*

BUT little is known of the Jews settled in Russia. At various periods they had suffered from bigotry and the intolerant spirit of the lower classes. About the year 1845, it was rumoured in England that the Russian Jews were labouring under disqualifications which were severely felt; and at the same time it was suggested that, from the character of the reigning Emperor, there were grounds for hoping that, if a temperate appeal were made to his benevolence, it would meet with prompt attention. The prevalence of such an opinion, which was put forth in various newspapers, was a sufficient inducement to make Sir Moses again leave his home for a distant and inhospitable region, to plead the cause of the sorrowing children of Abraham; and, accompanied by his lady and by Dr. Loewe, in the year 1846 he set out for St. Petersburg.

There are peculiarities connected with the Russian system of government which render especial caution necessary on the part of those who go there as travellers or in any other capacity. Sir Moses, having but one object in view, was careful that that object should not be mistaken. He declined seeing any one on the road; and having journeyed through Livonia, in due time safely arrived in the city of Peter the Great. The Emperor Nicholas welcomed him very graciously. He listened patiently to the application made in favour of the Hebrews settled in Russia, and invited him to visit them in any part of the empire, and, having seen their real condition, to communicate with the government, and make known what he thought might be attempted for their relief, as it was his object to do them good, and by every means in his power to add to their comforts and elevate their character. Sir Moses lost no time in profiting from this condescension. He immediately prepared to visit all the principal cities of Russia and Poland; and on his return to England he embodied the result of his inquiries, the information he had collected, and the opinions he had thence been led to form of what might be conceded to his brethren in several carefully prepared reports, which were duly forwarded to the Emperor. His majesty received them most kindly, read them himself, and then referred them to a committee especially appointed to inquire into the means of bettering the condition of the Jews. The ultimate effect to which they may lead, or indeed which they have already produced, cannot here be stated; but this at least is certain, that their

case was fully brought before the Emperor Nicholas; he was apprized of their grievances, and it is risking little to say the result cannot be other than favourable to their future prospects. Since that period no complaint on the part of the Jews in Russia has been made public.

We must not omit to mention that, on his return from Russia, his sovereign was again pleased to honour Sir Moses by creating him a baronet as a special mark of her royal favour, for his humane exertions on behalf of his brethren in Russia.

At Kowno, where the principal inhabitants were Jews, they were about to be banished. Through the exertions of Sir Moses, an ukase was issued in their favour by the Russian Government, allowing them to remain and follow their usual occupations as before. The total number of the Jews settled at Kowno approaches ten thousand.

The labours of Hercules were not yet ended. Very unexpectedly, in October, 1847, the old clamour against the Jews was resumed at Damascus. They were accused of decoying a Christian child from his parents, and of putting him to death in order to use his blood in their religious feast. The wretched and injurious charge, so often and so recently exploded, was on this occasion supported by a French functionary, who from the situation he held in connexion with the consulate of a liberal government, it might reasonably have been expected would have treated it with appropriate scorn. The course of events, it is proper to say, had at this period withdrawn Damascus from the government of Mehemet Ali. To the new Governor of Damascus, Sefata Pacha, it was represented by the Frenchman that a strict inquiry and search ought to be instituted in the Jewish quarter, as it was stated, on the best authorities, that the Jews had for many ages required Christian blood for the proper celebration of their passover. The calumnious rumour being thus accredited, the Jews of Damascus would probably have had to deplore new severities, when happily the missing boy, who had been staying at Baalbec, re-appeared in good health, and put a stop to the proceedings.

These facts having transpired, Sir Moses Montefiore resolved once more to journey for the good of his Jewish brethren. He knew the sentiments of the French government, and knew the monarch Louis Philippe was too enlightened to approve of conduct like that which has been described on the part of his representative at Damascus. Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, accompanied by Dr. Loewe, now repaired to Paris. There M. Guizot lent a ready ear to what he had to submit, and obtained for him an audience of Louis Philippe. His Majesty having heard the complaint, treated the charge which was the subject of it as a gross calumny on the Jewish community; was indignant at finding that it had been countenanced by any person employed under his government; and promised that every necessary step should be taken to prevent a repetition of the outrage. The promise so given his majesty did not forget. After the return of Sir Moses to England, he had the satisfaction to receive the following letter from M. Guizot:—

“Paris, August 25, 1847.

“SIR,

“The King has sent to me a letter addressed by you to him on the 9th of this month, on the subject of the



prejudice which unhappily prevails against the Israelites in the East, and which accuses them of using human blood in their sacrifices. You express a wish that the agents of his Majesty in the Levant shall not only be restrained from contributing in any way to uphold such a prejudice, but that they shall employ every means in their power to discountenance and refute it.

"The King's government regards the imputation in question as false and calumnious, and its agents are generally too enlightened to make themselves the organs of it. The government regrets and censures it in the most express terms. This it is eager to do in the case to which you refer, relative to a Christian child at Damascus, who had disappeared in April last, and the accusation which the agent of the French consulate did not scruple to prefer on that subject to the pacha against the Jews. No direct information having been received on that subject, I have called for explanations from the King's Consul at Damascus, directing him, if the case as reported to you be correct, to express on my part the severest censure of the conduct of the individual, who, on a mere report, should cast such imputations on a whole people.

"Accept, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration. "GUIZOT."

The reader will feel amazed that the accusation, so often repelled, should have demanded a new refutation in the year 1847. To descant on its injustice or absurdity would be useless. It is now happily set at rest, never more, we may hope, to be revived. The most remarkable circumstances connected with it is, that Christians professing to believe the Bible should ever have deemed it worthy of attention. Few words will suffice to show the startling inconsistency of such conduct. In the "Efes Dammim" of Levinsohn, translated from the Hebrew by Dr. Loewe, we have this forcibly illustrated. "The prohibitory precepts in the Bible have reference to all the human race; and I shall prove," says one of the speakers, "that the commandment, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' alludes to the children of Noah, under which denomination are ranged all the nations of the world. It is said in Genesis, ix. 6, 'whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man.' The Almighty ordained that no one should escape punishment for shedding the blood of any human being whatever; and thus He spoke to the children of Noah in the same chapter, ver. 5: 'And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.' King Solomon said, 'A man that doeth violence to the blood of any person shall flee to the pit; let no man stay him;' (Prov. xxix. 17). We find of David, the anointed of the God of Jacob, the holy man chosen by the Lord, that, although many of the wars he engaged in against the worshippers of stars and planets were such as the Lord had commanded, for the Lord said unto David (1 Chron. xix. 8), 'And I have been with thee whithersoever thou hast walked, and I have cut off all thine enemies from before thee;' and although it has ever been admitted by legislators and men of learning, that he who conquers a country and sheds blood in battle must not only not be called a murderer, but be

entitled to the name of hero: yet the Almighty did not approve of David's building a temple to him, on account of the quantity of blood which had been shed during his wars: for the Almighty said to him, (1 Chron. xxii. 8), 'Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood on the earth in my sight.' We also see that a murderer seldom escapes punishment for the crime he has committed; he betrays signs of guilt that excite the suspicions of men; and it often happens that a murderer's conscience so afflicts him that he cannot refrain from delivering himself up to justice, in the absence of legal evidence against him. With all these facts before them, how could it enter into the minds of any people that the Israelites are prone to commit murder, and that even their law requires them to do so?"

## CHAP. XXI.

*The successes of the Jews result from their prudence and good feeling.—They do not reproach contemporary Christians with what had been done in former ages, but manifest gratitude in return for present relief.—Mr. Salomons establishes a scholarship for pupils of the City of London School.—His generosity is duly acknowledged by the Court of Common Council.—The Jews were always attached to literature.—Lionel Baron de Rothschild is elected to represent the City of London in Parliament.*

In former chapters we have had to detail acts of heartless oppression and deeds of murderous violence. A more grateful task remains to be performed; and a story of truth winds up with the joy and triumph ordinarily reserved for the *denouement* of a romance.

The great and successful efforts made by Mr. Salomons, and afterwards by Sir Moses Montefiore, to gain the rights of freemen for their brethren, and to vindicate their name, must ever be remembered with honour; but it is due to those for whom they laboured to say, that the prudence and good feeling of the Jewish body generally paved the way for those successes which have been won. Bitter disappointments they from time to time experienced, but these were borne with manly fortitude. When cruel laws were repealed, they did not insolently turn on those who afforded them partial relief, and scornfully ask "What is this?" They did not reproachfully say, "In the days of Richard I., King John, Henry III., and Edward I., Christians inhumanly murdered, plundered, and banished our forefathers, and therefore what you who live in the time of Queen Victoria have now done for our benefit is but a trumpery instalment, paid on account of a vast debt due to our body; and you therefore must calculate on being pursued by our undying hatred." Instead of holding language like this, they thankfully accepted what had been done for them as an important boon, and thus proved themselves entitled to further indulgence. The gratitude of the Jews generally was faithfully represented by Mr. David Salomons. It was seen in an act of no common munifi-



cence, which proved to his fellow-citizens that they had not erred in judgment, when they chose him to be their sheriff. In the month of October, 1845, the "Committee for managing the affairs of the City of London School, announced to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, a communication from David Salomons, Esq. late Sheriff of this City, intimating his intention of investing in the public funds a sum of money sufficient to establish and support a scholarship or exhibition of the value of fifty pounds per annum, for the benefit of pupils of the City of London School. The letter of the ex-sheriff ran thus:—

"Burrswood, Tonbridge Wells,  
"October 10th, 1845.

"Sir,

"I have been long impressed with the desire to manifest to my fellow-citizens, by a lasting testimonial, my grateful recollection of the honour they conferred on me when, under new and peculiar circumstances, they elected me high sheriff of their ancient city. The enlightened principle of religious toleration, asserted by the livery of the City of London on that occasion, has since been gaining strength, until it received in the last session of Parliament an express and extended legislative sanction. It is to the diffusion of education that the preparation of the public mind for this peaceful triumph is to be ascribed; and I can conceive no better mode of perpetuating my grateful acknowledgments for so great a blessing, than by contributing to further the cause which, under the guidance of the Almighty Disposer of events, has led to this great result. With this object I avail myself of the present opportunity to request you to announce to the committee of the City of London School, that it is my intention forthwith to present, and to convey to the trustees of that excellent institution, the sum of £1666 13s. 4d. three per cent. consols, for the purpose of establishing an exhibition of fifty pounds per annum, *open to members of every religious persuasion*, towards providing a four years' maintenance at either Oxford, Cambridge, or the London University, or University or King's College in London, at the option of the student; limited, of course, to persons wholly or in part educated at the City of London School."

The committee further stated, that Mr. Salomons, who had been absent from London when he wrote, "immediately upon his return to town, took the necessary steps for carrying his generous intentions into effect, and had accordingly invested in the £3 per cent. consolidated bank annuities the sum of one thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, stock, in the name of the Right Honourable Michael Gibbs, Lord Mayor, Anthony Brown, Esq., Chamberlain, Warren Stormes Hale, Esq., Chairman of the committee, and Mr. Thomas Brewer, Secretary of the school, as Trustees." In gratefully acknowledging the noble and generous sentiments which had actuated Mr. Salomons, and the important advantage which he had been pleased to confer on the establishment under their care, they called upon the Court to empower them to cause a tablet, with an inscription commemorative of Mr. Salomon's gift, and also his armorial bearings, to be

placed in a conspicuous part of the school, at the expense of the city.

This recommendation was cordially responded to. The princely donation was in every respect the worthy offspring of the feelings which originally rendered civic honours accessible to a Jew; for it will be remarked that the benefit was to be "open to members of *every religious persuasion*." As such it was acknowledged in the Court of Common Council, by a vote of thanks passed unanimously, in which it was described to be "a gift peculiarly interesting to the Court, from its being designed to commemorate the triumph of tolerant principles, in the removal of those civil disabilities which formerly attached to her Majesty's Jewish subjects; and more especially on account of the truly liberal and philanthropic spirit in which Mr. Salomons has expressed his desire that the advantages to be derived from his generosity shall be available to members of every religious persuasion." The vote of thanks was ordered to be ornamentally written on vellum, signed by the town clerk, emblazoned, framed and glazed, and presented to David Salomons, Esq.

Sentiments of liberality and gratitude thus reciprocated, were something more than matters of passing interest. They taught the London public that generosity might be found in a Jew, and that nothing could be more absurd than the abhorrence with which Christians in ancient days were taught to regard the Hebrew name, as if such a course were not likely to rouse the darker passions into hateful action; as if insult could fail to waken anger; as if atrocious cruelty would not be pursued by vengeful exasperation. The hostility as well as the scorn of which the Israelite had too long been the object, was no more; and thinking men rejoiced in knowing that it was at last generally felt that wisdom and humanity might dwell in his bosom.

The charges which had been brought against the Hebrew race generally were successfully refuted. It was in proof that they were no idlers where their industry was adequately protected; and history had loudly proclaimed that, under circumstances of the greatest discouragement, they had often been found among the most shining votaries of literature. How ardently they have coveted distinction in connexion with letters from a very ancient date, may be seen from recalling a few plain facts. The "Biblioteca Espanola" of Don Joseph Rodriguez de Castro devoted four folio volumes to the writings of the Spanish rabbins alone, from the eleventh to the eighteenth century; Bartolloci de Celleno wrote four folio volumes on Jewish literature; Johan Christoph Wolff produced four quarto volumes on Hebrew authors and their works; and Bernard de Rossi two quarto volumes on the same subject. In every respect it was indisputably proved that the Jews were worthy of being admitted to all the rights of freemen in a Christian country. The tide of opinion continued to flow in their favour; and the year 1847 saw Mr. David Salomons become the first Jewish alderman in the city of London, and Baron Lionel de Rothschild elected to be one of its representatives in parliament.

The friends of civil and religious liberty will with pleasure reflect what has been gained for the Jews within



the last few years. A pamphlet, entitled "Progress of Jewish Emancipation since 1829," gives the following *resumé* of the proceedings of the last seven years:—

"At the beginning of the session of 1841, after the presentation of a petition from Mr. David Salomons—who in the interval had been elected an alderman of the city of London, but had been unable to take his seat in consequence of the declaration contained in the words 'On the true faith of a Christian'—a 'Bill for the Relief of Persons of the Jewish Religion elected to Municipal Offices' was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Divett, and carried by a majority of 113. This bill was introduced into the Lords by the Marquis of Bute, and, although opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was carried on its second reading.

"Contents, 48; non-contents, 47; majority, 1.

"Notwithstanding this bill was lost in a later stage, opinion had become so favourably disposed towards the emancipation of the British Jews in 1845, that a similar bill was originated in the House of Lords itself, and carried without a division. Lord Lyndhurst, then Lord Chancellor, introduced it; and he was warmly supported by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

"Sir Robert Peel moved the first reading of the bill in the House of Commons, supported by Lord John Russell. It was opposed by Sir R. Inglis and Mr. Plumptre, who were assisted on the third reading by Colonel Sibthorpe. The bill went through all its stages by very decisive majorities, and received the royal assent July 31, 1845. Municipal offices of every description, including that of recorder, were opened to Englishmen professing the Jewish religion, by this statute, which thus placed at the disposal of their fellow-citizens in towns the services which had been rendered for several years in the capacity of county magistrates, recommended for that honourable trust by the respective lords-lieutenant.

"Within the two years which have elapsed since the passing of this act, several of the most important corporations of the kingdom, those, for instance, of London, Birmingham, Bristol, Portsmouth, Southampton, and other towns, have received into their bodies members of the Jewish faith, elected by the free voice of their fellow-townsmen, among whom they live, and who are the best judges of their fitness of the trust which is reposed in them; while the citizens of London, in confirmation of their votes at the late election, and in testimony of their respect for his character and public conduct, conferred the first aldermanic gown that fell vacant on Mr. David Salomons, who had already filled the office of Sheriff of London, as well as that of High-Sheriff of the county of Kent.

"After such testimonies of national respect and confidence as have been exhibited in the foregoing facts, it is not surprising that, when the Lord Chancellor introduced his 'Religious Opinions Relief Bill,' at the commencement of the year 1846, and reviewed, preparatory to their repeal, the obsolete laws inflicting penalties on account of religious belief which still encumbered our statute book, he should have proposed to their lordships to erase from their pages the ordinance of King Henry III., which prohibits persons of the Jewish religion from holding land in this country, and to abolish the famous 'Statutum de Judaismo' of his son, which was designedly intended to

degrade the Jews, and which required that they should wear a prescribed badge. But the measure of 1846 did more than this. Repealing portions of more than thirty penal statutes, chiefly pressing on English subjects of the Roman communion, it concluded with two special enactments.—1. 'That her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, in respect to their schools, places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes, and the property held therewith, should be subject to the same laws as her Majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England.' And, 2. 'That there should be extended to them the protection of the laws against the wilful, malicious, and contemptuous disturbances of religious assemblies and teachers.'

"This measure, proposed by the Lord Chancellor, passed the House of Lords without a division. In the House of Commons, even Sir R. Inglis left it to be resisted by Colonel Sibthorpe and Mr. Spooner. Ten gentlemen, however, were induced to record their votes in the minority, and the 'Religious Opinions Relief Bill' received the royal assent on the 18th of August in the same year.

"Thus, in seventeen years, after repeated discussions and divisions in both Houses of Parliament, the controversy never having degenerated into a party question, the claims of the British Jews having during that period been supported by Lord Melbourne and Lord Lyndhurst; by Lord J. Russell and Sir R. Peel; by Lord Bexley, Sir T. Baring, and the Duke of Manchester, as well as by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Sandon; by Lord Stanley and by Lord G. Bentinck—all the civil disabilities disapproved of by Mr. Huskisson, and attempted to be remedied by Mr. Grant, have been removed, except the exclusion from seats in the Houses of Parliament."

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Baron de Rothschild does not appear in Parliament, not being able to take the oath imposed "on the true faith of a Christian." The Jewish disabilities are again brought under the consideration of the House of Commons.—Lord John Russell opens the debate.—He contends that the relief called for ought to be conceded as a matter of right, that while Jews were excluded, infidels had been admitted to be members of that House.—He moves that the House shall resolve itself into a committee to consider of the expediency of removing the civil and political disabilities of the Jews.*

THOUGH chosen to protect the interests of his fellow-citizens in the House of Commons, at the general election for 1847, when the new Parliament assembled, the Baron de Rothschild did not appear in his seat on the meeting of Parliament, as he could not take the oath administered to every member. It then became necessary to call for an alteration of the law. In consequence of this, the claims of the Jews were again submitted to the British Parliament, and foremost among their champions we find the Prime Minister of England. On Thursday,



the 16th December, 1847, Lord John Russell submitted a motion to the House of Commons for the removal of all Jewish disabilities. In opening the subject, he said he could not argue that, as in the case of the Catholic, the peace of the empire was endangered by the law continuing in its present state. "Our Jewish fellow subjects might remain unrelieved, and still we should have little to fear from their resentment. When this subject was before the House in 1830, one danger," said his lordship, "was pointed out as likely to arise from its adoption, by my hon. friend who intends to oppose me on the present occasion, but he is not in a position to repeat his warning now. In 1830, my hon. friend took upon himself the character of a prophet, and said, 'You may depend upon it, that if you admit the Jews to civil offices and seats in Parliament, it will follow that in less than seven years you will have a reform of Parliament.' But, without the admission of Jews to Parliament, as the precursor of the so much dreaded event, within two years of the time when my hon. friend used those words I have referred to, the reform of Parliament was effected. Therefore, there is at least one danger, which it will be unnecessary to take into consideration in discussing this question. I place the question upon this simple, but, I think, solid ground—that every Englishman is entitled to the honours and advantages which the British constitution gives him. I state further, that religious opinion of itself ought to be no disqualification for the enjoyment of those rights. I found myself on a declaration in one of the statutes of the law of England—'It is the birthright of the people to enjoy the privileges common to all.' I found myself on a declaration made in the House of Lords during the discussions on the Conformity Bill:—'The Lords think that an Englishman cannot be reduced to a more unhappy condition than to be put by law under an incapacity of serving his prince and country; and therefore nothing but a crime of the most detestable nature ought to put him under such a disability.' I say, then, that on this ground, unless something shall be proved to disqualify Jews, they stand in the position of persons born in this country, bearing all the burdens which are imposed on them, and ready to serve their prince and their country in any capacity in which they may be called upon, and that, therefore, they are entitled to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow subjects."

He proceeded to say, "I think this is not a matter of favour towards the Jews, but that; unless some strong ground of disqualification be proved against them, it is a matter of right. I therefore will not urge that even those who have opposed the claims of the Jews have admitted their peaceable conduct and their moral character as subjects—that they are governed by that moral law which is adopted by, and which is binding upon us—that there are among them many persons distinguished for eminent talents—that in the offices to which they have been admitted they have shown themselves as capable of discharging their duty as any of their competitors; and that in various other capacities, as well as in the pursuit of science and art, they have shown themselves competent, by their intelligence, to undertake the duties of any position to which an Englishman may aspire. I will not urge those circumstances, because, by doing so, I might seem to make this a matter of favour and indul-

gence. No! I ask the Legislature to remove the disabilities under which the Jews labour, not on account of any peculiar merits belonging to her Majesty's Jewish subjects, but because, being subject to the burdens of the state, being born in this country, being compelled to fulfil those duties which the state imposes on them, I maintain that they have a just claim to be admitted to its honours and rewards."

Not denying that religion should influence men in public situations, his lordship continued, "that it is entirely a mistake to suppose that by the words of an Act of Parliament, by the postscript of an oath or the fag-end of a declaration, you can insure religious motives and religious obligations." He added, "I believe, and I think I can prove, that by those declarations you do not obtain the security which you pretend to obtain—that you do by these means shut out men who are conscientious and deserving—men who would execute the duties of civil offices, and exercise the functions of legislators with due regard to religious obligations—and that you do not shut out those whom you profess yourselves afraid of admitting—I mean that class of persons who, having thrown off altogether the obligations of religion, do not conceive themselves bound to fulfil any of its duties."

His lordship showed that the objections made to Jews becoming members of Parliament were equally as applicable to others who were not excluded. He urged, "the complaint against the Jews is that they are revilers of Christianity—that they make a mockery of the Christian religion—that they hold up Christ as an impostor; yet was there ever a man who more sneered at Christianity—was there any Jew of the last century who used such language with the view of depreciating the doctrines of Christianity and destroying the belief in it in the minds of the people, as Gibbon? Yet Gibbon took your declaration. He came to the table and swore 'on the true faith of a Christian.' He held office under George III.—he sat on the treasury bench, under a government which was more of a high church government—which was more disposed to raise the cry of 'church and king,' than perhaps any government which ever existed during the reign of that monarch. You say that the Legislature ought to be a Christian Legislature; that the Parliament ought to be a Christian Parliament; but do you not say that the nation is a Christian nation, and that the British people are a Christian people? Why, in the same sense in which you say that the nation is a Christian nation, though there may be thirty thousand Jews among them, you might say that the Parliament was a Christian Parliament, although among the six hundred and fifty-six members of the House of Commons there might be six persons professing the Jewish religion."

On the treatment of the Jews in former times, the noble Lord feelingly dilated,

"In the early history of this country the Jews were persecuted in every mode and by every contrivance which cruelty could suggest. At one time they were forced to surrender all their property, at another time they were sent to prison, at another time they were tortured, and at another time they were banished the realm by a general act of the Legislature. Such was the treatment of the Jews. But, with respect to the theory under which this law was adopted, that theory was, not that



the Legislature should be open to all classes of Christians, but that every member of it should belong to the church which was then universal, the Roman Catholic church. It is stated by Bracton, that the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo* was supposed to be as ancient as the common law itself. Every heretic was committed to the flames at once; and I will read to you the words of an ancient author (Lyndewode) to show what sort of a person a heretic was:—*‘Hæreticus est qui dubitat de fide Catholica, et qui negligit servare ea quæ Romana ecclesia statuit se servare decreverat.’* He thought that every man was a heretic who did not adhere to the Roman Catholic church, or who departed from it in any particular. Such was not the common law of this country which was framed in favour of Christianity, but for the protection of what was then the established church of the realm.” From reference to the first oath, in which the words “on the true faith of a Christian” occurred, he showed that, originally, these words were intended not to exclude either Jew or infidel, but to give a greater sanction to the oath which the Roman Catholic Christian took when he declared himself a faithful and true servant of the crown.” He proceeded, “I contend that the history of this declaration shows that it was intended only to give a security that those who were Roman Catholics, and who were admitted to office and to parliament, were not men who had swerved from their allegiance; and that, being Christians, they were asked to make the declaration ‘on the true faith of a Christian.’ Against the infidel sitting in parliament, there is no protection.” His lordship went on to say,—“I have shown to you that, as the law is at present, there is no security whatever for preventing an infidel from sitting in parliament. That declaration which the scruples of the Jew induce him to refuse, is taken at once by the man who believes nothing. If that be the case, let us see, further, whether there is any reason, not founded on our constitution, not founded on the laws of the country, which should make you continue to exclude the Jews from parliament and office. One ground which has been stated for their exclusion is, that the Jews are a separate nation. But the Jews themselves utterly deny this allegation. They say that they are not attached to any foreign state; and that, as the Jews in France are French subjects, those of England are English subjects; and that they are ready to do their duty as all good subjects should do, either in time of war or otherwise. Again, I say, if they are aliens, to what country do they belong? an alien is one who has another king and another country, to whom his allegiance is owing, and therefore he cannot pay perfect obedience to the laws of the state in which he lives, and is subjected to some necessary disabilities. But those Jews who have lived in this country for a century, or a century and a-half, who have their property in England, their wives and their families, to what other king or country can they resort in order to pay their allegiance? But then we are told, though it is rather an insult than an argument, that, as the late Mr. Cobbett used to say, we do not see the Jews following the trades which other persons follow. Is there not a sufficient reason for this in your own laws? You disqualify them from holding

land, and in many cities from practising retail trades; and what right have you to turn round and say to the Jews—‘You have no taste for the cultivation of land or for trades which other Englishmen follow?’ Is that justice? Is that argument? I believe that in France the Jews enjoy all the honours and emoluments which the state has to bestow; and M. Dupin, and some other eminent persons who have been elected to seats in the legislature, are of that persuasion. Do not, therefore, I beg of you, rest your disqualification upon your former proscription, and do not argue that, if you take it away, you will not find the Jews fulfilling the obligations of citizens like other men in similar circumstances.” Passing to another objection, “but,” said his lordship, “we have been told also, that there is a very solemn denunciation in the prophecies, which should prevent our granting to the Jews the rights which they claim. It is obvious, that if such be the meaning of the prophecies, it is not for us to decide what should be done, but that Providence will accomplish by its own means its own purposes. But, I would ask, where it is that those who use this argument would draw the line? I have told you that in France they hold all offices to which Frenchmen are admitted, and that more than one member of the Chamber has been of the Jewish persuasion. Even in this country we have much relaxed the rigour of our enactments respecting them. A Jew has been a magistrate, a Jew has been a sheriff. By a late statute, which was introduced by the right honourable member for Tamworth, Jews may hold offices in corporations; and it was but the other day that a Jew was admitted to the office of alderman in the corporation of the city of London. I ask you what right or business have you to interpret a prophecy so as to draw the line between an alderman and a commissioner of customs, between a justice of the peace and a person having a right to sit in parliament? What enabled you or authorized you to say where the line intended by the prophecies should be drawn, and how can you take upon yourselves to draw the limits of the line the Almighty intended to mark out? It would be, in respect to the Supreme Being, to

‘Strike from his hand the balance and the rod,  
‘Rejudge his justice—be the God of God.’”

On the view likely to be taken of this question out of doors he next treated. “We are told,” he said, “that there is a popular prejudice against the name of the Jew—founded upon various circumstances to which I need not allude—founded upon what I think a mistaken view of Sacred Writ, and the dislike and distrust there is on the part of men of a different religion. But that popular prejudice which induced the administration of 1753, after passing an act for the naturalization of the Jews, to come down in a hurry, in the next year, for the purpose of repealing it, has, I believe, very greatly died away; that it has subsided in this metropolis I have with my own eyes a proof, because a gentleman in the city of London, well known in that city by his extensive transactions, by his wealth, his charity and liberality, was elected for that city by nearly seven thousand votes at the last general election. I quote that as a proof that this house would not be safe in saying—‘Such is our



opinion; we are liberal; we intend well to our Jewish fellow-subjects, but there is such a prejudice amongst the people against them that it would not be safe to legislate in their favour. I warn honourable gentlemen not to rely upon that feeling. I believe that the people are to the full as enlightened as the members of this house. I believe that the general opinion, and the right and true opinion, as I conceive it to be, is that religious opinions ought not to bring with them any penalty or punishment. I believe that that is the right and true opinion, overbearing any prejudice that may have existed against the Jews." His lordship concluded a long and able oration, which was listened to with great attention, in these words: "But I would make a still higher appeal, I would make an appeal to the principles of that Christianity which has so long been the law of the land. I appeal to you, then, in the name of that religion which is a religion of charity and love, 'to do unto others as you would they should do unto you.' I ask you why it is, that when we are taught by examples and parables that we ought to love our neighbours, it is not priests or Levites who are singled out as instances for our approbation and admiration; but it is one of a proscribed sect—one who belonged to what was then the refuse of all nations? I ask why it is that we are taught that all men are brothers—that there is no part of the human race, however divided from us by feelings or colour, that ought to be separated from us; but that all belong to the family of man, and ought to be loved as brothers. I ask you, therefore, in the name of that constitution which is the constitution of freedom, of liberty, and of justice—I ask you in the name of that religion which is the religion of peace and goodwill towards men—to agree to the motion which I have now the honour to make." The noble lord then moved, "that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the removal of the civil and political disabilities affecting her majesty's Jewish subjects," and resumed his seat amidst long and continued cheers.

Sir Robert Inglis opposed the motion, not from hostility to those who were the subjects of it, but it was a question between the Christian and the non-Christian; it was a question between the Christian and, as the honourable member for Montrose had said, Mussulmans, Hindoos, and Parsees—between the Christian and all other creeds. He considered that it was not a question whether Baron Rothschild should enter parliament, but whether they should sweep away all protection against there being in that house other representatives than men of property and Christians. He would endeavour to avoid introducing any subject too sacred into this discussion. He did not call for a crusade against the Jews, nor would he use any expressions which would expose him to the charge of bad temper. He might ask, however, was it not a fact, which now the house was bound to consider, that the Jews called Him whom they in that assembly regarded as their Saviour-God a "crucified impostor?" This was not language which he would willingly introduce, but it was provoked. He held in his hand a pamphlet written by a Jew, entitled "Should Rothschild sit in parliament?" and which had been very widely circulated among members of the house, and

therein it was argued that this was not a Christian country. The tone of that pamphlet did not evince any very careful regard for the feelings of that house or of the Christian community; and it was a fair inquiry whether, to admit a Jew into parliament to maintain propositions like these, it was worth while to make any great change in the constitution?

The debate that ensued was long and animated. Mr. W. J. Fox urged in favour of the Jews. The great law quoted by the honourable baronet, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," was assuredly not exclusive, but comprehensive. It taught us to bear in mind the civil duties which were required to be performed by our Jewish fellow-subjects; the burdens which we imposed upon our Jewish fellow-subjects; the co-operation which we required of them in works of peace and charity; and, as we ourselves, supposing us to be in the minority, would most certainly seek to obtain for ourselves rights commensurate with our duties, so we were taught by that great Christian law to deal with them in the same manner, and to grant them rights, while we impose upon them the performance of duties.

Lord Ashley, though speaking on the opposite side, denied that the Jews were the illiterate, degraded race, which they had been represented to be. He said the Jews were a people of very powerful intellect, of cultivated minds, and with habits of study that would defy the competition of the most indefatigable German. Their literature extended in an unbroken chain from the days of our Lord down to the present time. [Mr. Disraeli—"From far beyond that."] True; for the honourable gentleman meant, no doubt, to throw into their literature the whole range of the historians and the prophets of the Old Testament. But he (Lord Ashley) was speaking not of the old Jews in their palmy days, but of the Jews oppressed and despised in their days of dispersion. Even thus, their literature embraced every subject of science and learning, of secular and religious knowledge. As early as the ninth century they took the lead in grammar and lexicography, and towards the end of the twelfth their labours in this respect formed the basis of everything that had since been done by Christian doctors. They had a most abundant literature in French and German, but especially in Hebrew; and the Jews presented, he believed, in our day, in proportion to their numbers, a far larger list of men of genius and learning than could be exhibited by any Gentile country. Music, poetry, medicine, astronomy, occupied their attention, and in all they were more than a match for their competitors. But the most remarkable feature in the character of the Jews in the present day was this,—that they had discarded very many of their extravagant and anti-social doctrines. Their hatreds and their suspicions were subdued, and undoubtedly they exhibited a greater desire and a greater fitness to re-enter the general family of mankind. Notwithstanding this he opposed the motion. If asked why, his reply was, he was fully prepared to make every concession that could contribute to their honour and comfort; he offered no opposition to their being admitted to corporate offices; but when he was summoned, in obedience to a principle which from his soul he repudiated (the principle that religion had nothing



to do with politics), to strike out certain words from the oath that asserted the truth and maintained the supremacy of the Gospel, he must at once declare that he could not give his vote) for the admission of anybody to the high and most solemn function of legislating in the British parliament unless he professed "the true faith of a Christian."

By Mr. William Gladstone, the colleague of Sir Robert Inglis, and a representative of the University of Oxford, the motion was powerfully supported. In reply to the argument that, enabling Jews to sit there would unchristianize the house, "I confess," said he, "I should perceive in this step a liability to very great and grave objections indeed, and even to the character of a practical grievance to us, if I thought that it was the intention of the noble lord to propose that our position would be in any particular altered by the measure which he proposes to introduce. I hope his purpose is, that we shall continue to discharge the very solemn duties placed in our hands, under the sanction of the oath, that we who are Christians shall continue to give the greatest degree of solemnity that is possible to that oath, by continuing to contract our obligations 'upon the true faith of a Christian.' I trust that nothing can be more idle than the anticipations of those,—I have not heard them mentioned in this debate, but they are current out of doors—the anticipations of those who apprehend that, in consequence of the admission of some two, or three, or four, or six Jews into parliament, that devout and seemly custom, whereby you, Sir, as our representative, and all who are present with you, offer up your daily supplications to Almighty God for light and guidance in our deliberations, is to be either abandoned or in the slightest degree endangered. I must confess I feel, for one, that if it were so, then this would become a question, not of considerations rather of an abstract character on the one hand and practical grievance on the other, affecting the Jews, but of practical grievance affecting a very small number of Jews on the one hand, and of practical grievance affecting a very large number of Christians—I mean all those who sit here—on the other. I have, therefore, endeavoured to show, that the assumptions with regard to the real and constitutional meaning of the law which it is proposed that we should pass are assumptions unfounded on the true nature and character of the measure. But there are others who make objections to this measure in language much stronger than my noble friend. If we have not yet been told, we must prepare to be told, that this is an anti-Christian measure, and one which will draw down upon us the judgment of the Almighty. Now, with regard to such arguments, I admit the extreme difficulty of touching them at all, because one cannot deal with them with the reverence which is due to the awful name they seem to invoke against us, and at the same time in the manner which befits the tone of our common discussions. But this I do say, that if it be true that civil justice requires the admission of the Jew into parliament, and if it be untrue that you can show any great practical difficulty in the work of legislation, or any grievance to any other class of the community as the consequence of his admission, then this question, so far from being, as my honourable colleague called it, a question of expediency, is, as far as any question of this kind can be, a question of principle as

contradistinguished from expediency; and that in proceeding to render justice to any class of our fellow-subjects, be they called by what name they may, I can have no fear of drawing down upon our heads the vengeance of the Almighty; but, on the contrary, I must entertain a very much more serious fear in that respect, if, because of the influence of clamour or of prejudice, we refrain from doing that which we believe to be right. You refuse to admit the Jew," he remarked, "to this house, because they who sit here are the makers of laws; but I ask who are the makers of laws? It is from its return to its mother earth periodically that this house derives its vigour, and new materials to replace the old; this house is not the fountain of power, although it is its organ—it is in the constituency that you must seek the fountain. And to that constituency you have admitted the Jew. Then I ask, is it a Christian constituency? Is a man, as a voter, precluded from recognizing Christian principles as binding upon him in giving his vote? Is he precluded from considering what his duty to his God and his Saviour requires?—for if he went to the hustings without considering it, I should not think him a Christian at all. I do not believe my noble friend will contend seriously that the constituency is no longer a Christian constituency, because a few Jews, scattered through the country here and there, have a right to vote; but how, if that concession be made, is it possible to contend that Parliament will cease to be a Christian Parliament because of the admission of the Jews to it?" He thus concluded his appeal in their behalf:—"The measure we urge is one worthy of a Christian Legislature to enact, for the arguments which support it are those which Christianity recognizes. Should we refuse it, the wrong and injustice on civil and political grounds, will speedily manifest themselves; while, on the other hand, if we adopt it, and admit the Jews, we shall have the consolation of finding, that even if their prejudices should for a time exist, yet their good sense will not fail to allay them. We shall have the consolation of feeling that we have used the light that has been given us, and I think we need not despair of being guided by it aright; and under any circumstances, we shall know that we have done our duty by conceding civil and political equality to our fellow-subjects, without any disparagement to the religion we profess. We shall have the satisfaction to reflect that we have not, by doing an act of civil and social justice, lowered Christianity in the public estimation, but have discharged a duty tending rather to elevate Christianity in all reflective minds, especially if, when a few years shall have elapsed, and we shall be enabled to read the debates of the present hour with the light which after events may throw upon them, we find that the Christian religion we professed enabled us to do an act of duty in spite of prejudices and prepossessions appealing to our tenderest feelings; and that, although we duly respected those prejudices and prepossessions, yet a feeling of justice would not allow us for a moment to suffer those prejudices to come in competition with the calls that were made upon us to act upon the precepts of our religion."

Mr. Goulbourn having opposed the motion on the ground that a measure like that contemplated would shock the religious feelings of the country, Mr. Disraeli advocated the admission of Jews to the enjoyment of the



rights of Englishmen with great effect. He could not see any grounds for alarm, and believed Christianity established too firmly to be shaken. The honourable gentleman proceeded: "Sir, I have that faith in Christian principles, that I think they will make their way, and must make their way, by their own essential power, and that he who preaches them will not exercise great influence in their diffusion, because, according to the view of the right hon. gentleman, he can intimate to those whom he wishes to convert, that they will enjoy some advantages by acceding to the faith he wishes to propagate. The right hon. gentleman was once a Secretary of State, and Secretary of State for the Colonies, and when in that office he must have seen, in the West Indies and other places, colonies of ours governed by deliberative and representative assemblies in which Jews were seated—and not Jews only, but even Pagans. There are Buddhists who sit in the legislative chamber in the Island of Ceylon. But I am not adducing these facts as precedents for the guidance of your decision in the present case. I say it is because this is a Christian assembly, and this is a Christian country, that the Jews must find a reception among you. So far as reason is concerned, I say that no reason one can grapple with—no precise and definite argument—has been adduced against the motion of the noble lord. There is one part of this question which has great influence in this country; and allusion has been made to the difficulty which would arise out of the position in which the Jews if admitted here would be placed in connexion with the church of England. That is a question, as it appears to me, on which great misconception exists. I shall not dilate upon a point already referred to, remarking only, that the professors of the Jewish religion are not those who proselytize. So far as my argument is concerned, I place no weight upon that consideration. But observe, the Jew is necessarily, from his religion, a religious being. However he may have been persecuted—however he may have been degraded—however he may have been brutalized by the effect of those dark traditions which have really influenced that public opinion in relation to him, to which I have referred,—which never existed at the earlier periods of Christianity, but which are the product of the most benighted part of the feudal ages,—he has been sustained alone by the divine law he obeys, and by the sublime morality he professes. The Jew has no thought of establishing his own church; it is an idea foreign to his nature—foreign to the result of all his laws, of all his habits, and all his traditions. As such an object is both undesirable and impossible to him, it is his object to support the religious institutions of whatsoever country it may be in which he is permitted to enjoy the civil rights of a subject. In China there is a large colony of Jews, descendants of Jews who probably left Palestine thousands of years before Christianity was established, and there they exist, a loyal, religious people, no doubt anxious, as they always are, to uphold the ecclesiastical institutions of the country. But in Europe—that Europe which you have baptized Christendom—how stands the Jew in relation to the church of Christ? What possible object can the Jew have to oppose the Christian church? Is it not the first business of the

Christian church to make the population whose minds she attempts to form, and whose morals she seeks to guide, acquainted with the history of the Jews? Has not the church of Christ—the Christian Church, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant—made the history of the Jews the most celebrated history in the world? On every sacred day you read to the people the exploits of Jewish heroes, the proofs of Jewish devotion, the brilliant annals of past Jewish magnificence. The Christian church has covered every kingdom with sacred buildings, over every one of whose altars, as we were properly reminded by the hon. member for Oldham, you found the tables of the Jewish law. Every Sunday,—every Lord's day, if you wish to express feelings of praise and thanksgiving to the Most High, or if you wish to find expressions of solace in grief, you find both in the words of the Jewish poets. It is in the Christian church, which you persist in believing, it must be the desire of the Jew to oppose, that he must, if he be not persecuted, behold that Divine corporation which teaches to all the nations of the civilized world the sublime morality, the beautiful poetry, and the true faith which he professes. And I cannot help believing that a man owning all the traditions, all the habits, all the laws of a Jew—a man who wishes to maintain inviolate the religious institutions in every country in which he lives—can ever look upon the Catholic church, whatever may be its form, with other feelings than those of the deepest interest, and, as I think, with those of reverent affection. An hon. gentleman has said that if you wish to convert the Jews it is no hard matter; the first step is to let them become acquainted with you. And it ought not to be a hard matter. All the early Christians were Jews. The Christian religion was first preached by men who had been Jews until they were converted; every man in the early ages of the church, by whose power, or zeal, or genius, the Christian faith was propagated, was a Jew; and I cannot believe, if you are really anxious for the conversion of the Jews"—he added—"in exact proportion to your faith, ought to be your wish to do this great act of national justice. If you had not forgotten what you owe to this people,—if you were grateful for that literature which for thousands of years has brought so much instruction and so much consolation to the sons of men, you as Christians would be only too ready to seize the first opportunity of meeting the claims of those who profess this religion. But you are influenced by the darkest superstitions of the darkest ages that ever existed in this country. It is this feeling that has been kept out of this debate; indeed, that has been kept back in yourselves—enlightened as you are—and that is secretly influencing you as it is influencing others abroad."



CHAP. XXIII.

*The debate is resumed, and a majority of the House of Commons declare in favour of Lord John Russell's motion.—A bill is introduced and read a first time.—The bill is printed.—Public feeling is in favour of removing Jewish disabilities.—It strongly contrasts with that manifested in the eighteenth century.—The character of the Talmud is vindicated.*

THE debate was adjourned, and resumed on the 7th, when a new and severe conflict of words and opinions took place, which ended in the motion being carried; a majority of 67 having declared in its favour; as the members on a division were, for the motion, 253; against it, 186.

A majority having thus been obtained, the House immediately resolved itself into a committee, in which it was resolved that a bill should be prepared in conformity with the resolution just adopted by the House. Lord John Russell then said, he hoped to be prepared with the bill on Monday, and obtained leave to bring it in on that day; and accordingly, on the 20th of December, the bill was introduced, read a first time, and the second reading fixed for the 7th of February. It appeared in a printed form early in January, 1848, being entitled, "A Bill for the Relief of her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish Religion," and was endorsed with the names of Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and Viscount Morpeth. The number of clauses amounted to ten. The first clause substituted the following form of oath to be taken by the Queen's Jewish subjects, (including public functionaries and members of Parliament), instead of the obnoxious formula, "on the true faith of a Christian," viz. :—

"I, A. B., do solemnly promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, which shall be made against her person, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against her or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown, which succession, by an act, entitled, 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,' is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm; and I do declare that I do not believe that any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly, or indirectly, within this realm: I do swear that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement of property within this realm, as esta-

blished by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in the United Kingdom; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever.

"So help me God."

"This oath to be taken in the same manner as Jews were ordinarily sworn in courts of justice, &c.

"The 5th clause allowed persons professing the Jewish religion to make the declaration set forth in the act 8th and 9th Victoria, cap. 52, instead of that prescribed in the act 9th George IV., cap. 17 (Repeal of Sacramental Test Act), in all cases which are not within the provisions of the last recited act; and, in short, extended the relief sought for in the widest and most universal manner. A few restrictions are still retained, such as the disqualification of Jews to exercise the office of guardians and justices, or regent of the United Kingdom, that of Lord Chancellor, that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and that of her Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Scotch Kirk.

"Clause 7th continued the disqualification of any persons, otherwise than now by law enabled, to hold any office, place, or dignity in the church of England, or in any other ecclesiastical establishment; and clause 8 deprives Jews of the right of presentation to benefices, which right, in the event of the descent of an advowson to a party of the Hebrew persuasion, was to devolve upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, *pro tem.*

"Clause 9th rendered it illegal for any Jew to advise the sovereign, directly or indirectly, to make any appointment to offices in the established churches of the country."

It is interesting to mark the feelings which prevailed on this occasion among the people generally, which were strongly different, or rather diametrically opposite, to those awakened in the last century, when the question of Jewish emancipation was brought on the tapis. That great organ of public opinion, the "Times" of December 17th, 1847, thus exhibited the merits of the case :—

"The Premier's motion last night must have derived much of its interest from incidental circumstances. We can hardly persuade ourselves that, under ordinary conditions, a proposal for removing the civil disabilities of her Majesty's Jewish subjects would have provoked so much debate. It would have been considered more seemly to forget, than to defend the past. Judgment would have gone by default against the last relic of intolerance, and the political position of the Jew would have been secured by influences as involuntary and insensible as those which have operated to establish his social rank. But the peculiar relations of parties, and the eminent character of the individuals in whose persons the cause has been introduced; have conspired to invest it with an importance not its own; and, thus, a question which has been repeatedly discussed and decided, and to



the consideration of which we can now bring all the aids of experience, is argued anew as if the effects of enlightened toleration upon religious spirit had never yet been ascertained.

"To some extent, indeed, the case had been very recently prejudged. In the long debate the other day upon the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, there was hardly an argument alleged against the extension of toleration demanded, which would not have been applicable in the case of the Jew, although, if a government is to be 'essentially Protestant,' in the spirit which some conceive the words to imply, there can be no doubt the admission of a Jesuit to civil privileges would be a greater outrage against the theoretical orthodoxy of the constitution than the enfranchisement of the Jew. If the house had then taken its stand upon the idolatry involved in Roman Catholic practice, and on that ground had enacted or perpetuated certain civil disabilities on Roman Catholic subjects, then the faith of the Jew might last night have been consistently pronounced worthy of similar penalties. But no such position was defended. The arguments for the exclusion of the religionists in question were based upon the peril to the body politic which might reasonably be apprehended from tenets and discipline so notoriously suspicious; and so far were the principles of toleration carried on the other side, that it was affirmed, with apparently general consent, that we should not be justified in perpetuating any civil disabilities of our fellow-subjects, even for the purpose of securing ourselves more leisurely against the attacks of an active and aggressive sect. The question was made to turn, not upon the abstract character of the creed professed, but upon its practical influence on the conduct of the citizen professing it. If these were the grounds taken in the case of the Jesuit, why not in the case of the Jew? And if so, how can his opponents find any just impediment to allege in contradiction of his advocates?"

During the progress of the bill, both within the walls of Parliament and out of doors, the old topics mainly relied upon for disparaging the Jews, were rarely touched upon. No virulent hostility was manifested in any quarter, and those who chose to take their stand on the side of the opponents of the bill, did so on principles which at best had little application to the state of modern England. If it were in proof that a Jew had in any case held intemperate language against the Christian religion, it was known that in many instances the same thing had been done by those who were not Jews, and who were regarded as belonging to the Christian body. It was felt that ancient prejudices might with safety be laid aside. Those who studied more closely the points of difference in the Jewish and Christian creeds, found that if in some respects they were irreconcilably different, there were in others such agreement that the professor of each might worship the Most High in his own way, without giving offence to his neighbour. The Talmud, often stigmatized as false and blasphemous, where it was but imperfectly known, was shown to be anything but that engine of mischief which some had imagined. Centuries before, it had been effectually vindicated by a Christian, "Dr. Johannes Reuchlin, professor of humanioræ at the universities of Basil, Ingoldstadt, and Tübingen." A remarkable paper was addressed as a letter by the writer, to Bonetto de Hotes,

an Israelite, then chief physician to Pope Leo, and the inventor of the astronomical ring, which indicated the hour during both the day and night, and determined the height of the sun and the planets. His invention he described in a work which he dedicated to Pope Alexander IV., entitled *de Annuli Astromici Utilitate*. The defence of the Talmud is thus rendered by Dr. Loewe:—

"To my lord who sits in the Councils of the Wise, who is the light and support of the exiled Israelites; to him who is my master and instructor, Bonetto, first physician to his Holiness the Pope, &c., &c.

"After prefacing his epistle with a number of profound compliments, the strict signification of which it is very difficult to render into English, the writer proceeds:—

"It is the beginning of my task to acquaint your lordship that, about two years ago, his gracious Majesty the reigning emperor, whom God preserve, made a journey to Koln, which is a town containing a Christian university, and many distinguished men learned in theology. As his Imperial Majesty was passing through the town, the major part of the inhabitants, as it were by previous agreement, suddenly ran and assembled in a crowd before him, simultaneously exclaiming, in a tone that betokened distress of mind, "Help, O King and Emperor." And thus they continued:—"For this reason do we cry for help. There is in thy empire a body of people who belong to a nation that is dispersed and degraded over the face of the whole earth; and their laws are not like the laws of thy subjects at large, nor like those of other nations; they are an offence and a great evil to those who render to thee due allegiance; and they are made so by certain books which they prize, in which their religious tenets are set forth, and which contain passages deeply insulting to our church, and conjurations against the pope, the bishops, and all the clergy of whatever degree,—yea, and against the nobility of the nations of Europe, against kings and emperors, and, finally, against our whole nation, and the nations of the world. These books constitute what is called the Talmud. In addition to the evils which we have thus briefly enumerated, these books contain another still greater. If there were none such in existence, there would be only one religion; all men would then yield their faith to our Saviour Jesus Christ; but these books are the sole cause that so many people live in error. For this reason, mighty monarch, thou shouldst not allow these books to exist in thy dominions any longer; and after having, with mature deliberation, convinced ourselves of the justness of our prayer, we earnestly petition that thou wouldst issue a command that all such books be delivered into the custody of a royal commissary or officer by thee appointed, by whom they may be deposited in the royal archives, and afterwards, in one mass, excepting the twenty-four books of the Holy Scriptures, be burnt and utterly destroyed; so that the evils of which we complain may be rooted out from amongst us, and that all men may worship one God under one name, and not be separated in their religious faith as these books have caused them to be separated hitherto."

"All these tumultuous supplications had been produced by the intrigues of one sprung from your own people, an apostate, to whom the following passage in the Scriptures will doubtless apply:—"Thy destroyers,



and they that made thee waste, shall go forth of thee." That apostate, as you are accustomed to designate him, was in possession of several letters from princes and counts, and also of one from a nun, the sister of the emperor. Not only did the nun give her countenance to the apostate, by communicating to him her sentiments in writing, but she proceeded in person to the emperor, threw herself at his feet, and vehemently besought him, saying, "Oh, my brother and lord, ruler of nations, and most puissant monarch in the world, all the sins and crimes that are committed by means of the books of the Talmud will, in some sort, be charged upon you, for it is in your power to destroy them, and yet you do not. Does it require stronger testimony of their evil tendency, than that of a man who was educated and trained in the doctrine taught and disseminated by them, and who, consequently, must know whether they be good or bad? I, therefore, most earnestly beseech your Majesty to cause the books of the Talmud, wherever any such may be found, to be seized and burnt, and utterly destroyed. By such an act your Majesty's glory and devout repute will be raised to a perfect equality with that of the mightiest potentates that have ruled these realms before; and I doubt not that your Majesty will thus secure the lasting gratitude of all your loyal subjects, and the especial favour of God."

"It must be apparent to all persons, my lord, that his Majesty could not entirely resist these importunities for the destruction of the Talmudical books; therefore he issued a decree that they should all be seized and placed in the custody of officers properly appointed for that purpose. His Imperial Majesty, however, determined that the charge of their having an evil tendency should be strictly investigated, previously to their being actually destroyed; for that reason he sent to me a sealed letter, in which were conveyed his imperial commands that I should rigidly search the Talmud throughout, and afterwards report to him, whether, according to my opinion, it contained such insulting and mischievous passages as had been attributed to it. The duty thus imposed on me I performed as well as the abilities and comprehension with which God has endowed me would permit. I bestowed much attention indeed on the perusal of the books, for I always had, and have still, a strong predilection for the study of Hebrew literature. The conclusion to which I came respecting them can be best expressed in the terms in which my answer to his Majesty was couched, which was as follows:—"I have not myself discovered any passages in the Talmud which can be construed as insulting to our nation or to our religion; nor am I aware that any such have been noted by any other men with whom I am acquainted, whose learning and wisdom are sufficient to give weight to their judgment. The Talmud solely treats of the religious laws and moral precepts of the Jews, and no one else is under any obligation to believe in them. But, supposing that any one of the books should contain matter so objectionable as that which has been charged to them, let that only be consumed. There are amongst the cabalistic books, as well as amongst others pertaining to the Hebrew nation, many which are of great value, and it would be a pity and a loss to destroy them. The

apostate who condemns them could have no other object in view than to aggrrieve the Jews, and to cause dissension between them and others with whom they ought to be at peace." As soon as our most gracious emperor had read my opinion, so expressed, he commanded that all the books which had been seized should be restored to their original owners.

"Now, my lord, the moment that the apostate and the professors of the university of Koln were informed that their design had been frustrated through my interposition, they furiously asserted that I was a Manichean, an Epicurean, and a heretic; and not only did they thus stigmatise me before the public, but the apostate wrote some vituperative and reproachful pamphlets against me, and distributed them very extensively, in order to represent that my conduct in this business had been influenced by motives at variance with honour and religion. They even preferred an accusation against me to the Inquisition, and endeavoured deeply to traduce my character there. I then wrote a pamphlet in defence of myself, and stated therein all the reasons by which my decision on the Talmud had been formed. This they wished to have burnt, with marks of indignity and disgrace; but their purpose so to do was defeated. When they became aware that it was impossible to injure the good repute that I bore in the estimation of the Inquisitors, and were also acquainted that I had submitted my obnoxious decision to the pope, for the judgment of his holiness, their malignant chagrin stirred them up to write more abusive language against me, and to make attempts to degrade and prejudice me in the minds of all sorts of men.

"I am now afraid that these calumniators will summon me to appear to answer their spiteful accusations before magistrates belonging to other districts than that in which my residence is fixed, and thus put me to great and ruinous expense; by this fear, I am impelled to solicit the good offices of your lordship in my behalf. I have heard that your lordship has great influence in the cabinet of his Holiness; and that even his sacred person is frequently entrusted to your wisdom and skill. I therefore most earnestly, yet humbly and respectfully, entreat your lordship to endeavour to obtain from his Holiness a special mandate, to the effect that I shall not be so molested, and that I shall not be compelled to appear before any magistrates, in respect to the allegations which I have spoken of, except those within whose jurisdiction I am, according to the statutes and institutions of their peculiar courts. Should they think fit to insist on my appearing with them before his Holiness himself, I shall be willing to answer any questions which they may, in that case, put to me; but to be forced out of my own country, to be tried by the prejudiced authorities of Koln, I consider to be most unjust.

"If this, my humble petition, be complied with, I shall thereby know that I have found favour in the eyes of your dignity, and I shall further feel assured that my efforts to justify the course which, regarding the books of the Talmud, my conscience required me to take, have not been made in vain.

"I venture once again to repeat my entreaties that your lordship will deign to give your benign considera-



tion to this important matter. Under any circumstances, I shall always be ready to serve your lordship in that sphere through which my influence extends; your lordship has only to make known what advantage it is in my power to secure for you, and your wishes shall be fulfilled. The Almighty God knows that I am sincere in my professions of respect for your lordship; to Him I shall ever pray for your lordship's preservation, and for the well-being of all those whom your lordship is pleased to patronise."

In this case it is remarked by the translator, Dr. Loewe, that Reuchlin, one of the chief of the Christian learned men of his time, was, on account of his favourable opinion of the Jews, obliged to claim protection from an Israelite who was patronized by the pope.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

*Many public meetings are called, at which resolutions are passed favourable to the Jews.—The benevolence of the Rothschilds is proclaimed at a meeting in Southwark.—A medal is struck in honour of Lord John Russell's exertions in the cause of religious freedom.—A deputation from Southwark wait on Lord John Russell and Earl Grey.—They engage to present petitions favourable to the Jews, and present them accordingly.—It is shown that the Jews had acted an exemplary part where they were admitted to full immunities and privileges.*

THE question thus brought before the legislature was soon taken up by the people. Meetings were called in various places; and resolutions favourable to the removal of Jewish disabilities, passed in most cases with unanimity, and in all where unanimity was wanting, by a large majority. Many excellent speeches were made; and the peaceable and good conduct of the Jews was everywhere confessed. Some interesting facts were stated in the course of their proceedings. At a meeting held in the town hall, Southwark, Mr. William Thornborrow, speaking of the Baron de Rothschild, called the attention of his hearers to what had been his conduct in the preceding winter, while famine prevailed in Ireland. "He then," said the speaker, "came down at the head of the list of subscriptions for the sum of £1000, and he and his excellent brother loaded two ships with provisions in the Thames, and despatched them to two ports in Ireland to sustain the unfortunate people there."

The popular voice was decidedly with the advocates for the relief measure. A medal was prepared by Mr. Hyams, of Cornhill, in honour of Lord John Russell, as the champion of civil and religious liberty. The obverse presented a likeness of his lordship, and on the reverse there appeared the figure of Divine Love suckling her children with equal affection: at her left hand sat Anglican Episcopacy, enthroned, wearing a celestial crown, her arm resting on the Reformation Statute, 25

Henry VIII, Anno 1534. The Conference of 1 James I. 1603-4. The Revolution of 1 William and Mary, 1688, leading to the Test and Corporation Acts, whereon the high-church party maintain the exclusion of other religions from the State. At her right, the figure of Judaism, in fetters, leaning on the common fundamental doctrine of the decalogue, appeals to Christianity for her natural rights, with the question—"Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?"

On the 7th of February, 1848, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Alderman Humphreys, the members for the Borough of Southwark; the High Bailiff; Mr. Thornborrow, and other gentlemen who had taken part in the proceedings of the meeting which has been mentioned, waited on the Premier at his house. The High Bailiff addressed the noble lord on the subject of their coming, and expressed a hope that his lordship would do them the honour to present their petition to the House of Commons. The deputation was most cordially received, and his lordship declared he should be happy to comply with their desire. From Lord John Russell, they proceeded to the mansion of Earl Grey. There the deputation met with like attention, and a ready consent to further the object they had in view; and his lordship intimated his confident expectation that the bill would eventually pass: It is almost superfluous to add, the petitions were duly presented without loss of time to both Houses of Parliament, and their prayer supported by the noble persons entrusted with them.

It was at this period some letters appeared in the public journals, which served to show what the conduct of the Jews had been elsewhere, after being admitted to full immunities and privileges. They follow, and were thought practically to verify what might have been expected from a people, who at all times, when they had scope for their talents, have distinguished themselves amongst the sons of men. The letters were answers to certain queries of Mr. Brentano, a member of the Baden Parliament, which was engaged in 1846 in discussions on the question of Jewish Emancipation, and which was advocated by the major part of the legislature.

"The Hague, April 19, 1842.

"SIR,—To satisfy the desire you have expressed in your esteemed favour of yesterday, I have no difficulty in replying as follows:—

"Now that the Israelites have been participating for nearly forty-seven years in all the rights and obligations of citizens of the Netherlands, and have stood on a perfect equality with their other fellow-citizens, the government has had frequent opportunities to scan the social changes by which this portion of the population, stepping out of their late isolation, were called to a perfect participation in the natural rights belonging to natives of the Netherlands. The political emancipation has, according to my opinion, completely answered the expectation of its authors, and the Netherlands Government have never had cause to regret this reform. In instituting a comparison with others, we find that particular circumstances have impeded the civilization of that body; but they abundantly testified in the years 1813, 1815, and also in 1830 and since, that they are ready to



defend the interests of their fatherland with energy and as loyal subjects.

(Signed)

"SCHIMMELPENNINK, Minister of the Interior."

*From the Minister of Finance,*

"Hague, 20th April, 1842."

"Sir,—I make no difficulty whatever to your request of the 18th instant. It is, on the contrary, for me a pleasing duty to honour truth, by declaring that the admission of the Israelites to the same political rights as other citizens, as it has been existing in this country for half a century, has been attended with the happiest results, and that they have distinguished themselves as faithful and loyal subjects, especially during the most trying circumstances in which this kingdom has been involved.

(Signed)

"ROCHUSSEN."

*From the Minister of Justice.*

"The Hague, 21st April, 1843.

"Sir,—It is for me a pleasing duty to satisfy the desire you have addressed to me, in sending you the written declaration that, as the people of the Netherlands distinguish themselves by their peaceable character, and attachment to country and king, so that portion of the Netherlands who belong to the Jewish religion have also honourably been distinguished. Within these few years there have been opportunities enough in these countries to afford proofs of patriotism and fidelity. The Jews have, on their part, comported themselves in a manner to do honour alike to their hearts and heads. Wherefore they are universally acknowledged and looked upon, in our fatherland, as excellent citizens. The government takes pleasure in honouring them as such, and I do personally experience a real pleasure that your inquiries afford me an opportunity to bear testimony in favour of a numerous and estimable class of Netherlanders. (Signed) "VAN HAAL, Minister of Justice."

"Hague, April 23, 1842.

"The Minister of War certifies with the present, at the request of Mr. S. P. Lipman, Knight of the Netherland Order of the Lion, and barrister at Amsterdam, that not only as regards the regulations of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the laws respecting the militia, the Israelites of this country fulfil their military duties with the same fidelity as all other inhabitants of the kingdom, but that they frequently voluntarily enlist, insomuch that there are now many of them in the different corps of the army stationed in the Netherlands and in the East and West Indies, as officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, and also as military surgeons; that they have always behaved well and praiseworthy in their various ranks and offices, without ever having given cause for more complaints and dissatisfaction than any other military men of different religious persuasions, so that in the army of the Netherlands no difference, no exception is made in respect of them; and young men of the Jewish religion, so soon as they possess the aptitude and necessary qualifications, are admitted as candidates, like the sons of the other

inhabitants of the kingdom, to compete for admission to the Royal Military School, which is destined to form officers for the army and *employés* for the navy, to serve either in the kingdom or the colonies."

*From General Baron Chasse.*

"Breda, April 25, 1842.

"Sir,—It is a real satisfaction to me to comply with the wish you have expressed in your letter of the 23rd instant, to set forth my opinion of the Israelites, my fellow-citizens, as soldiers.

"For two years I have had a great many under my command in the citadel of Antwerp. During the entire of this period they gave the best proofs of valour, fidelity, discipline, and endurance. I can, as a man of honour, add with a perfect conviction, that if my career were not now nearly terminated, and I had to re-commence a campaign, I should deem myself fortunate to have the command of some thousands of them. I trust I have herewith satisfied your wishes, and I beg to assure you that I have derived great pleasure from the circumstance which has thus brought me acquainted with one whose fame as a literary man, a statesman, and author, was already known by me.

(Signed) "BARON CHASSE, General of Infantry."

## CHAP. XXV.

*The second reading of the Jewish Emancipation Bill is proposed.—An amendment is moved that the bill shall be read on that day six months.—An animated debate ensues.—Mr. Sheil eloquently supports the bill.*

It has been seen that the second reading of the bill was fixed for the 7th of February. On that day its opponents determined to make another effort to exclude the children of Abraham from Parliament, and on the question being put that the bill should be read a second time,—

Mr. Stafford proceeded, pursuant to notice, to submit as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time that day six months. It was no question of religious persecution, of religious toleration; that question had been settled by the concession to the Jews of the civil liberties which they already enjoyed. Those liberties he had no desire to recal, but while he was willing to admit the Jews to a full participation in the benefits of our legislation as fellow-subjects administered for, he conceived that it would be wholly contrary to our duty and interests as Christians, to admit those who were the enduring antagonists of Christianity to a share in the legislation itself. The bill was described by the noble lord who had brought it in, as one that would abolish the last remains of the intolerant spirit of former ages. With reference to this assertion, he might refer to a notice of motion which stood on the paper, to the effect that it should no longer be imperative that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland should profess the Protestant religion. Let such a measure as that obtain the sanction of the Commons House of Parliament, and it would then not prove



to have expunged the last remnant of what was termed the spirit of intolerance, for the English Lord Chancellor would still of necessity be a Protestant, and those who resisted a similar relaxation of the law in his favour be termed intolerants and bigots, as were the persons conscientiously opposed to the present bill. He should regret if the good old practice of opening the business of that house with prayer were discontinued. Now he would call their attention for a moment to one of the forms of that house, bearing upon this point, a form which perhaps, some hon. members might think ridiculous or laughable, but which, nevertheless, it had been hitherto necessary to observe; and he would remark, that if any of the forms of that house were ridiculous or laughable, let them enter upon the discussion of them openly at once; but let not those forms be disposed of piecemeal, and discussed in connexion with other subjects. He had come down to attend prayers. He could well understand the meaning of that laugh, and it was not only a blameless but a consistent laugh on the part of those who wished to carry this bill. Beginning with prayer at all might be a ludicrous absurdity, in the estimation of some of those who were in favour of this measure. But what he meant to refer to was, that it was necessary for those who wished to secure a place in that house, that they should record their names on a card at the bar; and what were the two words printed in capitals on that card? The words were, "at prayers." Now he would ask whether the name of Lionel Rothschild could be put on that card? If it could, then the form was an absurdity, and the sooner it was done away with the better. But when he came there he might say, "I have come because the Prime Minister said religion had nothing to do with politics, and because the Legislature has sanctioned that principle. I ask you, therefore, what politics have to do with religion? and why do you make me, if I wish to secure a place in this house, attend the worship of him I deem an impostor? I will not ask you to exchange the prayers of the synagogue for the prayers of the church; but I ask you to make your conduct consistent with the principle you have sanctioned, by abandoning your prayers altogether, and leaving every one to pray in the solitude of his own heart, in his own place of worship." They were going, as they said, to remove the last remnant of persecution; and he would refer to one other point bearing upon this view of the case. The hon. member for Oldham (Mr. Fox) said they placed over their altars the Jewish decalogue; but they altered in practice the fourth commandment, and transacted business on Saturday (the day held sacred by the Jews) the same as on any other. Now the Jew had to close his shop on our sabbath as well as his own; and it was a far greater practical grievance, he contended, to compel the poor and needy of that nation to close their places of business for fifty-two days in the year, than it was to exclude a few rich men from Parliament. Were they prepared, then, to give up Sunday, one of the few national recognitions of the Christian religion that yet existed? It was the Sunday and its observances that made their people moral and religious. In France, which had been so much demoralized, they not only gave admission to the Jews to the legislature, but they paid the Jewish teacher to say that Christ had not come in the flesh, the same as they paid

the Christian to say that he had already come. In France they gave up Sunday; and he had seen their shops and other places of business opened the same as on other days.

Though occasionally interrupted by marks of dissent from various members, the speaker was listened to with great attention. Towards the close of his speech, increasing in animation, he said, it had been asked—"what, after all, is the great difference betwixt Christians and Jews?" and that question was asked and amplified upon in a manner that could not have been forgotten by the house. He would answer that a Jewish peasant changed the religion of the world; and when that Jewish peasant was brought before the Jewish people, the cry of that people was—"We will not have this man to reign over us!" Since that time, from nation after nation, from century after century, and throughout every struggle, the cry has gone up from earth to heaven—"We will have this man to reign over us!" "We," he added, "accept the splendid proofs, the prophets and miracles with which his mission was announced and attested, as proofs of his glorious Godhead; under his rule we are strong; in his faith we live; in that faith we hope to die; and maintain and concede what we may, the difference must ever be immeasurable and eternal between those who look upon the cross of Christ as the fit punishment of a convicted malefactor, and we who, amid all our differences and faults, still cling to that cross as our best hope of happiness here, and our only hope of happiness hereafter." He then moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

The amendment having been seconded by Lord Burghley, was opposed by Mr. P. Wood, and the bill had further the support of Mr. Milnes, Sir William Molesworth, and Mr. Sheil. It was resisted by Mr. B. Cochrane, Lord Mahon, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Newdegate. Mr. Sheil was listened to with extraordinary attention. He argued that as the Jew born in England is, beyond all doubt, bound to the performance of every duty that appertains to a British subject, so to every right that appertains to a British citizen he is, beyond all question, entitled. The Jew does not demand any recognition of his religion, and the religion of the Jew ought not to subject him to any disqualification. "I am aware," he proceeded, "that the disqualification is styled by some as only a privation; but between penalty and privation there is no substantial difference. Privation of life, privation of property, privation of liberty, privation of right, are all but degrees in the graduated scale of persecution. With the high character, and qualifications, and dignity of this the imperial assembly, from which he is shut out, the hardship of the exclusion to which the Jew is subject, is commensurate; and I think there are many of you by whom the Jew is opposed, who ought to be the very last by whom his exclusion from Parliament should be advocated. I," said the right hon. gentleman, "am convinced that truth in the fulfilment of its great mission will at last prevail. Pope Paul III. relied upon necessity when he revived, or rather established, that celebrated tribunal for the extinction of error, of whose practices you have heard, and whose principles have a care how you unconsciously adopt. What is it that you fear? What is the origin of this Hebrewphobia? Do you tremble for the church? The church may have some reason to fear,



perhaps, from 8,000,000 Catholics; she may have something to dread from 3,000,000 of Methodists; she may have something to be alarmed for from 1,500,000 of Free Churchmen; she may have something to apprehend from sectarian assault from without, and from spurious Popery and mutilated Protestantism from within; but from the quiet, impartial, apathetic, and unproselytizing spirit of the synagogue, the church has nothing to fear. But the hon. and learned member for Midhurst has said that the house will be unchristianized. The Christianity of Parliament depends upon the Christianity of the country. The Christianity of the country, and by this I mean the belief in Christ risen from the dead—which I consider to be the faith, and inseparably interwoven with the affections, of the great body of the people—and in this sense I think the Christianity of the two islands is as stable as the islands themselves; and so long as the constitution remains, till Parliament itself shall perish—so long as this mighty mirror of the national mind remains untarnished and unbroken, so long will the religious feelings of the people of England be ever reflected here. This is the true security for the religion of the country and the religion of this house, and it affords a far better security than any that can be supplied by a mere test, at which an honest man will pause, but which a sardonic sceptic will disdainfully overlook. There have been repeated references in this house to the celebrated author of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;' but I think that a name still more illustrious might have been cited. Was not Bolingbroke, the fatally accomplished Bolingbroke, to whose genius was offered tributes amounting almost to idolatrous veneration,—was not Bolingbroke, who united to external accomplishment high intellectual endowments, and whose intercourse in private life exercised a species of fascination on all who had the misfortune to approach him—was not Bolingbroke, the infidel Bolingbroke, a member of this house? Was he stopped by the test which arrested the Jew? Did he not, on the contrary, tread upon it and mount to the height of power, and become a confidential adviser of the sovereign? Is it not preposterous that a man by whom revelation was rejected, who doubted the immortality of the soul, who doubted a future state of reward and punishment; who doubted eternity and Providence; who believed nothing, who feared nothing, who hoped for nothing, who laid no restraint upon his depravity, who had no incentive to virtue beyond such natural promptings as God may have given him,—is it not monstrous that such a fiend should find his way into the House of Commons, and climb to the pinnacle of power, and that you should slap the door with indignation in the face of an honourable and conscientious man, who adheres to the religion in which he was born and bred—of a man who believes in the facts which constitute the foundation of Christianity,—who believes in the existence of the noble part of our being; who believes in the mercies of God, and who practises humanity to men; who believes in the ten great injunctions on which all morality is based; whose ear is never deaf to the supplications of suffering, "whose hand is open as day to melting charity," and whose life perhaps presented a better exemplification of the precepts of the Gospel than many of those men for the sake of whose Christian religion these dishonouring disabilities are injuriously maintained. Where do you

find authority in the Scriptures themselves for the imposition of a temporal penalty for the propagation of heavenly truth? You will not find in the Gospels by Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John; nor in the epistles written by those humble men, to whose teaching all nations are called upon reverently to listen. Above all, you will not find it in anything ever said, or in anything ever done, or in anything ever suffered by the Divine Author of the Christian religion, who 'spoke as never man spoke,' who said he came to 'take a heart of stone and change it into a heart of flesh;' who said that 'blessed are the merciful;' and who, in place of ratifying the terrible anathema which the Jews invoked upon themselves, prayed for mercy for those who 'knew not what they did' in consummating his great sacrifice. It was not by persecution that Christianity was then sought to be advanced. It was in despite of it. Yes: it was in despite of persecution, exile, spoliation, shame, and death—it was in despite of beds of steel and couches of shame that the Christian religion made its superhuman, miraculous way; and is it not repugnant to common-sense, as well as to the elementary principles of this divine religion, that it should be maintained and propagated by an instrumentality diametrically the reverse of that by which it was established? But, alas! for frail, fragile human nature! no sooner had the professors of Christianity become associated with temporal authority, than they commenced to practise the same infamous severities of which they had themselves been the object. The Jews were selected as the special objects of their persecution, and the subsequent history of that people may be traced through centuries of blood. Men of genius occasionally arose, who interposed on their behalf. The great St. Bernard took their part; but the light that appeared in the Abbey of Clairvaux was soon extinguished. Centuries of darkness and persecution followed. The Reformation did nothing for the Jews. By all of us,—Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian,—was torn, as to pieces, the seamless garment of our Saviour. We all have sinned in this respect; but it is some consolation for the Roman Catholic, at all events, to think, that in Roman Catholic countries the process of excommunication has ceased. In Belgium and in France all distinctions between Christian and Jew are abolished. I trust that Protestant England will follow that great example. Nothing effectual will be done for the extinction of Judaism, till you yourselves have begun by making restitution of his birthright to every Englishman by whom the Jewish religion is professed. I know the notion is entertained by some that there is no such thing as an English, or a Spanish, or an Italian Jew; that a Jew is a Jew and nothing else: that his nationality is engrossed by the country of his hopes and his recollections, and that the house of Jacob must remain for ever in a state of degradation. When his name and race were branded and oppressed; in the midst of captivity worse than the captivity of old, it is not wonderful that on the banks of the Seine or those of the Thames, as with his fathers by the rivers of Babylon, the psalm of the exile should speak comfort to his heart. But in proportion as you have mitigated the law against the Jew, his devotion to the land of his birth has been revived. British feeling," he added, in conclusion of an eloquent harangue, "has taken root in the heart of the Jew; and nothing remains but that you should remove the obstacles which still



exist to its development. Emancipate the Jew—abolish all distinction between him and the Christian! His exultations and his sorrows will be the same as yours; his heart will beat with the same enthusiasm at English victory; and, if there be need, his life-blood will be poured out for his country, with the same prodigality as yours.”

The house debated till near midnight, when, as other members who had not yet been heard wished to address the house, the debate was adjourned till the following Friday.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The adjourned debate on the second reading of the bill is resumed.—Mr. Pearson speaks in its favour.—Lord Drumlanrig opposes it.—Mr. Cowper defends the measure; it is resisted by Mr. Seymour.—Mr. Horsman argues for it, Mr. Spooner against it.—Mr. Cockburn calls for the removal of Jewish disabilities; Mr. Barks, contends for their exclusion from Parliament.*

MANY petitions, and some of them very numerous signed, were presented to the House of Commons in the course of the week. When the debate was adjourned on Monday, it was expected by many that it would be resumed at the next sitting of the house, but on the Tuesday, Mr. Anstey, who had a motion on the paper relative to the conduct of a noble lord, a member of her Majesty's government, would not waive his right, to allow the unfinished debate to be brought to a conclusion, and it was in consequence ordered to stand over till Friday. There was a large attendance in the house in the first instance; but when it was known Jewish Emancipation was not to be debated that afternoon, most of the assembly instantly withdrew; and indeed, so few remained, that the house was shortly afterwards counted out, only thirty-nine members being present.

On Friday, the 12th of February, after a few petitions had been presented against the bill, but a more considerable number for it; the order of the day for its second reading having been read,

Mr. Charles Pearson addressed the house in favour of the bill. All that the Jews claimed, or rather all that was claimed for them, was the right of eligibility; a right to be elected in common with every other individual in the country. He stood there as an elector of the City of London, which had returned a Jewish gentleman (Mr. Rothschild)—one of between 6000 and 7000 persons who composed the ancient livery companies of the City of London, consisting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and inhabitant householders of the first commercial city in the first commercial country in the world; and who in the exercise of their rights and the discharge of their duties had thought fit to elect as their representative one of the most eminent of their commercial men, whose name was known in every port of the world where the peaceful flag of commerce floated. Why

should this gentleman not be returned to that house? The first reason assigned was his inability to join in the prayers with which the proceedings of the house were opened. It had been stated that he could not join in prayer with other members of the house without awful blasphemy towards God, and hypocrisy towards his fellow-men. He had known many Jewish gentlemen during the course of the last thirty-five years, and he solemnly declared that he had never heard from the lips of any one of them any such expression as that our Saviour was a “crucified impostor,” or any other expression which could hurt the feelings of the most delicate and fastidious Christian. On a late occasion, a Jewish alderman of the City of London attended at Bow Church, having, as was always expected from an alderman of London, the Riot Act in his pocket; but although there was a great tumult, and the words “mockery, mockery,” echoed from pew to pew, those sounds did not proceed from the Jew, but from the Christian portion of the assembly. He recollected, when in 1831 the Protestants at Rio Janeiro were unable to obtain a piece of ground on which to erect a place of worship, that Mr. D. Samuel, a Jew, obtained from the emperor an edict sanctioning the grant of a piece of ground for that purpose, and laid himself the foundation stone of the new building; and he had in his pocket the copy of a vote of thanks addressed to that gentleman for his liberality. That gentleman was now in England, and if this bill passed he might probably become a candidate for a seat in that house, where he had no doubt he would comport himself during prayers as he had uniformly done on other occasions. He understood, however, that the attendance of members during the time of prayers was entirely voluntary, and that the only object of attendance was to secure seats; for he believed that, excepting during the honeymoon of a new Parliament, not more than twenty members of the house were usually in attendance at prayers; and therefore a Jewish gentleman might perform all the duties of a Member of Parliament without any blasphemy, and without any interference with the feelings of others. In the course of his speech, Mr. Pearson endeavoured to impress the house with a feeling that it was not by severity that the prejudices of the Jews could be corrected. He found in the writings of the Rev. Mr. Simeon, a remarkable statement with regard to the position of the Jews in Holland. Mr. Simeon in course of a tour there, had met Dr. Capadoche, who observed that the Jews were admitted in Holland to all offices and honours, and that therefore Mr. Simeon's aid was not required, that rev. gentleman's visit being made with a view to the conversion of the Jews. But Mr. Simeon, on the contrary, thought that the very reason why he should begin his labours there; first, because the prejudices of the Jews would be less; and, secondly, because he might hold forth Holland as a pattern for other countries. The fable in which Æsop related the contest between the wind and the sun as to which of them should make the traveller part with his cloak, afforded an apposite illustration of the means most likely to induce men to throw off their prejudices; or, in language which the Jews would prefer in this case, their adherence to the faith of their forefathers. As the story of the



passenger and his cloak was told in the old nursery rhyme—

“The wind quite a hurricane blew,  
But could not provoke  
Him to part with his cloak,  
Which around him the closer he drew.”

“The mild melting ray,” however, of “the sun at noon-day” made him feel his cloak oppressive, and “inclined him to throw it aside.” “Moral,”

“’Tis thus that we find  
The great mass of mankind,  
By mildness are easily won.  
Persecution compare,  
To the boisterous air,  
Religion’s light of the sun.”

Lord Drumlanrig observed that the time had been when the name of Christ was the sole guide and the sole test which was acknowledged, but now it was urged that, as a body, this house should no longer tolerate that name. They who had shrunk from such a national repudiation were appealed to. Their acquiescence was desired in the name of political justice. When they in responding referred to the declaration, “on the true faith of a Christian,” they were met by the remark that because such unfortunate men as Bolingbroke and Gibbon had sat in that house, what they claimed as a condition of admission had become virtually extinct. But was there no distinction between suffering from an abuse because it belonged to human nature, and making provision for an abuse because it existed? The press had spoken on this subject as if Christianization was nothing but civilization. Then the example of France was referred to—the example of a country celebrated for its atheism. What was it that first induced the electors of London to return Mr. Rothschild? Their numbers amounted to 6,000 or 7,000. One’s admiration, however, of their conduct must be mixed with surprise and curiosity. It was a question which suggested itself for consideration how they had done so much and yet so little—how, with this spirit in favour of the Jews, they had contented themselves with electing one Jew only and not four. There was great moderation in that. With a splendid contempt of appearances they chose only the richest Jew.

Mr. Cowper deprecated the tone in which the noble lord had alluded to the supporters of the bill, accusing them of worshipping a golden idol and conducting a crusade against the cross. If this measure were merely an isolated act, he (Mr. Cowper) could conceive that more reason would exist for the prejudice with which it had been met. The measure was a logical and necessary sequence of the bill for the removal of the disabilities which had excluded the Jews from civil offices. It was the last stone they had to place on the temple of religious freedom which they had been rearing for the last twenty years. By the laws of the country the Jews were not aliens: their duties and liabilities were the same as those of other citizens. They had no national organization, but they were a distinct race. For many ages the Norman, the Saxon, the Dane, had occupied this country as distinct races, but they had not thereby been prevented from joining in one common nationality. The differences

between the Celtic population in the west of Ireland and the Teutonic in the north were as marked as ever; yet they had all a common love for Ireland. The Jews were a distinct race, but there was no ground for supposing that on that account they were deficient in English nationality. But, even if they were, the principal objection to their sitting in that house rested on their creed, and a change of creed did not necessarily increase their nationality. When a Jew adopted the Christian faith, and professed a belief in the Gospel, he remained the same, in point of nationality, as before. He entertained as strong a hope and expectation of his race arriving ultimately at the promised land as ever; and as eagerly looked forward to their returning to their beloved Jerusalem as any Jew who was blind to the Gospel and who rejected the New Testament Scriptures. He thought that experience had shown that the attempts to dissipate and extinguish error by compulsion and by legislative enactments had always done more to injure the truth than to promote it. Truth was “the still small voice” which became audible only to a willing ear, and which was often lost amidst the clamour which generally prevailed when they attempted to enforce it by compulsion or violence. But some hon. members had said that it was very important that those who represented the state should be called upon to show an outward homage to Christianity, by professing themselves Christians. He greatly doubted the value of this. Hypocrisy had been defined to be the homage which vice paid to virtue; but, for his own part, he did not think that virtue had ever been much benefited by such homage as that.

Mr. Seymer said there were persons in this country who held the opinion that all attachment to religious truth was synonymous with bigotry, and that all attachment to the principle of an established church was synonymous with persecution. That opinion would find little favour in his (the opposition) side of the house; neither would it, he hoped, on the Treasury benches. He had no hesitation in saying that he could not concur in the principle laid down by the noble lord the member for London, in introducing this question; and he did not believe it could be fully carried out in this country. It might do in America, but it would not in England. He did not believe, indeed, that the noble lord was himself prepared to carry it out to its full extent. How was the noble lord prepared to deal with our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects? There were 8,000,000 of Roman Catholics in this country; and, according to the law and constitution, no one possessing that religion could succeed to the throne of these realms. That large body could not, under any circumstances, be governed by a sovereign of the same religious persuasion as themselves. Here was a distinction between one religious body and another. Was the noble lord prepared to abolish it? For himself, he (Mr. Seymer) had no difficulty in upholding the principle of an established church, of which the sovereign was the head. He was ready to maintain all religious disabilities which were necessary to support the principle of an established church; not because he was fond of disabilities in themselves—still less because he wished to punish persons of other religious persuasions—but because they were necessary to the maintenance of



the institutions of our country; so that as for the sake of the principle of an established church he was prepared to maintain the disabilities which effect 8,000,000 of Roman Catholics, so, for the sake of the still broader principle of Christianity, he was prepared to maintain those which affected 40,000 Jews. Considerable importance had been attached to the citizens of London having returned a Jew as their representative. He did not think that the argument was entitled to much weight. The citizens of London were fond of speculation—they elected Baron Rothschild on speculation. They drew a bill upon the house for acceptance at a venture, and they were now very much in the position they were in some time ago in reference to railway schemes—very glad to take shares when they were at a premium, but very glad also when Parliament rejected the bills, whereby they were saved from being obliged to pay up the remaining calls,—the remaining calls in this case being the admission of Mahometans, Hindoos, and Turks. He did not believe that they were prepared to pay up those claims.

Mr. Horsman spoke in favour of the second reading. A vague, mysterious and unmentionable alarm pervaded the speeches of the hon. opponents of this bill; but anything tangible in the shape of danger to Christianity he had been unable to lay his hand upon. Would the passing of the bill make one Christian the less or one Jew the more in this country? Would the Christian portion of the community become less firm in their religious faith, or would the Jews be more established in theirs? It must be remembered that this bill did not give the Jews the right to sit in Parliament; it only gave to Christians the right to elect them. It seemed to him that the opponents of this bill placed their objections not upon policy, but upon fear. He admitted that the Jews must feel that they had most generous opponents in the hon. gentlemen opposite, and that those who spoke and voted against the bill, were acting from conscientious convictions and not from any other feeling. For himself, he felt that the acknowledgment of a fear for Christianity, as the result of this bill, was more degrading and insulting to Christianity than the invasion of a whole tribe of Hebrews. Why should it be said that the church was more in danger than the synagogue? We won over Jews now and then to the Christian faith, but did we ever hear that the Jew made proselytes of Christians? The founders of Christianity did not so estimate its power; such was not the weak faith of those few humble men who in the earliest ages of the church encountered persecution, braved every danger, and the rack, and taught the faith which had overspread the world. If Christianity had prevailed over principalities and powers, how was it that now, when she was triumphant, her disciples should acknowledge these fears, and that they should raise these cries of weakness? In the hour of obscurity, she had been fearless, and advanced unshaken to martyrdom; why should she be painted now as a tottering and trembling tyrant? Why did her champions never enter upon a contest without anticipating a defeat?

Mr. Spooner said the speech of the hon. gentleman who had just sat down was a continual contradiction throughout. He admitted as broadly as possible that religion ought to rule all the concerns of life, and yet he

came to the conclusion that they were to call the Jew into that house to act upon his religion and his principles. Was it to be said that in opposing this bill he (Mr. Spooner) and those who voted with him feared for Christianity? They had no such fear. The hon. member could not believe more firmly than they did, that Christianity was founded in truth, and that it would ever flourish, whatever human attempts might be made to put it down. But there was a fear which did actuate his (Mr. Spooner's) mind, and it was lest this nation, which had been so long blessed with Christian privileges, should prove itself so unworthy of them as to suffer persons to enter that house and legislate for a Christian country, who denied the Lord our Saviour, who regarded the history of Christianity as a fable, and the Founder of Christianity as a crucified impostor. Would the hon. member controvert the position that the Jews denied the Saviour of the world, and dealt with the charter of the Christian's hopes as fiction? Did not the Jews believe in the whole of the Old Testament, in the types and ceremonies of the Levitical law, and in the prophecies; and yet did they not reject Him to whom those prophecies referred? He dissented from the constitutional doctrine laid down by the hon. member who had last spoken, that every man had an abstract right to sit in that house. There was no such right; but, apart from that consideration, it would be impossible to preserve the constitution of this country if persons were admitted to legislate who did not believe, or profess belief, in the faith of the country.

Mr. Cockburn spoke in favour of the bill, and contended the Jew might be admitted to the privileges claimed for him with perfect safety. Did any one suggest that there would be real danger to the church of Christ and to the established religion, from the admission of Jews to that house? In what shape or form would the danger come? Was it anticipated from the legislative acts and conduct of the Jew when admitted? Hardly so. What interest had he in doing anything detrimental to the Christian religion? Did any one imagine that the Jew proposed to convert us all? The spirit of his religion was not proselytising; it was his peculiar character that he was exclusive in his religion. Besides, if that were the apprehension, the remedy was in the hands of a Christian people. All that was proposed was, to give to Christian constituencies the right of returning Jewish representatives if they thought proper; and had we so little confidence in the religious sentiments of the people of England, as to believe that if they found their Jewish representatives using their power in the way supposed, they would be induced by any consideration—no matter what—to make the choice of those representatives the means of the destruction of the Christian religion? Other countries, Christian countries, had made the experiment before us, and found the result satisfactory. If the French must not be cited because it would be said they were not an eminently religious people; there was Holland, where they had long been admitted to office and to the legislature; there was Belgium also, and America. In colonies of our own, in Jamaica and in Canada, they had been admitted into the legislature with signal success; and in the latter



of the two, the Jews took a leading part in suppressing the rebellion and upholding British authority. Might we not feel, that in granting this healing and conciliatory concession, we should take a great step towards bringing the Jew to a sense of the value and the holiness of our religion? We held that religion to be supported by evidence that must bring conviction to the mind of every man who sat down to consider it. How was it that the Jew had been so long living among a Christian people, yet so little progress made in bringing him to a sense of the truth of the Christian religion? Because we had raised between him and Christianity an insurmountable barrier. We had persecuted and oppressed him, and taught him to look upon a Christian as his bitter and implacable foe. Let us treat him as a brother; let him learn all that there was of mercy and of charity in the faith that we professed; let us bring him within the sphere of its holy influence, and we should take the first step towards leading him, though it might not be in our time, to embrace that truth, for the maintenance and the extension of which we must ever feel so anxious.

Mr. G. Banks opposed the bill. It seemed strange to him that a time of difficulties and dangers should be chosen to introduce avowed enemies of the established church. There was an authority which they had yet to hear. The right hon. baronet the member for Tamworth, who on former occasions had opposed this measure, had on the recent division recorded his vote in its favour. The house would, no doubt, soon be informed of the reasons which had induced the right hon. gentleman to change his opinion. But having read the speech of the right hon. gentleman in 1830 on this subject, he (Mr. Banks) did not believe that any person but himself could answer it. The argument of the right hon. gentleman in 1830 was, that if the house conceded this claim now demanded of them, no test whatever would remain. Considering that the church was as much a part of the established institutions of the country as the state or throne itself, he (Mr. Banks) maintained that they had a right to apply a test which should exclude a person who was an enemy to the church, as much as they had a right to apply a test to exclude a person who was an enemy to the throne.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Sir Robert Peel speaks in favour of the bill.—He is anxious that English legislation shall not be at variance with Christianity, but if the Jews had sinned he has no commission to punish them.—The disqualification of the Jew is unnecessary, and ought not to be continued because it had already endured three hundred years.—The language of the oath of supremacy was not originally intended to shut out the Jews.*

PROMINENT among the former opponents of the measure for the removal of Jewish disabilities appeared the name of Sir Robert Peel. It was understood that on this occasion he would speak in favour of the bill, as he

had already voted for the resolution on which it was founded. All sides of the house waited with impatience to learn what considerations had moved a statesman so experienced and so distinguished for talent, to forsake those with whom he had once acted, and to raise his voice as the advocate of Jewish Emancipation.

On rising, he said it gave him pain to sever himself from those with whom he had once had the honour almost invariably to act. The grounds on which he had come to the conclusion at which he had arrived he proceeded to state; and, in the first instance, he was anxious to declare that it was not based on an opinion that religion was a matter of indifference. "I," said the right hon. baronet, "am deeply impressed with the conviction that it is our paramount duty to promote the interests of religion and its influence on the human mind. I am impressed with the conviction that the precepts and doctrines of Christianity ought to influence our deliberations. I am impressed with the belief that if our legislation be at variance with the precepts and spirit of Christianity, we cannot expect the blessing of God upon them; and I say, that whether it be right or whether it be wrong, my decision this night is influenced much less from considerations of political expediency than from a deep sense of religious obligation. I commence by stating that, in my opinion, there is between the tenets of the Jews and of the Christians an important and vital difference. In my opinion, the religion of the Christians and the religion of the Jews are more opposed, in essentials, than any other two religions that exist; for between those two religions there is a complete antagonism. I do not consider the concurrence of the Jews with the Christians in recognising the historical truths and Divine moralities of the Old Testament is sufficient to overcome that essential difference, or that it can reconcile the religion of the Jews with Christians, seeing that they reject those doctrines which constitute the vital principle and foundation of Christianity. I admit at once that there is a concurrence between the Christians and the Jews so far as the Divine teachings and revelations contained in the Old Testament are recognized by both; and I say this, that if I had any authority to determine what was religious error, and if I had a commission to punish religious error,—in that case, were my power exercised at all, it would be exercised in punishing the Jews. But I have no such commission. If the Jews did commit an inextinguishable crime some two thousand years ago, I have had no commission given to me—even if I could determine who were the descendants of the persons guilty of that crime—I have no such awful power, as I believe it to be, to punish the sins of the fathers upon the children—not unto the third or fourth generation, but unto the three hundredth or four hundredth generation. 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' I have, therefore, neither the duty nor the authority to punish religious error. I maintain this—that the House of Commons has no right, for mere religious error, to inflict a penalty. I consider a civil disability to partake of the nature and character of a penalty, I speak of pure religious error. If you can infer from that religious error dangerous political opinions, and if you have no other mode of determining what the political opinions of a party are except by the administration of a test for the



purpose of ascertaining what are his religious opinions, in that case you possibly have a right to impose a restriction. In the case of the Roman Catholic, you did not exclude him because he maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation; but because you thought he was a dangerous subject in consequence of his acknowledging the supremacy of a foreign power. You excluded him from political power because you believed he would abuse it when he possessed it."

To the authority of Dr. Arnold, which had been quoted against the Jewish claims, the right hon. baronet opposed the still higher authority of Lord Bacon. "In his argument upon the rights of the *post nati* of Scotland, Lord Bacon says:—"It seemeth admirable unto me to consider with what a measured hand and with how true proportions our law doth impart and confer the several degrees of the benefits of naturalization. The first degree is an alien enemy, the second is an alien friend, the third is a denizen. To this person the law giveth an ability and capacity abridged not in matter, but in time. The fourth and last degree is a natural-born subject; he is complete and entire. Other laws do admit more curious distinctions of this privilege; for the Romans had, besides *jus civitatis*, which answereth to naturalization, *jus suffragii*. For, though a man were naturalized to take lands and inheritance, yet he was not enabled to have a voice in the passing of laws, or at election of officers; and yet, further, they had *jus petitionis* or *jus honorum*. For though a man had voice, yet he was not capable of honour or office. But these be devices commonly of popular or free estates, which are jealous whom they take into their number, and are unfit for monarchies; but by the law of England, the subject that is natural-born hath a capacity or ability to all benefits whatever." The Jew is a subject natural-born, and I contend that he has a right to all civil honours; that he has 'a capacity or ability to all benefits whatever,' unless you show a reason to the contrary, —a reason not founded upon a mere religious error, but upon some political disqualification. Now, I have heard in the course of this debate the exclusion of the Jews justified by reference to other disqualifications that now exist. It is contended that it is no hardship to exclude the Jews, as copyholders are excluded from rights which freeholders possess, and minors are excluded from the exercise of powers which a man of full age enjoys. An hon. and learned gentleman, who bears a name which must ever be honoured in this house (Mr. Walpole), contended that there is a distinction between the elective franchise and the right of legislation. But all these are ingenious fallacies, employed for the purpose of concealing from ourselves the real character of this harsh exclusion. How does the elective franchise differ in character from the right of legislation? There are no rights given by the common law; the elective franchise is a creation of the legislature. You withhold from the £9 householder a right which you give to the £10 householder. And with respect to the exclusion of the clergy from this branch of the legislature, and with respect to the exclusion of minors and those who have not sufficient property, these exclusions differ altogether from the disqualification you impose upon the Jews. In the first place, the Jew is equally subject with those who profess Chris-

tianity to all these exclusions,—of minors, of copyholders, and £9 householders; all these disqualifications he is likewise subject to; but you superadd another disqualification of a totally different nature. And many of these exclusions are voluntary. A clergyman, when he enters upon the sacred office, knows that he will be excluded from this house. A minor knows that if he lives until he attains his majority he will acquire his full rights. But with respect to the disqualification of the Jew, it is on account of his opinions; it is not a disqualification that is temporary or voluntary; it is a superadded disqualification, and it differs in its character from the disqualifications to which other classes are subject. There is no analogy between them, and the disqualification of the Jew is one which implies a suspicion and inflicts a stigma, and which nothing but a change of opinion can enable him to escape. Now, as far as I have heard, I have found no sufficient reason assigned for this disqualification; and there are considerations which have been admitted in the course of the debate, and which make the hardship of excluding the Jews still more grievous. I consider that, in point of moral conduct; in point of active exercise of charity; in point of tried loyalty, and in point of property, the Jews are entitled to as much consideration as any other religious sect. I can assign, therefore, no political reason, so far as expectation with regard to his future conduct is concerned, which would justify his exclusion from Parliament. But there are two reasons—for I class all the arguments urged against the admission of the Jews under two heads, for the purpose of brevity,—which have been advanced in support of their exclusion, the force of which I should be the last person to deny. One of those reasons is, that you have for the last three hundred years deemed a recognition of the Christian faith a necessary qualification of a legislator; the other, that if you now abandon that qualification, and permit it to be struck out of the statute-book, where it has so long remained, this conduct on your part will imply an indifference to religion, and that such indifference is likely to relax the energies and paralyse the exertions of many men who, in this and other countries, are using their utmost endeavours to propagate the Christian faith. Now, I wish to weigh fairly these two objections. As I said before, I do not undervalue the objection that you are about to remove from the statute-book the words "on the true faith of a Christian." I believe that you will give offence to many sincere Christians by removing those words; but, on a deep consideration of this subject, I am fully convinced that the popular impression with respect to these words, and the circumstances under which they were inserted, is erroneous, and that it would not be fair to subject the Jew to this continued disqualification on account of erroneous, though most sincere and conscientious opinions, entertained on the ground of the omission of these words. It was said, and truly said, by the hon. and learned member for Southampton, that up to the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was no oath required from Members of Parliament. The principle of the British constitution before the first of Elizabeth was, that the will of the electing body should determine the right to sit in Parliament, and no oath at all was required from Members of Parliament up to the



fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth, when the oath of supremacy was administered—an oath which, if not administered on this book [here the right hon. baronet placed his hand upon a New Testament] the Jew would have been quite competent to take.”

In the further progress of his speech, Sir Robert Peel showed that the terms of the oath of supremacy were not introduced to shut out the Jew. The tests which excluded him were originally intended to guard against danger from professing Christians; and so little importance was attached to the words “on the true faith of a Christian,” that that declaration was not required from a Quaker. “You say that if a Jew comes into Parliament a Mohammedan and a Hindoo must come in also; but you push the argument further than it is ever likely to advance. Will it be sufficient to say that you will keep out the Jew, because by the law of logical deduction, you must otherwise admit the Hindoo and the Mohammedan? Sir, I apprehend even at the point at which we stand in this debate, and after all the attention which has been paid to the subject, that the real position of the Jew is not yet quite understood. It is said that a Jew is entitled to all municipal offices, and that a Jew may be sheriff. A Jew, in two recent instances, one occurring under the present, and one under the late government, has been admitted to high distinctions; two Jewish gentlemen, Sir Moses de Montefiore and Mr. de Rothschild, have been created baronets. And I further believe, at this moment, the Jew is eligible to any executive office to which the crown may appoint him, no matter how important may be the duties attached to that office, unless he be precluded by the oath which is administered to a privy councillor. I apprehend that there is nothing which can prevent a Jew being secretary of state tomorrow, except through the indirect operation of the oath required of a privy councillor, and there is nothing in the form of that oath to which a Jew would object. If you will but permit the Jew to take the privy councillor's oath on the Old Testament, the oath of the privy councillor will not exclude him from the privy council. It is my conviction, therefore, that—unless through the indirect operation of that oath—there is no office within the gift of the crown, from which a Jew, practically, is excluded. A certain declaration containing the words ‘on the true faith of a Christian’ was substituted for the declaration against transubstantiation in the year 1628; and, observe these words, ‘on the true faith of a Christian’ were not sent up to the Lords by the House of Commons. The Act of Parliament, when it left the Lower House, did not contain these words; the Commons were content to admit the Jews to all executive and municipal offices without requiring that declaration of Christian faith. The words were inserted in the House of Lords, and, rather than lose the bill, the amendment was acceded to.”

He showed from the trust which had already been reposed in the Jew, and from its not having been abused, that there was every reason to go further: and it was but an act of justice as well as good policy to grant what was now required on his behalf. “You,” he said, “have, since the year 1834, admitted to all parliamentary func-

tions, the Quakers, the Separatists, and the Moravians; and though you have shown no jealousy of the crown in its appointment of Jews, you exhibit such jealousy of the Christian electors of this country, that you will not permit them to send the man of their choice to this house if he but happen to be a Jew. Sir, my opinion is, that you cannot permanently maintain that exclusion. You have made previous concessions with little danger to the interests of the church or to the interests of the Christian religion, and I do not now think it safe to insist on this only remaining exclusion. My firm belief—and I rejoice in the conviction—is, that the church of England is stronger at this moment than at any period within recent history. I am sure that such is the condition of the church, and I believe that the disposition which has been shown to apply timely and salutary reforms, has been the great cause of that strength. I believe that in this way a deep religious feeling has been awakened through the country, and I am convinced that the strength of the church and of religion is not now dependent on the question of two or three votes, more or less, in this house. I believe that the church is strong enough to be independent on all essential points, almost of the decisions of this house; it is rooted in the affections of the people. The religious feeling, daily increasing, has been increased and confirmed by the wise resolutions of the church, to consent to reforms which at this moment constitute its effectual strength; and, therefore, it seems to me to be a disparagement, both of the religion and of the establishment, to contend that the safety of either depends upon the continued exclusion from this assembly of the Baron de Rothschild, or of any other gentleman of the Jewish faith. Were it not indeed that there are internal dissensions within the church itself, my firm belief is, that the church would be stronger at this moment, after all these numerous relaxations of disabling laws, than ever it was, even at the period when your required conformity to the Protestant faith as an essential condition of being a member of the Imperial Parliament. And therefore it is,—deeply regretting as I do to shock the feelings of any man sincerely attached to his religion and to the Protestant faith, yet believing that undue weight and importance have been applied to those words, ‘on the true faith of a Christian,’ which were introduced only for a temporary purpose,—that I do not think it just towards the Jew to continue his exclusion merely because these words have been retained for two hundred years.”

Pursuing this line of argument, the right hon. baronet called the attention of the house to the cruel persecution of which the Jews had been the victims in ancient times, and described the proceedings of 1753, when the bill passed for their naturalization in England during one session, and was, in mean compliance with popular prejudice, recalled in the next. A writer of high authority had said on this subject, the consequence of the irrational prejudice which prevailed at that time against the Jew was, that he was deprived of the privileges which had been given him by Parliament, and it was not concealed that this was done entirely in deference to popular prejudice. But what ought to be the conduct of the people



of this country now? I know it may be said that those past cruelties ought not to influence our deliberations on this subject. I admit it; but still they do constitute a reason for concessions if you find that you can admit the Jew without danger to your institutions. It is a reparation for past injury that ought to weigh heavily on the conscience of this assembly. Here is what another historian says as to the cruelties practised upon the Jews—I mean Mr. Sharon Turner:—

“When we recollect their massacre along the Rhine in 1096, and in England in the time of Richard I., and read of their repeated destructions in Germany; in 1221 at Erfurt; in 1236 at Fulda, when, on an accusation of their killing Christian boys for their blood, the Emperor ordered an enquiry whether Christian blood was a necessary part of their passover, to which the official answer was, that nothing certain was known on the subject. In 1240 at Frankfort, ‘with fire and sword;’ in 1282 at Mentz and other places; in 1298 at Nuremberg and through all Franconia; that they were all exterminated from Bavaria; that in 1348, 1349, and 1350, they were killed ‘like cattle,’ and mercilessly burned in great numbers at Basle, Friburg, Spire, Wurms, Frankfort, Mentz, Alsace, Cologne, and in every part of Germany; when we recollect that these are only specimens of what they endured in other places, and were for several centuries in perpetual danger of everywhere suffering, we can hardly persuade ourselves that any remnant of the nation so bitterly persecuted can now be surviving.” But they did survive under these persecutions, exhibiting everywhere the most singular patience and forbearance. If by persecution they were depressed in mind, ought they to be taunted with their degradation? Ought it to move surprise, if in a strange land they should sit down by its waters and weep when they remembered Zion?

He adverted to the infamous calumnies from which the Jews had suffered elsewhere; he referred to the benevolent exertions of Sir Moses Montefiore, who had journeyed to Syria and to Poland, to rescue his brethren from the obloquy unjustly cast upon them. He earnestly called upon the house to do an act of justice, and pointed to the happy consequences which must follow from their setting such an example. “I will,” he said in conclusion, “perform an act which, if it be not immediately required from us, as Christians we are enjoined to perform, namely, to forgive those who trespass against us; but this is an act as sacred, in point of moral obligation, and more trying to human pride, that we should forgive those against whom we have trespassed. On these accounts I will give my cordial support to the bill.”

Lord D. Stuart spoke in favour of the bill, and the house divided, when the numbers were—

For the second reading of the bill	-	-	277
For the amendment	-	-	204

Majority in favour of Jewish Emancipation - 73

While the claims of the Jews were favoured in the great council of the nation by the most eminent statesmen of the day, the progress of the question out of doors was almost all their friends could desire. At Chelmsford, on the 24th of February, 1848, a meeting was

convened by the high sheriff, to petition the legislature against the bill. The meeting having been opened with the usual forms, Mr. Bower Smith, in moving the adoption of a petition praying that the measure might not pass, admitted that the Jews were peaceable good subjects, and good citizens, but he contended that so long as this was a Christian nation, a Jew, who looked upon the founder of that faith as an impostor, should not be allowed to legislate for a Christian community. It was said that the admission of a few Jews into Parliament would be of no consequence. He feared that it would; and he begged to remind those who advanced that argument of the mischief which resulted from concession in another case; he alluded to the Catholic Emancipation Act, which had ever since permitted O’Connell and his Papist tail to legislate for this Protestant country. He regarded the admission of Jews to seats in the House of Commons as a “heavy blow and great discouragement” to Christianity, as the precursor of a separation between the church and state.

His motion was duly seconded by the Rev H. Bertie, when the following amendment, moved by Mr. S. Courtould, was offered for consideration.

“That this meeting rejoices in the opportunity thus afforded for expressing to her Majesty’s Ministers its gratitude for having introduced the bill for the removal of all civil disabilities affecting persons of the Jewish persuasion, and the meeting trusts that the legislature will give its assent to the measure.”

The mover warmly advocated the cause of the Jews. He reminded his hearers that they were God’s ancient people, and therefore asked why they should be proscribed for conscience’s sake, and insisted that it was wholly unworthy of a Christian state to deny them longer full participation in all the privileges of citizenship.

The motion having been seconded, the reporter proceeds;

The High Sheriff then put the question upon the amendment, in favour of which a forest of hands appeared, whilst for the original motion there were comparatively few supporters.

An important triumph was thus won for the Israelites, by those who had sought to get up an opposition to the measure framed for their relief; and it was subsequently stated that a petition in favour of the bill would have been brought forward, had not the terms of the requisition precluded the High Sheriff from making such a proposition to the meeting on that occasion.

It would be a work of supererogation to dwell on the joy a series of fortunate circumstances like those which have been detailed caused the Jews to feel, at length emancipated from the thralldom and oppression under which they had languished through eighteen centuries. The decisive vote of the Commons of England put an end to all doubt as to their future situation here. Elsewhere the madness of bigotry may again prevail, and new tragedies may be enacted, but in the British Empire the children of Israel may calculate on finding a city of refuge, a safe resting place; and as members of the great human family, as worshippers of the same Almighty Father, they will be received as fellow-men, permitted to enjoy equal rights, and acknowledged as brothers.



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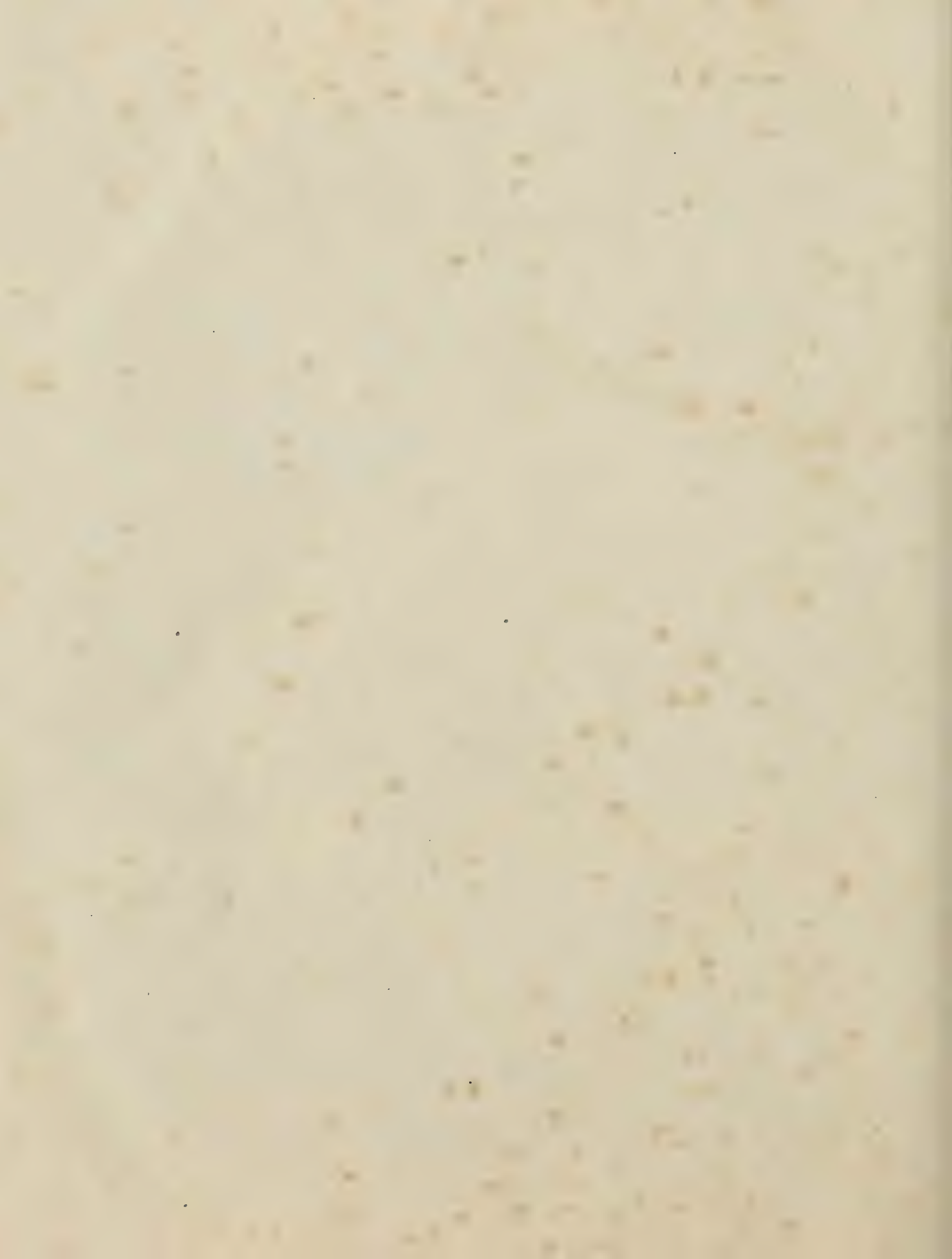
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